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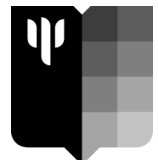
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Project-based action in the structure of educational-game environments

N.V. Gromyko^{1,2}, Y.V. Gromyko^{1,2} ✉, S.P. Usoltsev¹

¹ Shiffers Institute of Advanced Studies, Moscow, Russian Federation

² Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, Moscow, Russian Federation

✉ yugromyko@gmail.com

Abstract

Context and relevance. The article describes an approach to creating educational-game environments aimed at developing project-based thinking. Currently, the problem of declining motivation among school students in the context of the modern education system, which is heavily focused on preparing for the Unified State Exam (USE) and Olympiads, is widely recognized. The authors emphasize the importance of rekindling interest in knowledge and fostering curiosity in the learning process. As one of the effective solutions to this problem, the use of game-based learning methods, which are increasingly being applied in educational practice, is considered. However, the authors argue that existing game formats fail to incorporate project-based activities into the gameplay, which is crucial for development of project-based thinking among high school students.

The authors propose a new approach to creating an educational-game environment that not only sustains interest in learning but also promotes the development of project-based thinking. The article describes a technology for transforming a traditional board game into a project-based game, enabling students not only to acquire theoretical knowledge but also to engage in solving real scientific problems. As an example, the educational-game module «Life on the Moon» is presented, within which students develop a project for an experimental setup to sustain a colony of prokaryotes on the Moon. Unlike a full-fledged cycle of project activities—whose minimum duration is one academic year—the educational-game module is conducted in three days. The proposed module can be used either as a propaedeutic course in project activity or as an intensive course, which allows students to study several fragments of the project activity cycle—such as proposing a project idea, re-analyzing the situation, and transforming the project idea into a system of tasks—more thoroughly. The article highlights the importance of project-based activities as a leading activity for high school students and offers specific methodological recommendations for organizing game processes aimed at developing project-based thinking. The authors also draw attention to the need for changes in pedagogical professionalism in the context of increasing gamification of education.

Keywords: project-based activities, game-based learning methods, motivation

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Проектное действие в структуре учебно-игровой среды

Н.В. Громько^{1,2}, Ю.В. Громько^{1,2} ✉, С.П. Усольцев¹

¹ Институт опережающих исследований «Управление человеческими ресурсами»
имени Е.Л. Шифферса, Москва, Российская Федерация

² Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет, Москва, Российская Федерация
✉ yugromyko@gmail.com

Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. В статье описан подход к созданию учебно-игровых сред, направленных на развитие проектного мышления. В настоящее время общепризнана проблема снижения мотивации у школьников к обучению в условиях современной системы образования, ориентированной на подготовку к ЕГЭ и олимпиадам. Авторы подчеркивают важность возвращения интереса к знаниям и культивирования любопытства в процессе обучения. В качестве одного из эффективных средств решения этой проблемы рассматривается использование игровых методов обучения, которые все чаще применяются в образовательной практике. Однако, по мнению авторов, существующие игровые формы не учитывают необходимость включения проектной деятельности в процесс игры, что является ключевым для развития проектного сознания у старшеклассников.

Авторы статьи предлагают новый подход к созданию учебно-игровой среды, которая не только поддерживает интерес к обучению, но и способствует развитию проектного мышления. В статье описывается технология преобразования традиционной настольной игры в проектную игру, которая позволяет учащимся не только осваивать теоретические знания, но и включаться в решение реальных научных проблем. В качестве примера приводится учебно-игровой модуль «Жизнь на Луне», в рамках которого школьники разрабатывают проект экспериментальной установки для поддержания жизни колонии прокариотов на Луне. В отличие от полноценного цикла проектной деятельности, минимальная длительность которого — один учебный год, учебно-игровой модуль проводится за три дня. Предлагаемый модуль можно использовать либо как пропедевтику проектной деятельности, либо как интенсив, позволяющий отработать отдельные фрагменты цикла проектной деятельности (выдвижение проектного замысла, повторный анализ ситуации, перевод проектного замысла в систему задач).

Статья подчеркивает важность проектной деятельности как ведущей деятельности для старшеклассников и предлагает конкретные методические рекомендации по организации игровых процессов, направленных на развитие проектного мышления. Авторы также обращают внимание на необходимость изменения педагогического профессионализма в условиях усиливающейся геймификации образования.

Ключевые слова: проектная деятельность, игровые методы обучения, мотивация

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Дополнительные данные. Фотографии схем, полученных учащимися в ходе образовательной игры по обучению проектированию, можно запросить у автора С.П. Усольцева

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Introduction

It is no secret that one of the most dire consequences of the “EGE-ization” of education has been the loss of motivation among school students. Restoring this motivation is a significant challenge at present. Maintaining an in-

terest in knowledge and cultivating curiosity during the learning process is a crucial aspect of pedagogy. It is essential for curiosity and interest to accompany students’ academic activities, whether in traditional subjects or in project-based learning. The erosion of interest and curiosity has also been exacerbated by the

creation of specialized educational tracks in the general secondary education system (A.A. Pinsky and other members of the educational team at the Higher School of Economics). A student placed in a specific track often assumes that knowledge, concepts, and facts from disciplines outside their track are irrelevant and unworthy of attention. Drawing on Isaiah Berlin's well-known distinction between "foxes" and "hedgehogs" (Berlin, 1957), this approach produces narrowly specialized "hedgehogs" who bury themselves in details and lack the ability to see the broader context, while preventing the development of "foxes" who explore vast fields of knowledge. However, project development requires "foxes" whose cognitive and learning strategies are rooted in curiosity (Berlyne, 1954; Kahan et al., 2017; Motta et al., 2019).

Today, gamification methods are increasingly being used as a means to address the decline in motivation. These methods are gaining widespread adoption and, consequently, are becoming the subject of various psychological studies.

Here are some key thematic areas that currently attract significant interest among educational psychologists:

1. The impact of games on the development of competencies and abilities of students (Rubtsova, Salomatova, 2022a; Rubtsova, Salomatova, 2022b; Rubtsova, Ulanova, 2014; Obukhova, Tkachenko, 2008).

2. The influence of games on students' educational motivation (Borzenko, 2016; Zakharova, 2024; Burakova, 2023; Lipatova, Khokholeva, 2020).

3. The need for changes in pedagogical professionalism amid increasing gamification (Duong, Vo, 2024; Bogdanova, 2022).

4. Analysis of international and domestic practices of educational gamification (Annetta, 2008; Ermakov, 2020).

5. Analysis of well-known games, such as Minecraft, used in education (Driantsev, 2018; Tablatin, Casano, Rodrigo, 2023).

Despite the broad range of research on the effects of gamification in educational practice, one specific aspect remains underexplored: the integration of project-based activities into gameplay. Researchers focus on how games can be used for "peaceful purposes" to develop or

maintain perceptual and cognitive processes. However, games were originally created by the entertainment industry for entirely different goals—such as capturing attention through repetitive computer keystrokes. Integrating project-based activities into gameplay implies that either the game format and rules must become the subject of transformation by students and educators, or students must tackle complex scientific or practical problems within the game. By engaging with unsolvable problems, students explore the complexity of the issues without claiming socially significant or publicly recognized results. Yet, this exploration should not lead to arbitrary simplifications or the rejection of specialized scientific knowledge or to fictions about the social context. This type of a practical problem formulation and of self-determination of adolescents in relation to this problem requires the development of a special game form. Existing board games and video games do not have this game form.

Using pre-existing, unmodified video or board games risks regressing students from higher-level cognitive activities to more primitive forms of preschool play with arbitrary rules, even if the outcomes are taken seriously. While games that challenge players to overcome limitations can yield meaningful educational results, this requires specially designed game formats that demand thoughtful and significant effort from participants.

Meanwhile, project-based activities are the leading developmental activity for older adolescents (Gromyko Yu.V., 1997; Gromyko N.V., 2023), despite modern schools' focus on standardized exams and Olympiads, which often neglects teaching these skills. Project-based learning, as a distinct type of activity — not to be confused with so-called "individual projects" that may include anything from essays writing and advanced school subjects learning to robotics design — is crucial. We argue that the key issue in adolescent development theory is the cultivation of project-based consciousness as a modern sociocultural form of practical consciousness (V.V. Davydov). Practical consciousness, linked to career choices, adult life, and the desire to assess social situations maturely, has always been relevant for older adolescents and young adults.

V.V. Davydov rightly noted that older adolescents and young adults begin to grapple with practical questions: How to act ethically? Should ethics be followed if many adults disregard them? How are power and wealth inherited despite proclaimed social “elevators”? To what extent do declared principles align with actions? How does the world change? How to earn a living in today’s society? These unresolved societal contradictions can only be resolved from the point of view of thinking through the structure of our entire society. Such work requires self-determination and collective problem-solving, which can only be addressed through project-based consciousness — a forward-looking sociocultural mindset. Thus, adolescents must learn to analyze social situations, set problems, and develop project-based solutions while considering diverse perspectives. Integrating such project-based activities into specially designed games is essential. Without this, we risk infantilizing older students, preventing them from engaging meaningfully with societal challenges.

The increasing gamification of education for older adolescents, while ignoring that their leading activity is no longer play or study but project-based work, may further isolate them from society and delay personal maturation. Temporary motivation sparked by games, without understanding how knowledge applies professionally in modern society, quickly fades.

Unfortunately, many games offered by the entertainment industry exacerbate this issue, reinforcing infantilization rather than fostering project-based skills. For games to be truly developmental for adolescents, they must incorporate project-based elements, requiring transformative changes to game formats and environments.

Even the most in-depth psychological studies on gamification’s impact on learning (Margolis et al., 2021; Margolis et al., 2022; Rubtsova et al., 2023; Rubtsova, Panfilova, Artemenko, 2018) focus on adapting existing games on the base of diagnostic research so that they facilitate educational process in any way rather than transforming them to foster project-based thinking.

Below, we describe our method for transforming a board game into a project-based game.

Method of converting the educational game focused on memorizing subject information into the project-based learning game

For the material for transforming one of these board games into a project-oriented game, we selected a game by V.O. Poluga, head of the i-Cube Centre for Educational Consulting, which specializes in, among other things, developing and commercially producing board games. V.O. Poluga is a graduate of the first cohort of our Master’s program opened in 2019 at the Federal State Budgetary Institution of Higher Education “Moscow State Psychological-Pedagogical University,” specializing in “Pedagogy and Psychology of Project Activity in Education.”

For our adaptation and transformation into a project-oriented game, we chose just one of his games—“Cito-logic.” This game is centered on cellular structure knowledge.

The basis of the game is a chart that students must know from their eighth-grade biology course (Cell Structure ..., 2021). It lists organelles, their structure, and functions. In V.O. Poluga’s game, students draw separate cards featuring organelles and their functions, then properly match them together, eventually memorizing the material required for passing the Basic General Education Exam (OGE) and Unified State Exam (USE).

Unlike V.O. Poluga’s games, the specificity of our educational-technology-based approach to running project-educational games lies in its focus on helping students acquire theoretical concepts, universal thinking principles, and metasubject methods of work. Our approach targets the development of project thinking and introduces students to the basics of design activity. Crucially, unlike the educational-gaming approach employed by V.O. Poluga and his team, our technology uses games to guide students from a foundation of thoroughly processed basic school-level knowledge to the forefront of scientific discovery and engineering in-

novation. We engage students in searching for answers to real scientific problems. Meanwhile, V.O. Poluga's games are purely mnemonic in character, treating knowledge simply as informational labels that must be arranged correctly on the table and remembered.

Next, we'll discuss the technique we've developed for the project-game module "Life on the Moon," geared toward teaching design within an educational-playground context. Unlike a full-scale project activity cycle lasting at least one academic year, this module lasts for three days. It can be used either as a primer for project activity or as an intensive workshop for practicing isolated segments of the project cycle (formulating project ideas, reanalyzing situations, translating project ideas into task frameworks).

First and foremost, it should be emphasized that for cell biology concepts to acquire genuine motivational value for students, they must be connected to open-ended, problematic questions from the perspective of contemporary knowledge. This approach immediately shifts students from the familiar schoolchild position where "the teacher knows everything but asks anyway" to the realization that there is no definitive answer to the problematic question. In the "Life on the Moon" game, these problematic questions are: "What is life?" and "How to explain the transition from prokaryotes to eukaryotes?" There is no single correct answer to these questions. Engaging students in designing methods to address these unresolved, open-ended questions serves as a powerful motivational tool, encouraging them not only to play but also to pursue knowledge beyond the game.

For the game to effectively develop project-based thinking, it must simulate project-based activities where such thinking naturally occurs. In other words, when designing such a game, it is crucial to maintain the relationship between: 1) the activity that gives rise to project-based thinking, 2) project-based activity itself, and 3) the game-based activity being designed (Elkonin, 1999; Gromyko Yu.V., 1992; Skobelev, Gromyko Yu.V., 2022; Gromyko Yu.V., 2023) (Fig. 1).

Project-based activity is a sequence of stages illustrated in Fig. 2 (N.V. Gromyko, 2020). Implementing each of these stages requires

specific cognitive abilities such as reasoning, comprehension, imagination, and reflection; these abilities facilitate the emergence of project-based thinking. Because it is anticipated that these abilities will be partially activated and partially formed during the game, the game requires:

- a) group communication, through which these abilities will manifest; hence, the game should involve groups rather than individuals;
- b) support from game-designer educators who will organize group communication and detect, encourage, and strengthen the manifestation of these project-based thinking abilities;
- c) reflexive format, which makes project-based thinking objective for its participants.

The entire scope of project-based activity cannot be transformed into a game because framing a problem or conceiving a project idea as a pretense would instantly be perceived by students as artificial and insincere, thereby demotivating them. If, however, the problem and project idea are framed sincerely, the playful element vanishes, and the game turns into genuine project work. A way out of this predicament, as noted earlier, is to introduce students to an already existing problem. It is essential to demonstrate that the problem they are being introduced to actually exists: in science, there are two approaches to what constitutes the fundamental property of living systems. One predominant approach, reflected in school and university textbooks, holds that this property is the ability to replicate and reproduce similar systems. Another approach, rooted in Ervin Bauer's work "Theoretical Biology" (Bauer,

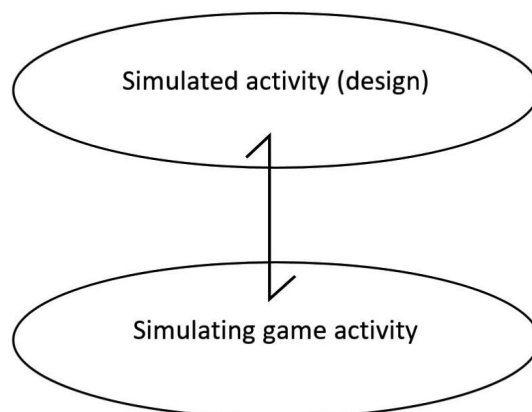


Fig. 1. The relationship between the gaming activity and the activity imitated in the game

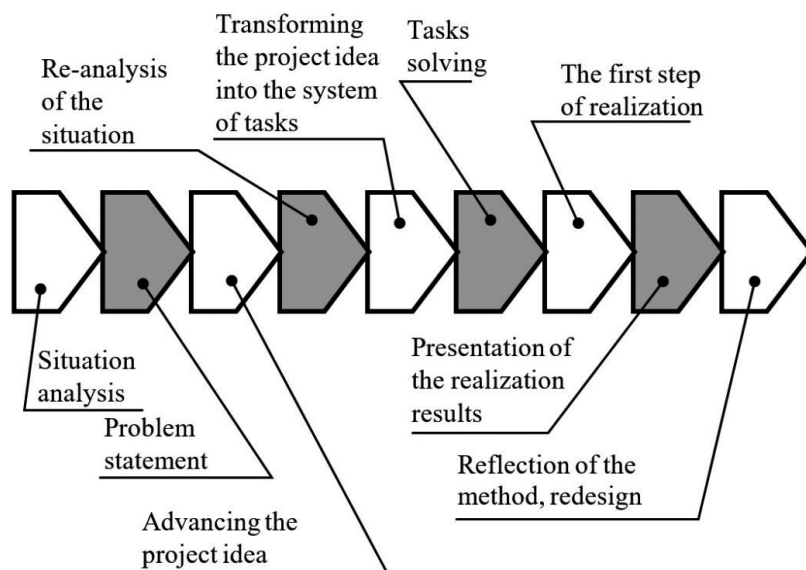


Fig.2. Stages of project activity

2002), states that the most important property of a living system is its operation against equilibrium, leading to an increase in the system's free energy.

Additionally, students need to realize that this problematic question is not merely an amusement for scientists accustomed to "satisfying their own curiosity at the state's expense" (Academician L.A. Artsimovitch). The question of the essence of life and its fundamental distinction from non-living matter is one of the key questions in the scientific research agenda initiated by our fellow countryman Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky, aiming at comprehensive investigation of life as a planetary and, more broadly, cosmic phenomenon. Knowledge of the fundamental principles of life, in particular, could help increase human lifespan – especially active life – by at least twofold.

Knowledge of the fundamental property of living systems is also important for socio-economic systems. Social-engineering achievements in constructing societies and identities ad hoc raise questions about whether such constructs are viable systems or rapidly disintegrating simulacra, and how they interact with "alive" socio-economic systems. Answering this question requires the ability to differentiate between living and non-living entities by studying both biological and socio-economic systems.

All subsequent game-competitions unfold around the question: how to determine which

of the two mentioned approaches is valid? How can we establish what underlies life: replication or accumulation of free energy? The cultural tool for answering such questions, as well as winning our game-competition, is an experiment (or, more accurately, a critical experiment). Its essence lies in the following: it is necessary to envision a process whose theoretical modeling, within each of the alternative approaches, yields different results. Subsequently, the practical realization of this process should be executed, observing which of the theoretically predicted outcomes materialized. Precisely in this manner, Foucault demonstrated Earth's rotation using a pendulum, and similarly, Arago confirmed the wave nature of light by displaying Poissin's spot.

To organize the critical experiment, a new task is proposed: analyze the process of the emergence of eukaryotes (nucleus-containing cells with mitochondria) from a collection of prokaryotes (bacteria and archaea) mutually beneficial to each other through syntrophy (Non-Simple Evolutionary Routes ..., 2019). The theoretical modeling of this process, which occurred on Earth roughly 2 billion years ago, shows a difference in the rate of this process from the perspective of the alternative approaches: the replication-based approach assumes that the formation of eukaryotes was a pure chance event caused by mutation; meanwhile, the energy-based approach maintains that this event involved considerable regular-

ity, driven by an evolutionary trend favoring the formation of eukaryotes, as they possess much greater amounts of free energy compared to the prokaryotes from which they originated.

However, on Earth, the formation of eukaryotes has already happened, dramatically altering the conditions on our planet by giving rise to the biosphere. Therefore, reproducing this transition from prokaryotes to eukaryotes on Earth, saturated and modified by life, is nearly impossible. Such an experiment would last not just decades but perhaps even centuries, with terrestrial life inevitably interfering with laboratory conditions. Thus, it is proposed to conduct this experiment intellectually-theoretically on the closest celestial body devoid of life (abiotic) – the Moon.

How can this be achieved? This question is what the student project teams must answer. Whichever team accomplishes this faster and more efficiently – wins.

Description of the educational gaming module “Life on the Moon” targeted at project-based learning

The educational gaming module “Life on the Moon,” outlined below, has been tested at the L.S. Vygotsky Memorial TechnoPark “Kvantorium” of Moscow State Psychological-Pedagogical University (MSPPU) and at the School No. 597 “New Generation” in Moscow.

The module is divided into two parts: a preliminary phase and the actual game. The preliminary phase encompasses introductions to the problem of living matter, the conception of the experiment, and its theoretical modeling. During the game phase, students tackle the practical implementation of the experimental procedure by competing to design an experimental device suitable for functioning under severe lunar conditions. On the diagram illustrating project-based activity (Figure 2), this corresponds to stages of repeated situation analysis and task setting.

During the preliminary phase, students work with texts presenting the content of each of the alternative approaches to defining what constitutes living matter, alongside a description of the

hypothesis of eukaryote origins from prokaryotes. Their task is to comprehend the essence of each approach, highlight their distinctions, and execute theoretical modeling of the transition from prokaryotes to eukaryotes, grounded in the assumptions of each respective approach.

In other words, students are required to complete the following tasks:

a) Understand what the texts say about different approaches to defining living matter and formulate this understanding as a thesis statement articulating what living means according to the presented approach.

b) Express this understanding not only verbally but also visually through diagrams.

c) Recognize that theses and diagrams about what constitutes living are fundamentally different and irreconcilable.

d) Use the gained understanding derived from each text to respond to the question of how the transition from prokaryotes to eukaryotes took place.

e) Based on:

- understanding,
- schematization,
- working with disciplinary concepts,
- modeling (building models using disciplinary terms),
- simulation (using models to describe real processes),
- recognize that, depending on the differing approaches, the transition is described in different ways. This divergence in theoretical modeling results can be used to design a critical experiment.

The progression of project groups during the game phase “Launch Life on the Moon” follows this framing project task: “Design a device enabling the survival of a colony of prokaryotes engaged in syntrophic relationships under unlimited time in lunar conditions.” Throughout the game, this project task transforms into multiple subtasks, which project groups must accomplish:

• Specify the project concept: transform the abstract notion of “syntrophy” into a descriptive instrument detailing the process to be implemented during the experiment.

• Reanalyze the situation taking into account the conditions for implementing the experiment (the conditions on the Moon).

- Propose a constructive solution allowing the execution of the experiment under specified conditions (see Fig. 3).

At this point, it is worth recalling that psychology still lacks consensus on what drives the generation of project concepts: is it imaginative capacity (N.N. Nechaev) or theoretical thinking (Yuri V. Gromyko)? Our work with students within this constructed gaming module supports our hypothesis that it is indeed theoretical thinking, as it proves impossible to generate a project concept without reliance on the previously discussed theoretical constructs.

The player's movement is facilitated by the following game tasks.

Task #1 within the game.

- Using the text “Complex Pathways of Evolution: Where Did Eukaryotes Come From?” compile a set of prokaryotes that, interacting with each other, can exchange substances (engage in syntrophy) relatively independently of their external environment.

- Draw a scheme showing the substance-exchange process within your selected group of prokaryotes, as well as between the group and the external environment. Illustrate exchanges involving six key chemical elements both inside the prokaryote group and between the prokaryotes and the environment.

Task #2 within the game.

- Your compiled group of prokaryotes is now relocated to the Moon. List the most important characteristics of the Moon that must

be considered for the process of syntrophy to occur between the prokaryotes.

- Explain why you believe these listed characteristics are significant for your group of prokaryotes.

- Determine additional information about the Moon that is needed to make the experiment as successful as possible.

- Present your team's conclusions in the form of statements and a table.

Task #3 within the game.

- Propose a design for an experimental installation in a lunar laboratory capable of supporting the life of your group of prokaryotes.

- Sketch the installation.

While completing the tasks, students collaborate with teachers, who act as game characters: the critic named Moon, consultants Program Vernadsky and Herald of Academy of Sciences. Consultants do not complete tasks for students but provide necessary domain-specific knowledge (biological and astrophysical respectively). Teachers, serving as game characters, assume roles on one side, while simultaneously facilitating the educational process — including mastery of theoretical concepts, metasubjective technologies, and foundations of design activity.

When designing the experimental facility, students combine three types of knowledge: biological (including biochemistry), captured in the scheme of syntrophic interaction; astrophysical (specifically selenological), recorded in the table of significant lunar conditions; and

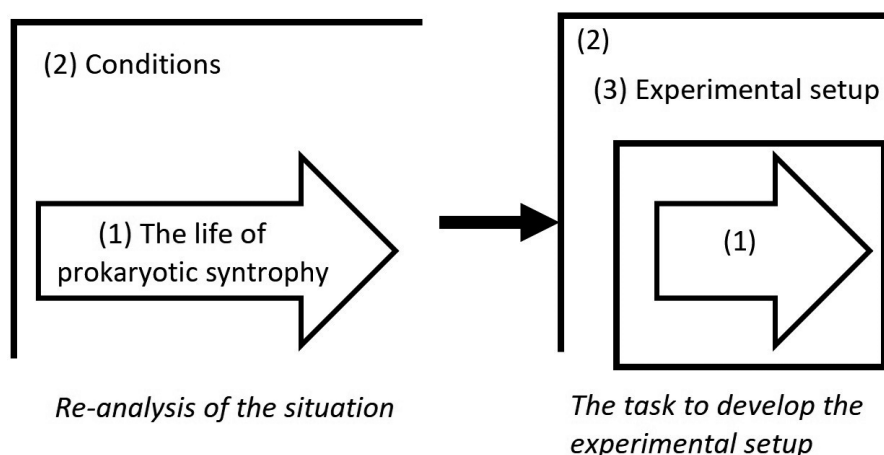


Fig. 3. Movement of project teams on game tasks

engineering, embodied in the construction of the experimental setup. Consequently, evaluations of their work proceed from three positions: biologist, astrophysicist, and engineer. Communication between players designing the experimental setup and representatives of these three fields helps students grasp the essence of each position, thereby stimulating project-based thinking.

Thus, *distributed collaborative form of activity* is represented not only in interactions among students within their groups and discussions of others' results at general meetings, but also in interactions between student-gamers and teachers/game characters, as well

as with experts, each contributing from their specific disciplinary-practical standpoint.

To conclude, this educational game module seeks to introduce students, starting right from school benches, into pioneering scientific practices carried out by institutions such as American NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), Chinese Aerospace Science and Technology Corporation (SASC), and Roscosmos, tackling the question of how to recreate life in the conditions of another planet. Playing to find answers to this question, supported by solid theoretical concepts, exposes students to a world beyond pseudo-scientific fantasy – revealing to them the real Future.

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Information about the authors

Nina V. Gromyko, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Head of the Epistemic Technologies Department, Schiffers Institute for Advanced Studies, Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2648-558X>, e-mail: gromyko_nina@mail.ru

Yury V. Gromyko, Doctor of Psychology, Professor, Department of "Pedagogical Psychology named after V.A. Guruzhapov" of the Faculty of "Psychology of Education" Moscow State University of Psychology & Education, Head of the Schiffers Institute of Advanced Studies, Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5943-8232>, e-mail: yugromyko@gmail.com

Sergey P. Usoltsev, Leading Researcher, Schiffers Institute for Advanced Studies, Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7765-4358>, e-mail: usoltsev_sp@mail.ru

Информация об авторах

Громыко Нина Вячеславовна, доктор философских наук, руководитель направления «Эпистемические технологии», Институт опережающих исследований «Управление человеческими ресурсами» имени Е.Л. Шифферса, (АНО Институт опережающих исследований) г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2648-558X>, e-mail: gromyko_nina@mail.ru

Громыко Юрий Вячеславович, доктор психологических наук, профессор кафедры педагогической психологии имени В.А. Гуружапова», факультет психологии образования, Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет (ФГБОУ ВО МГППУ); директор Института опережающих исследований «Управление человеческими ресурсами» имени Е.Л. Шифферса (АНО Институт опережающих исследований), г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5943-8232>, e-mail: yugromyko@gmail.com

Усольцев Сергей Петрович, ведущий научный сотрудник, Институт опережающих исследований «Управление человеческими ресурсами» имени Е.Л. Шифферса (АНО Институт опережающих исследований), г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7765-4358>, e-mail: usoltsev_sp@mail.ru

Contribution of the authors

Nina V. Gromyko – planning and operational management of the research, management of approbation, participation in the research and approbation, preparation of the manuscript plan, staging an approbation.

Yury V. Gromyko – the idea of the research, general scientific and methodological guidance, consulting, control over the research.

Sergey P. Usoltsev – participation in the development and approbation, annotation, writing and design of the manuscript, staging the classes.

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

Вклад авторов

Громыко Н.В. — планирование и оперативное руководство разработкой, руководство апробацией, участие в разработке и апробации, составление плана рукописи, сценирование апробации.

Громыко Ю.В. — идея разработки, общее научно-методологическое руководство, консультирование, контроль за проведением разработки.

Усольцев С.П. — участие в разработке и апробации, аннотирование, написание и оформление рукописи, сценирование занятий.

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Teacher in the situation of setting a learning task

E.V. Chudinova ✉,

Federal Scientific Centre for Psychological and Interdisciplinary Research
(Psychological Institute of the Russian Academy of Education), Moscow, Russia
✉ chudinova_e@mail.ru

Abstract

Context and relevance. The concept of learning task is the most important in the theory of learning activity. At the same time, most of the research on the processes of setting and solving learning tasks focuses on the learner's side. The majority of research on the processes of setting and solving learning tasks is focused on the pupil's side, despite the conceptual ideas about the total action in the mediating situation. **Objective.** To consider the situation of setting and solving a learning task from the perspective of the teacher organizing the situation. **Hypothesis.** The teacher's reference systems in the process of setting a learning task are complex and contradictory, and they cannot be fully defined during the preparation for the lesson before trying it out in real interaction. The condition for the emergence of cumulative action in solving a learning task is a special authorial position of the teacher. **Methods and materials.** Five teachers (women from 28 to 54 years old, experience in the D.B. Elkonin–V.V. Davydov system from 2 to 16 years) took part in the case study. They included observation and analyses of video recordings of 7 cases of one learning task (the task of discovering isolines, Year 3, course «World around us»). In addition, a questionnaire was administered to teachers at the refresher training courses (10 teachers who had experience in setting this learning task and 10 who had no such experience) in order to assess teachers' understanding of the technology of setting the task after reading the methodological manual. **Results.** The methodological manual is sufficient for teachers to create a full-fledged lesson project, it is read and understood equally by teachers with and without experience in setting this learning task (Fi-Fisher and V-Kramer criteria). Teachers' difficulties in setting the learning task are related to the contradictory and dynamic nature of the orientations. The effectiveness of teacher-pupil interaction at key moments of setting and solving a learning task is determined not only by the teacher's sensitivity to children's actions, but also by the teacher's focus on the relationship of children's actions to the general method being reconstructed. **Conclusions.** The situation of successful formulation and solution of a learning task can be considered as a situation of cumulative action, and at the teacher's side – as a productive authorial action. The teacher's sensitivity to the current children's actions in their relation to the reconstructed method and the teacher's special authorial position are the conditions for the coherence of the pupils' and teacher's positions. The teacher's own supports in the situation of setting and solving a learning task are built as a result of testing and comprehension of the guidelines given in the methodological manual and transformed at the stage of designing a staged lesson.

Keywords: learning task, teacher, cumulative action, authoring productive action

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Учитель в ситуации постановки учебной задачи

Е.В. Чудинова ✉

Федеральный научный центр психологических и междисциплинарных исследований
(Психологический институт имени Л.В. Щукиной), Москва, Российская Федерация

✉ chudinova_e@mail.ru

Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. Понятие учебной задачи является важнейшим в теории учебной деятельности. При этом большая часть исследований процессов постановки и решения учебных задач сфокусирована на полюсе ученика, несмотря на концептуальные идеи о совокупном действии в ситуации опосредствования. **Цель.** Рассмотреть ситуацию постановки и решения учебной задачи с полюса учителя, организующего эту ситуацию. **Гипотезы.** Системы ориентиров учителя в ситуации постановки учебной задачи сложны, противоречивы и не могут быть полностью определены в процессе подготовки к уроку до пробы в ситуации реального взаимодействия. Условием возникновения совокупного действия при решении учебной задачи является особая авторская позиция учителя. **Методы и материалы.** В исследовании «case study» приняли участие 5 учителей (женщины от 28 до 54 лет, опыт работы в системе Д.Б. Эльконина—В.В. Давыдова — от 2 до 16 лет). Проводились включенное наблюдение и анализ видеозаписей 7 случаев постановки одной учебной задачи (задача на открытие изолиний, 3-й год обучения, курс «Окружающий мир»). Кроме того, было проведено анкетирование учителей на курсах переподготовки (10 учителей, имевших опыт постановки этой учебной задачи, и 10 учителей, не имевших такого опыта) в целях оценки понимания учителями технологии постановки задачи, складывающегося после чтения ими методического пособия. **Результаты.** Методическое пособие достаточно для создания учителем полноценного проекта урока, оно прочитывается и понимается одинаково учителями, имеющими и не имеющими опыт постановки данной учебной задачи (критерии Фи-Фишера и V Крамера). Трудности учителей при постановке учебной задачи связаны с противоречивым и динамичным характером ориентиров. Эффективность взаимодействия учителя и учеников в ключевые моменты постановки и решения учебной задачи определяется не только чувствительностью учителя к детским действиям, но и направленностью внимания учителя на отношение детских действий к реконструируемому общему способу. **Выводы.** Ситуация удачной постановки и решения учебной задачи может быть рассмотрена как ситуация совокупного действия, а на полюсе учителя — как продуктивное авторское действие. Условиями связности позиций учеников и учителя являются как чувствительность учителя к текущим детским действиям в их отношении к реконструируемому способу, так и особая авторская позиция учителя. Собственные опоры учителя в ситуации постановки и решения учебной задачи строятся в результате опробования и осмысления ориентиров, данных в методическом пособии и преобразованных на этапе проектирования постановочного урока.

Ключевые слова: учебная задача, учитель, совокупное действие, авторское продуктивное действие

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Introduction

The concept of a learning task (hereafter referred to as LT) is one of the key notions in the theory of educational activity by D.B. Elkonin and V.V. Davydov (Elkonin, D., 1989; Davydov, 1996, 1999; Engeström, 2025; Gennen, 2023; Chaiklin, 2019). An LT is a whole system of assignments. Unlike concrete-practical tasks, which focus on achieving a specific result, an LT stimulates the student

to search for general principles and methods applicable to a broad class of problems (Rubtsov, Elkonin, Zuckerman, Ulanovskaya, 2024). Its resolution results in changes within the acting subject (Elkonin, D., 1989), that is, the emergence of a functional field of actions performed using this new method (Nezhnov, 2007). The distinctions between LTs and particular tasks, as well as the stages of their formulation and solution, are most comprehensively presented in the works of V.V. Davydov (Davy-

dov, 1996) and further developed by V.V. Repkin (Repkin, Repkina, 2018).

Solving an LT typically spans multiple lessons and defines the holistic act of educational activity. It is understood as a transition and overcoming of the form of solving a concrete-practical task — that is, as an Act of the Development of Action (Elkonin, B., 2020).

An LT is a ‘trigger mechanism that encourages a person to invent and devise new methods of action, thereby restructuring their understanding. In this sense, learning tasks must constantly be present in developmental education’ (Gorbov, Zaslavsky, Morozova, 2015, p. 19). Various methodological versions of LT formulation are presented in educational courses at different levels (Engestr m, 2025; Gorbov, Zaslavsky, Morozova, 2015; Perevozhchikova, Vasiliev, 2015; etc.).

From the earliest attempts to implement the theory of educational activity in practice, it has been noted that transmitting the technology of LT formulation is a crucial aspect of preparing teachers transitioning to an activity-based strategy in education (Davydov, 1999; Guruzhapov, 2006; Perevozhchikova, Vasiliev, 2015; ‘Trainer-Technologist — A New Pedagogical Position’, 2025).

It has been repeatedly discussed that teachers find it difficult to master the new instructional technology. As V.A. Guruzhapov wrote: ‘Teachers often lack a clear understanding of the learning task itself, as well as its place in the learning activity. There is no developed culture of formulating learning tasks’ (Guruzhapov, 2005, p. 83).

The problem of transferring this technology remains relevant today, despite the emergence of various active teacher training methods (Vasiliev, Vakhromeeva, 2024; ‘Trainer-Technologist — A New Pedagogical Position’, 2025; Vorontsov & Lvovskiy, 2022; Waerm & Broman, 2024). The teacher’s activity in the LT formulation setting remains largely unexplored, as researchers’ attention has long been focused on students’ development.

The key to exploring this issue is found in the works of D.B. Elkonin (Elkonin, D., 1989), B.D. Elkonin (Elkonin, 2020), and G.A. Zuckerman (Zuckerman, Venger, 2010), who insisted that ‘...the formation of a learning action must be understood as A SINGLE joint¹ action of the teacher and the student (or a group of students), and not as two “separate” actions of student and teacher (“pedagogical action” and “student action”)’ (Elkonin, 2020, p. 30).

In joint action, orienting toward another’s actions simultaneously guides one’s own actions (Elkonin, 1989), even though in fully joint activ-

ity, only the adult truly acts, by picking up on the child’s signals. Only that form of guidance in which the adult interprets the child’s signals as their initiative can be considered joint action (Zuckerman, Venger, 2010).

In participatory observation, it is important to understand what engages the teacher in unfolding the LA² — ‘...what intrigues him, not just what is required of him,’ writes B.D. Elkonin (Elkonin, 2020, p. 32).

He also highlights that understanding joint action presupposes identifying the conditions for coherence between students’ and teachers’ positions, and describing the situations in which they become co-subjects of a shared action. The first such condition is the teacher’s position that welcomes the emergence of student initiative and allows it to strengthen and grow (Obukhova, Zuckerman, Shibanova, 2022).

The goal of this work is to refocus the perspective of researchers of learning activity from the student to the teacher in order to seek answers to the following questions: What professional challenges shape the teacher’s work in the situation of formulating a learning task? What is the orienting basis (Galperin, 2023) of their actions? What drives the teacher to choose one path or another in an under-defined situation?

What difficulties and risks influence the success of the class’s joint movement? A comparative analysis of video recordings of two successful LT formulation lessons taught by the same teacher in different classrooms was conducted by G.A. Zuckerman (Zuckerman, 2007). She showed how a master teacher, with different instructional designs, built equally effective learning cooperation.

The task of this study is to examine not always successful or partially successful cases of organizing such interaction to find answers to the questions posed above.

The hypothesis is that in the situation of learning task (LT) formulation, the complex and contradictory nature of the orientations guiding teacher action is revealed to the greatest extent. The complete system of orientations presented in instructional manuals requires trial and further development under the concrete and shifting conditions of the lesson. In this process of trial, the teacher’s own supports for initiating joint action are formed. An additional hypothesis is that a necessary condition for maintaining the connectedness of student and teacher positions in a situation of joint action is the teacher’s distinctive authorial stance as the creator

¹ Different authors use the terms joint activity or joint action to denote, essentially, the same phenomenon; an analysis of the terminological distinctions is beyond the scope of this paper.

² LA — learning activity.

of the ideal³ — namely, a method of action that exists, for the time being, in symbolic-cultural forms and is reconstituted by the teacher in the “minds” of the students.

Materials and Methods

Participants and Research Procedures

The study involved participatory observation followed by video analysis of seven lessons devoted to the formulation of the same learning task (LT) in third-grade classrooms. These lessons were conducted by five female teachers (aged 28 to 54), each with 2 to 16 years of experience within the Elkonin–Davydov educational system. Three of the teachers were implementing this lesson for the first time; the other two had conducted it on two or more prior occasions. Two of the teachers were recorded teaching in two different classes. The main research method was a case study, within which an in-depth comparison was made of the teachers’ actions in organizing the formulation and initial solution of the LT. The analysis focused on how closely these actions followed the instructional design proposed in the teaching manual, what unexpected situations caused hesitation or unplanned teacher responses, and what teachers relied on when addressing their remarks and questions to students, among other aspects. This kind of analysis demanded that researchers understand “...the real situation as fully and concretely as possible, including its smallest individual features” (Lewin, 2005, p. 79).

The video analysis was supplemented by the results of a survey administered to 20 female teachers aged 23 to 65 who were attending professional development courses. Among them, 10 had prior classroom experience formulating the LT on discovering contour lines, and 10 did not. The teachers read a section of the instructional manual describing the formulation of the LT, then individually drafted a plan for their future actions, after which they answered a series of questions about how this task would be presented in class. The survey aimed to assess the manual’s potential for fostering a preliminary understanding of LT formulation and to identify any differences in how the manual’s content was interpreted by teachers with and without prior experience implementing the LT.

Research Material

The learning task used as the basis for this study involved the discovery of a method for recording in-

formation on a map using *contour lines* — lines representing equal values of elevation, temperature, humidity, etc. — in the “The World Around Us” course for third grade, taught using the Elkonin — Davydov system (Chudinova, Bukvareva, 2025). This is a general method applicable to a broad class of problems that require either identifying or marking various conditions on a map, such as atmospheric pressure, temperature, and so on, or selecting an optimal route that avoids elevation changes.

This LT was particularly well-suited to the research objectives because it clearly separates two stages:

1. **Problem framing**, which leads students to pose the task themselves — namely, the search for a method; and

2. **Work on solving the task**, which includes exploring and discussing the proposed solutions to identify the most effective one.

The LT emerges in the context of solving a *concrete-practical problem*: determining the shortest route between two points on a map where mountain elevations are not depicted. Students suggest options: traveling directly, going around the mountain depicted on the map, or a compromise between the two. The effectiveness of each option can be assessed by measuring the corresponding path lengths on a 3D model. The impossibility of determining the shortest route from a 2D image leads students to pose a task for discovering a general method for representing elevation on a map.

Students’ proposals are then discussed, analyzed, and transformed, eventually becoming fixed in a model using symbolic representation (contour lines on the map). This constructed model is subsequently tested on other tasks, such as:

- identifying habitats of animals and plants that live under different conditions of humidity and temperature,
- planning ship routes in bodies of water of varying depth, and so on.

Results

A survey of teachers following their independent work with the instructional manual showed that, overall, the manual adequately describes the lesson for setting and initiating the solution of a learning task (LT). After familiarizing themselves with the material, teachers understood the content of the task and were able to schematically envision their version of the upcoming

³ The ideal here is used in the sense developed by E.V. Ilyenkov (Ilyenkov, 2006):

“The material is indeed ‘transplanted’ into the human head—and not merely into the brain as a bodily organ of the individual—first, only in the case that it is expressed in immediately and universally significant forms of language (language here understood broadly, including the language of drawings, diagrams, models, etc.); second, if it is transformed into an active form of human activity with a real object (and not merely into a ‘term’ or ‘utterance’ as the material body of language). In other words, an object becomes idealized only where the capacity has been created to actively reconstruct this object (emphasis mine — E.Ch.), relying on the language of words and diagrams—where the capacity has been created to turn ‘word into deed,’ and through deed, into thing” (Ilyenkov, 2006, p. 21).

lesson. According to Fisher's phi and Cramér's V criteria, no significant differences were found in the questionnaire responses between the groups of inexperienced and experienced teachers (there was not a single question for which α was less than or equal to 0.05)⁴. Nonetheless, when reflecting on specific aspects of the future lesson, teachers attributed different meanings to particular actions. Teachers with classroom experience of implementing this task made their choices more reflectively. In contrast, inexperienced teachers tended to choose based on subjective preference ("like / dislike"). Teachers who had experience setting an LT reasoned as follows: "Option 3 is better because the teacher responds to children's answers without judgment and poses questions that guide the direction of their thinking. It's horizontal communication," or "In the third option, I would try to involve the rest of the students somehow. As it stands, it's just a dialogue with the teacher. Instead of the teacher's final line, something like 'and what then?' would be better."

Video analysis showed that the formulation and initial solution of the LT on discovering contour lines⁵ were carried out in different classes over the course of one or two lessons. The effectiveness⁶ of the task formulation varied. At the stage of the practical task — whose solution was supposed to reveal a contradiction and the need to denote elevation on a map — the effectiveness of the teacher's actions directly depended on how the task was phrased. If the teacher, when articulating the task, did not explicitly state (verbally or on the map) that there was a mountain between points A and B (three cases), students generated a multitude of unproductive versions, and the discussion became prolonged. If the task formulation essen-

tially matched the one proposed in the instructional manual, three solution options emerged (see Fig. 1).

The next stage, according to the manual, involved identifying the contradiction between the visible path length on the map and the actual distance. The diversity of students' proposed solutions stemmed from the lack of information about the mountain's height and shape.

Student A: It's very long here (draws a straight line).

Student B: Yes, it's REALLY long here, the mountain could be THIS tall. But here, it would be this tall (gestures). And climbing here would be really easy. So, like this, right?

A: Yeah, that's okay (draws a line around the edge of the mountain).

Not all children experienced doubt, so the next instructional task was to create a clash of perspectives by comparing the results of the group work. Most teachers asked the students themselves to carry out this comparison, though in one class the teacher summarized the outcomes independently.

According to the logic of the manual, selecting the correct solution required presenting the students with a three-dimensional model of the mountain. At this point, in 3 out of 7 cases, the teacher lost student attention by allowing continued verbal discussion without showing the model. Moreover, in 6 out of 7 cases, students voiced the idea: "Only a fool climbs a mountain," or "It's easier to go around..." — which necessitated returning to the original task. More experienced teachers responded quickly: "What task are we solving — finding the easier or the shorter route?" Less experienced teachers allowed students to become entangled in debate, which failed to produce a clear contrast between the length and "ease" of a path.

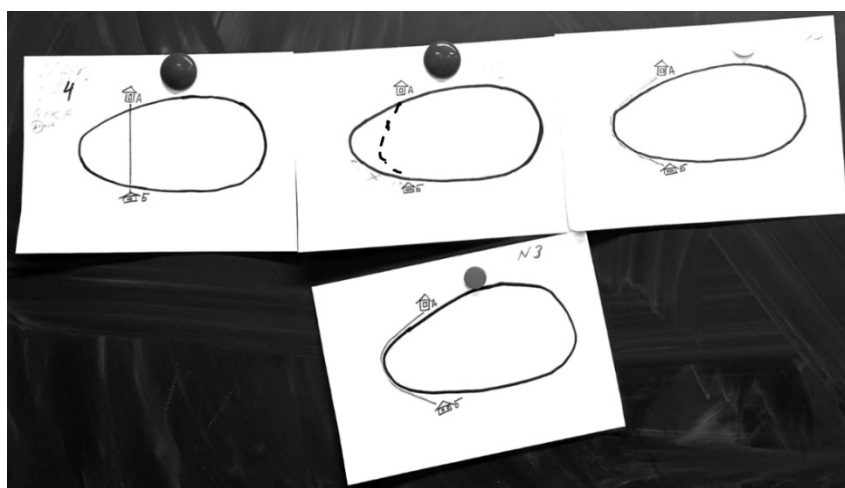


Fig. 1. Options for solving by four groups a concrete practical problem

⁴ The data were processed using IBM SPSS Statistics.

⁵ The actual discovery and consolidation of the method in symbolic form.

⁶ Since the study did not assess students' achievements in mastering the method of reading, representing, and using contour lines on map diagrams to solve problems, effectiveness here can only be discussed in terms of indirect indicators—such as the class's level of engagement in the inquiry, the teacher's satisfaction with the lesson, students' emotional responses, and the time spent.



Fig. 2. Pupils propose their own ways of comparing the lengths of the paths over the mountain and around (using their palms or using the thickness of their fingers as a yardstick, a ruler, and finally a string that the teacher takes out after the idea has emerged)

Path-length comparisons were also conducted in different ways. Sometimes students instantly came up with an effective method.

Teacher: So, which route is actually correct? Let's take a look. (pulls out the model)

Students: What's that? It's a mountain! (noise). It's huge... That was a top-down view... We didn't know it was that tall. That was a plan view.

T: Yes, maybe it was an optical illusion... How can we know if the mountain is tall enough that we need to...

S: Go around it.

T: And to do that, what do we need to do?

S: Measure it with a string⁷ or something else...

In other classes⁸, students needed between 2 and 12 minutes to find a solution (see Fig. 2). When this stage dragged on, teachers made different choices: some allowed students to continue proposing and testing ideas until a solution was found (4 out of 7), while others offered a hint — a measuring ribbon (2 out of 7).

Comparing the path lengths allowed students to choose the correct option. Those who had chosen the "incorrect" route justified themselves by saying, "But we didn't know the height of the mountain!" At that moment, experienced teachers returned students' work and suggested they think of how to indicate elevation on the map diagrams (in three lessons). Other teachers missed the moment when students had essentially formulated the problem themselves and prolonged the discussion — perhaps waiting for the exact wording of the goal they expected to hear. As a result, students' attention would drift. Group-based exploration of a

method quickly reoriented students back to the task.

One of the most difficult stages for teachers was the discussion of solution options proposed by the groups, during which a general method was to be identified (see Fig. 3). The organization of this discussion depended on the number, diversity, and quality of the students' proposed solutions. It was more challenging for those who had not established a clear sequence for reviewing solutions during group work and instead followed a formal rule — starting with the group that was ready to respond first. In such cases, it became impossible to follow a substantive logic that built upon earlier ideas and enabled their transformation.

A comparison of teacher questionnaire responses with the actual implementation of this step turned out to be revealing. One of the survey questions asked teachers to determine the order in which proposed solutions would be discussed and to justify their choice. Beginner teachers showed more variability in their sequencing choices (four out of six possible sequences) but provided more formal or no justifications at all. In contrast, experienced teachers made more content-based decisions: "from mountain drawing, to color, to lines," or "first what doesn't map well, then what doesn't convey the mountain's shape, and then what's closer to the truth," and so on.

The challenges of this stage were also due to the fact that not all student ideas could be anticipated, and teachers had to find ways to analyze these ideas spontaneously during the lesson⁹.

In one of the lessons, students did not come up with the idea of marking elevations on the map di-

⁷ The student is referring to comparing lengths by measuring with a piece of string. This method was introduced in mathematics at the beginning of the first year of study.

⁸ Except for one case, where the teacher chose their own path from the very beginning of the lesson, and this stage was omitted.

⁹ Instructional manuals, when describing the process of solving a learning task, include possible variants of student responses, but it is not possible to anticipate all of them.

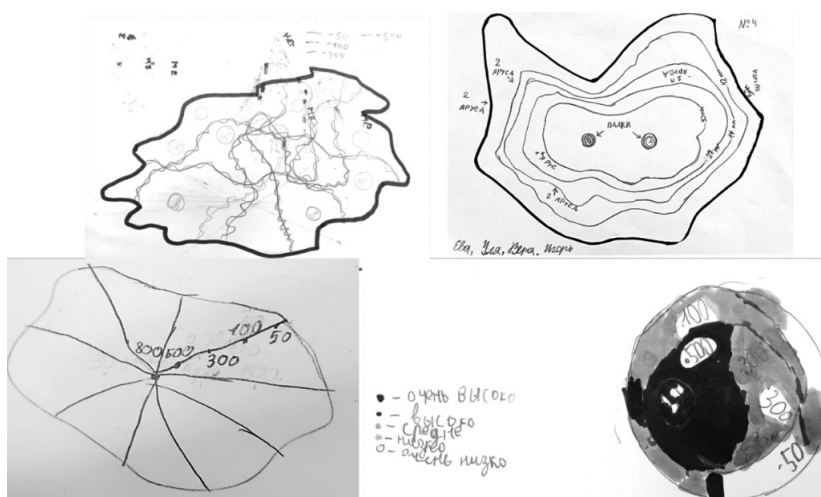


Fig. 3. Some ways of marking the height of a mountain on a map, suggested by students in one of the classes

agram using numbers — a decision that could have served as a starting point for the final stage of discovery. One class settled on using color to indicate elevation — something they had previously seen on physical maps but had not understood at the time. In such cases, teachers adjusted their strategy and shifted the discussion toward analyzing a ready-made contour map, so that students could grasp the meaning of contour lines and learn to use them for problem solving.

In one case, the teacher's lesson design significantly deviated from that proposed in the instructional manual¹⁰. Aiming to ensure maximum student independence, the teacher intended that in the second stage, the children themselves would place identical numbers on the map, which could then be connected with a line. However, framing the task in such a way that students would immediately record a series of identical numbers — rather than a single number representing an assumed mountain height at a single point — was only possible through direct control of the students' hands¹¹, due to their lack of a method for measuring elevation at different points.

Teacher: The elevation around this perimeter is 10 meters. Please enter the data on your sheet — five or six data points.

Since the idea of placing multiple numbers on the map had not emerged from the students themselves, they were unable to develop it further. The students lost the sense of the teacher's remarks and shifted to guessing his intentions.

Teacher: There's too much data. Can we somehow reduce it, but still understand what the mountain's elevation is in each area? Your suggestions. How can we combine this data?

Student: We should add it up... Multiply it... Measure it...

Teacher: Why? We need to represent it. How can we combine these elevations?..

In some discussions — those which could be qualified as successful based on their outcome — participants demonstrated close attention to shared actions and full mutual understanding. They responded to each other's remarks almost instantly. Remarks became shorter, more interlinked. The pace accelerated.

Student 1: Maybe it's not a tall mountain?!

Student 2: Or maybe it is tall!

Student 3: It's impossible to know!

Teacher: Why?

Student 4: We don't know what kind of mountain it is! It's just something drawn... (gestures a circle).

Teacher: So what are we missing on this map to know for sure?

Students: The height of the mountain!

In such moments, the teacher could respond not only to students' words but even to the facial expressions of silent students.

Teacher: Right! What do the numbers on this map represent?

Student: The elevations of the peaks.

Teacher: The elevations of the peaks. Okay. But something's bothering Sonya. What is it, Sonya?

Sonya: There are too many.

Student: Too many of the same!

By involving a silent student in the discussion, the teacher provoked the development and support of that student's thought by others and made that child's actions meaningful for themselves.

At such moments, the teacher's attention was entirely focused on the students' actions. One could ob-

¹⁰ Despite the failure of this particular design, an authorial stance on the part of the teacher in designing the logic of task-formulation lessons remains possible.

¹¹ V.A. Lvovsky (2024) writes about the widespread use today of "direct pedagogical actions."

serve that the teacher would temporarily, or partially, lose awareness of their own behavior — for example, starting to fiddle with their collar — while remaining acutely sensitive to what was happening with the students.

During such moments of the lesson, when addressing the class, teachers often used inclusive pronouns like “we” and “us”: “We’ve understood that this is important, right?”, “Can we consider this method effective?”, “That’s not an argument. How are we going to flatten the mountain?” and so on. At other points in the lesson (such as at the beginning or end, or in situations that could not be qualified as successful collaboration), the language shifted more frequently to “I,” “you,” or “we with you.”

If, when responding to students’ utterances, the teacher already knew their next move and was not prepared to diverge from it, then the meaning of the students’ preceding remarks did not become clear to them. For example, in the case below, the teacher elicited a range of ideas about why a character might choose to take a detour, but then directed the class toward a single, pre-planned option.

Teacher: Swamp. Snakes. Lake. And everything else you’ve mentioned. What else could be an obstacle?

Student: Mountains.

Teacher: Mountains. And now — attention! Anything could be there. At the very least, mark the mountains on the map.

The analysis of recordings showed that not all teachers were able to let go of additional, previously set goals during the lesson involving the formulation of a learning task — for instance, correcting students’ utterances for grammatical accuracy or requiring them to use a particular verbal formulation.

Since two teachers conducted the lesson twice in different classrooms, changes made to the lesson plan after the first implementation were recorded. These changes involved rewording the initial task, altering the sequence for reviewing solution options, increasing their openness to student suggestions, and giving students more opportunities to carry out their own trials. After the first lesson, teachers actively sought feedback, attempted to evaluate their own actions, and looked for correspondences between those actions and the students’ substantive activity.

Discussion of results

The data obtained confirm the main and additional hypotheses of the study.

The complex and contradictory nature of the orienting systems that guide teacher action manifests most clearly in the situation of formulating a learning task. Just like a driver who must simultaneously operate the vehicle’s systems and navigate the road,

the teacher, when organizing the formulation and solution of a learning task, must hold together two systems of orientation. One is the unfolding of the task’s subject-matter logic over time; the other is the intellectual-emotional landscape of the class. Neither of these systems can be fully predetermined in advance. Even though the teacher knows the final outcome of the search (a general method) and the approximate paths toward it, the solutions proposed by students demand immediate comprehension and the elaboration of a possible logic for their transformation. This confirms the observations of G.A. Zuckerman (Zuckerman, 2007).

The intellectual-emotional landscape of the class, much like the “military landscape” described by K. Lewin (Lewin, 2001), is in constant flux, and the teacher continuously assesses the current moment with varying degrees of success. The key orienting factors that influence the teacher’s choices include not only the students’ engagement in the search or, conversely, their loss of interest in the task, but also the extent to which the whole class participates in the inquiry, the time spent on discussion stages, and so forth.

The orienting systems described above can come into conflict in the teacher’s mind. For example, when the search for a method to measure the direct and roundabout paths drags on, teachers often feel a strong urge to stop it — after all, this has already been “covered” in math lessons, yet for some reason, the students don’t recall it now. However, the students are clearly engaged in the process. “Should I continue the discussion or stop it and give the children a hint? This isn’t the main point right now, and we won’t have enough time for the core task,” one teacher reflected after conducting the lesson.

Thus, teacher actions in the context of learning task (LT) formulation are inherently experimental. It is fundamentally impossible to structure them solely on the basis of a third-type orienting basis (Galperin, 2022). The issue is not that “everything looked perfect on paper, but someone forgot the ravines...” (L. Tolstoy), nor is it that the material and its mode of introduction fail to meet the “requirements of the method for solving learning tasks” (Davydov, 1999, p. 4). The instructional method is described with sufficient clarity to allow the teacher to build a lesson plan. Already at the planning stage, the teacher takes into account the students’ characteristics and abilities, the configuration of the classroom, the materials and tools used for formulating the task, prior “commitments,” and so forth. Yet, during implementation, these orientations shift again: students’ specific suggestions define the trajectory of the unfolding interaction, and the materials reveal previously unrecognized properties. In this experimental process, the teacher develops their own scaffolds for initiating joint

action, as evidenced by the “revisions” made to the lesson plan during repeated implementations¹².

Approaching the LT situation as joint action between teacher and students allows us to see the mutual orientation sustained by a shared object — an object that is in the process of formation or “revival”: a cultural method of action reappearing in students’ activity as an ideal. The goal and meaning, which originally resided solely in the teacher’s intention, begin to be shared by students through the process of formulating and solving the learning task. What arises is a situational non-fusion-yet-non-separation of the subjects of learning activity. A notable symptom of this on the teacher’s side is the frequent use of the pronoun “we” when addressing the class¹³.

Other signs of connectedness include the students’ engagement in the discussion, an increase in its intensity, and mutual understanding, expressed through the way utterances build on one another. The condition for maintaining this connectedness is the teacher’s sensitivity to student actions — an observation supported by G.A. Zuckerman (Zuckerman, 2007). But it should be added that what matters is sensitivity to student actions specifically in relation to the method being uncovered (or reconstructed). Just as a person’s perception during drawing or writing is concentrated at the tip of the pencil, so too is the teacher’s attention and perception, in successful moments of such lessons, focused on the point where students are transforming the conditions of the task.

Joint action does not arise if the teacher already knows their next response and is unwilling to deviate from it. In that case, student utterances lose their meaning, and the joint situation collapses.

On the teacher’s side, joint action can be understood as Authorial Productive Action (Elkonin, 2019). The teacher is not the author of the cultural model — the method of action. Nor is the teacher typically the author of the instructional method for learning task formulation. Nonetheless, we can speak of a distinctive authorial stance: the teacher as the re-creator of the ideal — the method of action historically fixed in symbolic-cultural forms and reanimated in students’ thinking through the process of solving the learning task.

The construction of the lesson plan and the initial implementation of the LT lesson represent the first movement in this productive action. It involves a “turn in experience,” a transformation of the known cultural method and the instructional technique proposed in the manual into a concrete lesson design for a specific class. At this stage, “implicit constraints on action” (Elkonin, 2019) become explicit and are either overcome or not; potential conflicts in the teacher’s orienting systems are either resolved or remain unresolved.

A learning task (LT) lesson can become a trap for

an experienced teacher accustomed to implementing their own designs. In trying to act as the author of the task formulation logic — while departing from the thoroughly tested sequence provided in the manual — the teacher risks entering a situation from which it is difficult to find a way out without resorting to “pushing through” their own intent, thereby suppressing student initiative.

The teacher’s authorship and artistry lie in retaining students’ utterances in working memory and constructing from them a storyline for unfolding the situation, one that aligns with the method being reconstructed. The risk involved, the need to engage all one’s cognitive resources (quick thinking, comprehension, memory span, attention distribution), the challenge of achieving a result, and the fusion with the class that occurs in joint action — all of this captivates the teacher and draws them into the unfolding of the activity. For the teacher, formulating a learning task is a test of professional fitness.

Success in LT formulation, on the teacher’s side, consists not only in the successful engagement of students in inquiry, but also in constructing meaning and internal scaffolds within their own exploratory action. When the teacher becomes aware of the experimental nature of their actions, it generates further questions about the plan and its implementation, prompts corrections, and makes it easier to forgive the almost inevitable flaws that arise in solving such a complex task. This is why the presence of another adult (through participatory observation) enhances the teacher’s awareness and the overall effectiveness of the LT lesson — something noted by other researchers as well (Vasiliev, Vakhromeeva, 2024).

Productive action is impossible without validation by its recipient (Elkonin B., 2019). The affirmation of the teacher’s action that initiates a situation of symbolic mediation is its incorporation into the field of student activity. To borrow the words of B.D. Elkonin, the potential of the teacher’s intent becomes the energy of revival — that is, the reconstruction and appropriation of the general method by the students. This is why signs of students discovering and internalizing the general method of action are so vital for the teacher.

Conclusion

In the design and implementation of an LT lesson, the teacher’s systems of orientation are complex and often contradictory, requiring real-time adaptation during the lesson itself. Through such experimentation, the teacher builds their own supports for initiating joint action. The conditions for maintaining

¹² Each subsequent task-formulation lesson is always a “repetition without repetition.”

¹³ Although this was noted in the observation, a definitive conclusion requires analysis of a larger number of cases.

connectedness between the teacher's and students' positions include both the teacher's sensitivity to the students' current actions in relation to the method being uncovered (or reconstructed), and the teacher's distinctive authorial stance — as the creator of an ideal method of action, historically encoded in cultural symbolic forms and revived in students' minds.

What motivates the teacher in the meaningful formulation of a learning task is the inherent risk — and simultaneously, the potential productivity — of authorial action. The hypothesis that only deliberate experimentation leads to developmental progress —

for both students and the teacher — has yet to be fully tested.

The empirical findings of this study help to concretize the concepts of *joint action* (D.B. Elkonin, 1989) and *authorial productive action* (B.D. Elkonin, 2019). These results and conclusions are significant for the preparation and retraining of teachers pursuing the path of activity-based pedagogy.

Limitations. The study sample size is adequate for the case study method, but the results and conclusions require confirmation and refinement in larger studies.

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Information about the authors

Elena V. Chudinova, PhD in Psychology, Leading Researcher, Federal Scientific Centre for Psychological and Interdisciplinary Research (Psychological Institute of the Russian Academy of Education), Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3923-781X>, E-mail: chudinova_e@mail.ru.

Информация об авторах

Елена Васильевна Чудинова, кандидат психологических наук, ведущий научный сотрудник, Федеральный научный центр психологических и междисциплинарных исследований (ФГБНУ «Психологический институт им. Л.В. Щукиной»), Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3923-781X>, e-mail: chudinova_e@email.ru

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Perfectionism of students in China, Kazakhstan and Russia in the paradigm of cultural-historical theory

B.S. Sheraly¹ ✉, T. Zhong², L.N. Rogaleva³, A.M. Kim¹, N.A. Aldabergenov⁴

¹ Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

² Henan Normal University, Henan, China

³ Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russian Federation

⁴ Turan University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

✉ sheralybizhan07@gmail.com

Abstract

Context and Relevance. The pursuit of higher education and a successful career has become a dominant trend among contemporary youth, closely linked to the rise of perfectionism in this demographic. Within the framework of cultural-historical theory, student perfectionism should be examined through the lens of the social situation of development. **Objective.** This study aims to compare the levels of perfectionism among students in China, Kazakhstan, and Russia, with a specific focus on gender differences. **Hypothesis.** It is hypothesized that perfectionism among students from China, Kazakhstan, and Russia will differ due to the presence of socio-cultural norms that have historically evolved within each society and are transmitted through upbringing. **Methods and Materials.** The sample comprised 249 students from China (54,6% male, 45,4% female), 298 from Kazakhstan (40,3% male, 59,7% female), and 190 from Russia (40,5% male, 59,5% female). The Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale (FMPS, Frost et al., 1990) was employed. **Results.** The study revealed differences between maladaptive and adaptive perfectionism traits in students across different countries. Chinese students exhibited significantly higher levels of parental criticism, while Kazakh students reported higher parental expectations, underscoring the pivotal role of cultural norms transmitted by older generations. Gender comparisons revealed that adaptive perfectionism was significantly higher among male students in China and Russia compared to their female counterparts; no such differences were observed in Kazakhstan. **Conclusions.** The significance of sociocultural factors in the development of student perfectionism has been empirically confirmed. The results may inform the design of psychological and pedagogical interventions for students from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Keywords: cross-cultural comparison, students, perfectionism, China, Kazakhstan, Russia

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Перфекционизм студентов Китая, Казахстана и России в парадигме культурно-исторической теории

Б.С. Шералы¹ ✉, Т. Чжун², Л.Н. Рогалева³, А.М. Ким¹,
Н.А. Алдабергенов⁴

¹ Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби, Алматы, Казахстан

² Хэнаньский педагогический университет, Хэнань, Китай

³ Уральский федеральный университет, Екатеринбург, Российская Федерация

⁴ Университет «Туран», Алматы, Казахстан

✉ sheralybizhan07@gmail.com

Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. Стремление молодежи к получению высшего образования и построению успешной карьеры становится доминирующей тенденцией в современном обществе и тесно связано с ростом перфекционизма в молодежной среде. В контексте культурно-исторической теории перфекционизм студентов должен рассматриваться с позиции социальной ситуации развития. **Цель.** Провести сравнение перфекционизма студентов в Китае, Казахстане и России в зависимости от пола. **Гипотеза.** Перфекционизм студентов из Китая, Казахстана и России будет иметь различия в силу наличия социокультурных норм, исторически сложившихся в обществе и передающихся в процессе воспитания. **Методы и материалы.** Выборку составили 249 студентов из Китая (54,6% мужчин, 45,4% женщин), 298 студентов из Казахстана (40,3% мужчин, 59,7% женщин), 190 студентов из России (40,5% мужчин, 59,5% женщин). Использовалась Многомерная шкала перфекционизма (FMPS, Frost, Marten, Lahart, Rosenblate, 1990). **Результаты.** Выявлены различия в характеристиках дезадаптивного и адаптивного перфекционизма у студентов из разных стран. Так, в выборке китайских студентов достоверно выше показатель родительской критики ($p \leq 0,001$), а в группе казахстанских студентов достоверно выше показатель родительских ожиданий ($p \leq 0,001$), что указывает на значимую роль культурных норм, транслируемых со стороны старших поколений. Сравнение перфекционизма студентов — мужчин и женщин для каждой из стран показало, что в выборках китайских и российских студентов-мужчин «адаптивный перфекционизм» достоверно выше, чем в выборках женщин, в то время как в казахстанской выборке различий не выявлено. **Выводы.** Доказана значимость социокультурного фактора в развитии перфекционизма у студентов. Результаты исследования могут быть использованы при разработке стратегий психолого-педагогической работы со студентами из разных стран.

Ключевые слова: кросс-культурное сравнение, студенты, перфекционизм, Китай, Казахстан, Россия

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Introduction

The study of perfectionism among students has gained increasing relevance due to shifting priorities among modern youth, who are increasingly oriented toward achieving high standards and building successful careers (Panina, 2020; Egan et al., 2024; Tian, Hou, 2024). This trend is driven by prevailing societal attitudes toward success and achievement (Stepanova, Smirnova, Blazevich, 2023), heightened competition (Cox, Enns, Clara, 2002), the influence of social networks (Yuzhakova, Zhelonkina, Basalaeva, 2017; Padoa, Pellegrini, Iafrate, 2018; Shu, 2023), and elevated parental expectations, which often translate into personal perfectionism among young people (Camp et al., 2022).

Research on student perfectionism is grounded in multidimensional models, proposed by R. Frost et al. (Frost et al., 1993), who identified key dimensions of perfectionism such as personal standards, organization, concern over mistakes; doubts about their own actions; parental expectations, and parental criticism. Another model by G. Flett and P. Hewitt (Flett et al., 1998) delineates three types of perfectionism: self-oriented, other-oriented, and socially prescribed perfectionism. According to Hewitt, self-oriented perfectionism, which aligns with Frost's "personal standards" and "organization," is generally considered adaptive, as it does not entail negative consequences for the individual. In contrast, socially prescribed perfectionism, akin to maladaptive perfectionism, is characterized by the belief that one must meet the high expectations imposed by others (Flett, Hewitt et al., 1998).

Empirical studies have demonstrated that socially prescribed perfectionism is associated with increased risk of depression (Haddadi, Tamannaifar, 2022; Liu et al., 2024), social anxiety (Gavrichenko, Bubnovskaya, 2021; Wu et al., 2022), and diminished psychological well-being among students (Rusina, 2024; Tarasova, 2021; Xu, 2023).

Conversely, adaptive perfectionism is positively correlated with high self-esteem, low anxiety, and enhanced academic integration

(Permyakova, Tyukalova, Permyakov, 2024; Siah et al. 2022). Personal attributes such as self-esteem, resilience, perseverance, and self-efficacy can mitigate the negative effects of high levels of perfectionism and support psychological well-being even if level of perfectionism is high (Pham et al., 2023).

Despite the breadth of research on student perfectionism, most studies have adopted a monocultural approach. However, the growing prevalence of maladaptive perfectionism (Liu et al., 2024), — often arising from external pressures such as societal or familial expectations — highlights the need for cross-cultural investigations (Mikhailova, Farennikova, 2022; Permyakova, Shevelova, 2015).

The present study aims to compare perfectionism among students in China, Kazakhstan, and Russia, with particular attention to gender differences. The research is grounded in cultural-historical theory, which emphasizes the importance of the "social situation of development" (Vygotsky, 1984). This concept encompasses ethnic, economic, and cultural contexts, as well as a broad spectrum of social and familial norms and values that shape the development of perfectionism among youth in different cultural and social environments (Kholmogorova, Garanyan, Tsatsulin, 2019).

The 'cultural dimension', as articulated in cultural-historical theory, underscores the social determinants of psychological development through the mechanism of 'interiorization' (Kholmogorova, 2016).

Accordingly, the study hypothesizes that student perfectionism will vary primarily due to cultural norms historically embedded in each society and transmitted through education and upbringing.

The specific hypotheses are as follows:

1. There are differences in perfectionism indicators among Chinese, Russian, and Kazakh students.

2. There are gender-based differences in perfectionism among students from China, Russia, and Kazakhstan.

3. There are differences in perfectionism between male and female students within each country: China, Kazakhstan, and Russia.

Materials and Methods

Instrument. The Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale (FMPS; Frost, Marten, Lahart, & Rosenblate, 1990) (Zolotareva, 2018; Stöber, 1998) was utilized. The English version was translated into Russian and Chinese using the back-translation method. Internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha) for adaptive perfectionism was 0.946 (Chinese context) and 0.849 (Russian context); for maladaptive perfectionism, 0.943 and 0.780, respectively.

Procedure. The survey was conducted online after obtaining informed consent from all participants.

Statistical Analysis. The Mann-Whitney U test was used for pairwise comparisons between two independent samples, while the Kruskal-Wallis H test was employed for comparisons among three groups as a more common test for three and more independent samples. Descriptive statistics included means and standard deviations. All analyses were performed using SPSS version 26.0.

Participants. The study included 737 students: 249 from China (Henan Pedagogical University), 298 from Kazakhstan (Turan University, Al-Farabi Kazakh National Uni-

versity), and 190 from Russia (Ural Federal University) (Table 1).

Results

A comparative analysis of perfectionism among students from the three countries revealed significant differences in both maladaptive and adaptive dimensions (Table 2).

Parental Expectations: Kazakh students reported significantly higher parental expectations ($H = 70,165, p \leq 0,001; M = 16.17 \pm 4,10$). Pairwise comparisons confirmed statistically significant differences between Kazakh and both Chinese and Russian students ($p < 0,05$), as well as between Chinese and Russian students ($p < 0,001$).

Parental Criticism: Chinese students exhibited significantly higher parental criticism ($H = 22,743, p < 0,001; M = 10,77 \pm 4,09$), with significant differences compared to Kazakh ($p < 0,001$) and Russian ($p < 0,01$) students. No significant difference was observed between Kazakh and Russian students.

These findings suggest that socio-cultural and familial traditions exert a stronger influence on maladaptive perfectionism among stu-

Table 1

Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample

Students	Gender	Number	Age
China	Men	136 (54,6%)	19,24 ± 1,05
	Women	113 (45,4%)	19,00 ± 1,13
Kazakhstan	Men	120 (40,3%)	19,00 ± 0,79
	Women	178 (59,7%)	19,80 ± 0,80
Russia	Men	89 (40,5%)	19,50 ± 1,34
	Women	101(59,5%)	19,00 ± 1,07

Table 2

The results of a comparative analysis of perfectionism of students from China, Kazakhstan and Russia

Параметры / Parameters	China (N = 249)		Kazakhstan (N = 298)		Russia (N = 190)		Kruskal–Wallis	p
	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ		
1. Concern over Mistakes	24,05	9,29	25,13	6,53	24,45	6,68	1,286	0,526
2. Doubts about actions	12,43	3,63	12,43	3,03	12,48	2,89	0,256	0,88
3. arental Expectations	15,27	4,71	16,17	4,10	13,11	3,30	70,165	0,001
4. Parental criticism	10,77	4,09	9,24	3,53	9,55	3,20	22,743	0,001
5. Personal Standards	22,65	5,19	23,57	4,39	19,89	4,99	67,638	0,001
6. Organization	22,88	4,60	23,75	3,65	22,11	4,58	20,248	0,001
7. Adaptive perfectionism	45,53	8,40	47,32	6,88	42,00	8,33	54,624	0,001
8. Maladaptive perfectionism	62,52	19,32	62,97	13,46	59,59	12,67	5,65	0,059

dents in China and Kazakhstan compared to Russia.

Adaptive Perfectionism: Kazakh students demonstrated higher levels of adaptive perfectionism, particularly in ‘personal standards’ (N = 67,638, $p < 0,001$) and ‘organization’ (N = 20,248, $p < 0,001$). By pairwise comparison using U Mann-Whitney test these indicators were significantly higher than those observed among Chinese ($p < 0,05$) and Russian ($p < 0,001$) students. Chinese students also scored higher than Russian students ($p < 0,001$).

‘Parental criticism’ indicator (H=22,743, $p \leq 0,001$) was significantly more pronounced among Chinese students (M = 10,77±4,09). Pairwise comparison shows more pronounced level among Chinese students in comparison with Kazakh ($p \leq ,001$) and Russian students ($p \leq 0,01$), but no difference between Kazakh and Russian students has been identified. Therefore, it can be concluded that the factor of socio-cultural and family traditions has a greater impact on the indicators of destructive perfectionism of students from China and Kazakhstan than from Russia.

The data on adaptive perfectionism indicate a higher level among Kazakhstani students in terms of ‘personal standards’ (N = 67,638, $p < 0,001$), and ‘organization’ (N = 20,248, $p < 0,001$). A pairwise comparison using the Mann-Whitney U-test has revealed confirmation of these data, the value of adaptive perfectionism in Kazakh students is higher than in Chinese ($p < 0.05$) and Russian ($p < 0.001$) ones. Higher indicators in the Chinese sample compared with the Russian one ($p < 0.001$) have also been revealed.

The elevated adaptive perfectionism among Kazakh students may reflect greater goal awareness, possibly influenced by the requirement to work in their field after graduation, which accompanies university grants. For Chinese students, higher personal standards in comparison with Russian students may be attributed to intense societal competition in Chinese society.

To test the second hypothesis, a comparison was made of the perfectionism of students from China, Russia and Kazakhstan depending on gender (Table 3).

Table 3 presents the results of a comparative analysis of indicators of perfectionism among male students.

As it can be seen from Table 3, the data are similar to those obtained from the general sample. In a pairwise comparison using the Mann-Whitney U-test, the most pronounced differences were found in the indicators of ‘parental expectations’ ($p < 0,001$) and ‘parental criticism’ ($p < 0,01$) among Chinese male students in comparison with Russian ones.

Therefore, we can conclude that among male students, Chinese participants were most susceptible to social pressure, particularly parental criticism, reflecting traditional Chinese values emphasizing respect for authority, achievement and success (Li, 2001).

Adaptive perfectionism did not differ between Kazakh and Chinese male students but was higher in both groups compared to Russian males, primarily due to “personal standards” ($p < 0,001$).

Overall, both adaptive and maladaptive perfectionism were higher among male students from Kazakhstan and China than among their Russian counterparts.

Table 3

Results of a comparative analysis of perfectionism among male students from China, Kazakhstan and Russia

Parameters	China (N = 136)		Kazakhstan (N = 120)		Russia (N = 89)		Kruskal–Wallis	p
	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ		
1. Concern over Mistakes	24,88	9,49	24,69	6,27	24,25	6,91	0,984	0,612
2. Doubts about actions	12,49	3,49	12,27	2,95	12,05	3,06	1,152	0,562
3. Parental Expectations	16,04	4,67	16,15	4,07	13,67	3,00	28,868	0,001
4. Parental criticism	11,07	4,14	9,44	3,49	9,58	3,12	14,577	0,001
5. Personal Standards	23,44	5,31	24,13	4,69	21,11	4,68	23,232	0,001
6. Organization	23,60	4,34	23,72	3,92	23,36	4,80	0,751	0,687
7. Adaptive perfectionism	47,04	8,21	47,84	7,69	44,47	8,12	9,843	0,007
8. Maladaptive perfectionism	64,47	19,25	62,55	13,48	59,55	12,42	6,334	0,042

A comparison of data on perfectionism among female students from China, Russia and Kazakhstan is presented in Table 4.

Among female students, Kazakh participants reported the highest parental expectations ($H = 50,205$, $p < 0,001$), while Chinese students reported the highest parental criticism ($H = 8,274$, $p < 0,05$), consistent with findings from the general and male samples. Consequently, the data once again confirm that differences in perfectionism are mediated by socio-cultural factors and family traditions.

At the same time, we can note that when pairwise comparing the Mann-Whitney U-test in a sample of Kazakhstani female students, the indicator “concern anxiety about mistakes” is significantly higher than that of Chinese female students ($p < 0,05$), which may mean that they have a fear of failure, which arises when focusing on high demands from society, (the cultural phenomenon of ‘uyat’, ‘shame to commit an inappropriate, erroneous act’, widespread among women populations in the Kazakh environment).

According to the indicators of ‘adaptive perfectionism’, a pair comparison has revealed that they are higher in the Kazakh sample of female students compared to Chinese and Russian ($p < 0,01$).

In our opinion, the obtained data are very significant, as they indicate that the influence of cultural factors on student perfectionism does not depend on the gender of students.

To test the third hypothesis, we conducted a comparative analysis of the perfectionism of students from each country depending on gender (Table 5).

Table 5 presents the results of a comparative analysis of indicators of perfectionism among Chinese students depending on gender.

From the table 5 it follows that there are significant gender differences among Chinese male and female students in terms of the following indicators: “parental expectations” ($U=5917$, $p \leq 0,01$), “personal standards” ($U=6065$, $p \leq 0,01$), “organization” ($U=6260.5$, $p \leq 0,05$), “adaptive perfectionism” ($U=6097.5$, $p \leq 0,01$).

Table 4

Results of a comparative analysis of perfectionism among female student from China, Kazakhstan and Russia

Parameters	China (N = 113)		Kazakhstan (N = 178)		Russia (N = 101)		Kruskal–Wallis	p
	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ		
1. Concern over Mistakes	23,05	8,99	25,43	6,71	24,62	6,50	6,058	0,048
2. Doubts about actions	12,36	3,80	12,53	3,09	12,86	2,68	1,437	0,488
3. Parental Expectations	14,34	4,61	16,19	4,14	12,61	3,48	50,205	0,001
4. Parental criticism	10,42	4,01	9,10	3,57	9,53	3,29	8,274	0,016
5. Personal Standards	21,70	4,90	23,20	4,14	18,82	5,03	51,215	0,001
6. Organization	22,01	4,77	23,76	3,47	21,00	4,09	33,862	0,001
7. Adaptive perfectionism	43,71	8,31	46,97	6,27	39,82	7,94	57,08	0,001
8. Maladaptive perfectionism	60,17	19,23	63,25	13,49	59,62	12,95	4,274	0,118

Table 5

Results of a comparative analysis of Chinese students’ perfectionism depending on gender

Parameters	Men, China (N = 136)		Women, China (N = 113)		Mann–Whitney	p
	M	σ	M	σ		
1. Concern over Mistakes	24,88	9,49	23,05	8,99	6696	0,080
2. Doubts about actions	12,49	3,49	12,36	3,80	7627,5	0,920
3. Parental Expectations	16,04	4,67	14,34	4,61	5917	0,002
4. Parental criticism	11,07	4,14	10,42	4,01	6943,5	0,189
5. Personal Standards	23,44	5,31	21,70	4,90	6065	0,004
6. Organization	23,60	4,34	22,01	4,77	6260,5	0,012
7. Adaptive perfectionism	47,04	8,21	43,71	8,31	6097,5	0,005
8. Maladaptive perfectionism	64,47	19,25	60,17	19,23	6654	0,069

So, we can conclude that male Chinese students have higher perfectionism compared to women, and they have a greater tendency to perceive parents as people delegating very high expectations.

Table 6 presents the results of a comparative analysis of perfectionism indicators of male and female students from Kazakhstan.

According to Table 6, there are no statistically significant differences in indicators of perfectionism between Kazakhstani male and female students.

Table 7 presents the results of a comparative analysis of perfectionism indicators among Russian students, depending on gender.

According to the Table 7, significant differences are observed in the indicator ‘doubts about the course of action’ ($U=3623$, $p\leq 0,05$), which is higher among Russian female students ($M=12,86\pm 2,68$), the indicator ‘parental expectations’ ($U=3451$, $p\leq 0,01$) is significantly higher among male students. Consequently, we can state that in the Russian culture, destructive perfectionism in men is enhanced by an external factor, due to meeting the expecta-

tions of others, while in women it is due to an internal one, related to self-assessment of their activities.

According to the indicators ‘personal standards’ ($U=3307$, $p\leq 0,01$), ‘organization’ ($U=3316$, $p\leq 0,01$) and ‘adaptive perfectionism’ ($U=2979,5$, $p\leq 0,001$), the data are significantly higher among Russian male students compared to women.

Discussion

Perfectionism continues to draw significant scholarly interest due to the growing prevalence of socially prescribed perfectionism among students, which is increasingly linked to adverse psychological outcomes. In our cross-cultural study, we identified meaningful differences in maladaptive perfectionism across student samples from China, Kazakhstan, and Russia.

These findings align with the cultural-historical perspective, which posits that personality development is shaped by internalized

Table 6

Results of a comparative analysis of perfectionism of Kazakhstani students depending on gender

Parameters	Men, Kazakhstan (N = 120)		Women, Kazakhstan (N = 178)		Mann–Whitney	p
	M	σ	M	σ		
1. Concern over Mistakes	24,69	6,27	25,43	6,71	10017,5	0,363
2. Doubts about actions	12,27	2,95	12,53	3,09	10188,5	0,498
3. Parental Expectations	16,15	4,07	16,19	4,14	10577	0,887
4. Parental criticism	9,44	3,49	9,10	3,57	10000	0,349
5. Personal Standards	24,13	4,69	23,20	4,14	9438	0,088
6. Organization	23,72	3,92	23,76	3,47	10575,5	0,886
7. Adaptive perfectionism	47,84	7,69	46,97	6,27	9901,5	0,285
8. Maladaptive perfectionism	62,55	13,48	63,25	13,49	10224	0,532

Table 7

Results of a comparative analysis of Russia students’ perfectionism depending on gender

Parameters	Men, Russia (N = 89)		Women, Russia (N = 101)		Mann–Whitney	p
	M	σ	M	σ		
1. Concern over Mistakes	24,25	6,91	24,62	6,50	4308	0,621
2. Doubts about actions	12,05	3,06	12,86	2,68	3623	0,020
3. Parental Expectations	13,67	3,00	12,61	3,48	3451	0,006
4. Parental criticism	9,58	3,12	9,53	3,29	4470	0,948
5. Personal Standards	21,11	4,68	18,82	5,03	3307	0,002
6. Organization	23,36	4,80	21,00	4,09	3316	0,002
7. Adaptive perfectionism	44,47	8,12	39,82	7,94	2979	0,001
8. Maladaptive perfectionism	59,55	12,42	59,62	12,95	4453,5	0,914

cultural norms, transforming into higher psychological functions through social mediation (Rubtsov, Zaretsky, Maidansky, 2024).

Chinese male students exhibited elevated levels of “parental criticism” — a dimension associated with striving for flawlessness and the pressure to meet high external standards (Chan, 2012; Lv et al., 2024). In contrast, Kazakhstani students of both genders reported heightened ‘parental expectations,’ reflecting a stronger orientation toward meeting externally imposed goals.

Among Kazakhstani female students, this external orientation was accompanied by significantly higher concern over making mistakes. This may be influenced by the culturally embedded construct of ‘uyat’ — a concept of shame associated with social missteps, particularly salient in women’s upbringing within Kazakh society.

These patterns resonate with previous research indicating that Kazakhstani female students tend to exhibit elevated levels of socially prescribed and self-oriented perfectionism, which becomes increasingly other-oriented with age (Bapaeva, Arganchiyeva, 2022).

Our results also revealed that destructive perfectionism — particularly parental criticism and parental expectations — was more pronounced in Chinese and Kazakhstani samples, respectively, compared to Russian students. This supports Vygotsky’s genetic law of cultural development, which asserts that ‘every function in the cultural development of a child appears on the scene twice, in two planes, first socially, then psychologically, first between people, as an intersychic category, then inside the child, as a category intrapsychic’ (Vygotsky, 1960, p. 197–198).

Within-country gender comparisons further highlighted that ‘adaptive perfectionism’ scores were higher among male students in both the Chinese and Russian cohorts. This is consistent with prior findings that male students often report stronger adaptive perfectionism traits (Yuzhakova, Zhelonkina, Basaeva, 2017).

Among Kazakhstani students, elevated adaptive perfectionism may reflect a more deliberate goal-setting process driven by the national educational context. Given the competi-

tive university admissions system and strong link between academic choice and future career paths, students may develop more intentional forms of perfectionism aimed at self-regulation and achievement.

Conclusion

1. The formation of perfectionism among university students is shaped by culturally specific socio-educational environments. Distinct cultural contexts in China, Kazakhstan, and Russia contribute to meaningful differences in perfectionistic tendencies.

2. Chinese students demonstrated heightened levels of parental criticism, reflecting internalized pressure to meet idealized standards. In contrast, Kazakhstani students — both male and female — reported stronger parental expectations, suggesting a greater emphasis on fulfilling external demands. These forms of maladaptive perfectionism appear to be culturally embedded, rooted in value systems transmitted through family upbringing and reinforced by societal norms.

3. Gender-based differences in adaptive perfectionism were observed in the Chinese and Russian samples, with male students scoring higher. No significant gender differences were found in the Kazakhstani sample, possibly indicating a more uniform cultural influence across genders.

4. These findings have practical implications for educators and university psychological services. Awareness of cultural patterns in perfectionism can inform the design of culturally sensitive psychological support strategies and educational interventions aimed at promoting student well-being.

5. Cultural-historical theory provides a robust theoretical lens for interpreting cross-cultural variations in perfectionism, emphasizing the mediating role of social experience and internalized cultural values in personality development.

Limitations and prospects for further research

This study is limited by its sample composition, which includes students from only

four universities across three countries. While the findings offer valuable insights, they may not be fully generalizable to broader student populations. Future research should expand the sample to include a more diverse range of institutions and regions, allowing for a more

nuanced analysis of how cultural norms shape perfectionistic orientations. Longitudinal designs and qualitative methods may further enrich our understanding of the developmental trajectories and lived experiences of perfectionism in different cultural contexts.

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Information about the authors

Bizhan S. Sheraly, Doctoral student, Chair of General and Applied Psychology, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-3291-4324>, e-mail: sheralybizhan07@gmail.com

Tao Zhong, PhD in Psychology, lecturer, Henan Normal University, Xinxiang, Henan, China; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1021-5577>, e-mail: zhong_research@hotmail.com

Liudmila N. Rogaleva, Candidate of Science (Psychology), Associate Professor, the Department of Theory of Physical Education, Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6870-9409>, e-mail: l.n.rogaleva@urfu.ru

Alla M. Kim, D.Sc. in Psychology, Professor, Chair of General and Applied Psychology, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-8813-5417>, e-mail: allakim2013@gmail.com

Nurlan A. Aldabergenov, director of the Graduate School of Business, Faculty of Business Administration, Turan University, Almaty, Kazakhstan, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0911-5632>, e-mail: nurzhoh-84@mail.ru

Информация об авторах

Бижан Сейжанулы Шералы, докторант кафедры общей и прикладной психологии, факультет философии и политологии, Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби (КазНУ), Алматы, Казахстан, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-3291-4324>, e-mail: sheralybizhan07@gmail.com

Тяо Чжун, PhD психологии, преподаватель, Хэнаньский педагогический университет, Синьсян, Хенан, Китай. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1021-5577>, e-mail: tzhong_research@hotmail.com

Людмила Николаевна Рогалева, кандидат психологических наук, доцент кафедры теории физической культуры, Уральский федеральный университет (ФГАОУ ВО УрФУ), Екатеринбург, Российская Федерация. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6870-9409>, e-mail: l.n.rogaleva@urfu.ru

Алла Михайловна Ким, доктор психологических наук, профессор кафедры общей и прикладной психологии, факультет философии и политологии, Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби (КазНУ), Алматы, Казахстан, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-8813-5417>, e-mail: allakim2013@gmail.com

Нурлан Азатович Алдабергенов, директор высшей школы бизнеса, факультет делового администрирования, Университет Туран, г. Алматы, Казахстан, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0911-5632>, e-mail: nurzhoh-84@mail.ru

Contribution of the authors

Sheraly B.S., Rogaleva L.N., Kim A.M. — research ideas; annotation, writing and design of the manuscript; planning the research; control over the research.

Sheraly B.S., Zhong T., Aldabergenov N.A. — data collection and analysis; conducting the experiment; visualization of research results, application of statistical methods for data analysis.

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Use of the Rorschach test in the works of A.R. Luria

E.Yu. Nikonova¹ ✉, **G.E. Rupchev**^{1,2}, **T.V. Akhutina**¹

¹ Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russian Federation

² The Mental Health Research Center, Moscow, Russian Federation

✉ eniconova@mail.ru

Abstract

The article is devoted to the analysis of the only surviving protocol of the Rorschach test, which was conducted by A.R. Luria as part of aphasia research. The study, performed in 1933, was aimed at investigating the role of speech in behavior in patients with organic brain lesions.

Patient Avt. suffered from amnesic aphasia, unilateral hemianopsia, and disorders of the cognitive and emotional spheres associated with the late stage of neurosyphilis. A.R. Luria made a detailed individual plan of examination of Avt. and used the Rorschach test cards to reveal the patient's ability for voluntary speech and analysis of visual images.

The article presents a transcription and modern interpretation of Auth's protocol, which demonstrates the peculiarities of the patient's perception and thinking: fragmentary images, difficulties in integrating visual stimuli, internal speech disorders, as well as reliance on autobiographical memories and a tendency to "self-recognition". Hemianopsia hampered the perception of symmetrical Rorschach patches, and cognitive impairment limited the ability to think coherently and form coherent images. Nevertheless, individual patient responses indicated that basic perception was preserved, which was analyzed in detail. The analysis revealed increased anxiety, dysphoria, and hypochondria in Auth's responses.

The final part of the article discusses subsequent references to the Rorschach test in A.R. Luria's works and his negative attitude toward using this technique in neuropsychology, given its greater suitability for analyzing the emotional and personal sphere.

Keywords: Rorschach test, A.R. Luria, L.S. Vygotsky, history of neuropsychology

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Использование теста Роршаха в работах А.Р. Лурии

Е.Ю. Никонова¹ ✉, **Г.Е. Рупчев**^{1,2}, **Т.В. Ахутина**¹

¹ Московский государственный университет, Москва, Российская Федерация

² Научный центр психического здоровья, Москва, Российская Федерация

✉ eniconova@mail.ru

Резюме

Статья посвящена анализу единственного сохранившегося протокола теста Роршаха, который был проведен А.Р. Лурией в рамках исследования афазии. Исследование, выполненное в 1933 году, было направлено на изучение роли речи в поведении у пациентов с органическими поражениями мозга.

Больной Авт. страдал от амнестической афазии, односторонней гемианопсии и нарушений познавательной и эмоциональной сфер, связанных с поздней стадией нейросифилиса. А.Р. Лурия составил

подробный индивидуальный план обследования Авт. и использовал карты теста Роршаха для выявления способности пациента к произвольной речи и анализа зрительных образов.

В статье представлена расшифровка и современная интерпретация протокола Авт., которая демонстрирует особенности восприятия и мышления больного: фрагментарность образов, трудности интеграции зрительных стимулов, нарушения внутренней речи, а также опору в ответах на автобиографические воспоминания и склонность к «Я-узнаванию». Гемианопсия затрудняла восприятие симметричных пятен Роршаха, а нарушения познавательной сферы ограничивали способность к последовательному мышлению и формированию целостных образов. Тем не менее, отдельные ответы пациента свидетельствовали о сохранности базового восприятия, что стало предметом детального анализа. Анализ выявил в ответах Авт. повышенную тревожность, дисфорию и ипохондрию. Заключительная часть статьи описывает последующие упоминания теста Роршаха в работах А.Р. Лурии, а также его негативное отношение к использованию методики в нейропсихологии, обусловленное ее большей пригодностью для анализа эмоционально-личностной сферы.

Ключевые слова: тест Роршаха, А.Р. Лурия, Л.С. Выготский, история нейропсихологии

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Introduction

The Laboratory of Neuropsychology at the Faculty of Psychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, holds A.R. Luria's archive, which includes a folder containing case materials dated 1929–1934 and related to a patient referred to as Avt. These materials were partially described in a study by T.V. Akhutina and A.R. Agris, which focused on Luria's analysis of semantic aphasia (Akhutina & Agris, 2018).

Most records from the 1930s have not survived, making this folder a valuable source for the history of neuropsychology. Among its contents is a record of the Rorschach test administered to patient Avt. on February 14, 1933 – the only known instance of A.R. Luria using this test. In this article, we present and analyze this record and review Luria's other references to the Rorschach test in his work.

The beginning of the study of aphasia in A.R. Luria's works

Beginning in the mid-1920s, L.S. Vygotsky and A.R. Luria investigated higher mental functions. In his 1930 report *On Psychological Systems* (October 9), Vygotsky outlined two major research trajectories – genetic and pathological (Vygotsky, 1982, p. 109).

In 1926, Luria began working at the Clinic of Nervous Diseases at the 1st Moscow State University, where he initially studied behavioral mechanisms in neurosis using the method of conjugated motor reactions. He was later joined by Vygotsky. Both researchers focused on the role of speech in the behavior of patients with organic brain damage, as well as in the development of children with disabilities (Luria, 1982).

Vygotsky believed that language played a central role in the development of higher mental functions.

Luria later wrote: “He wanted to show that aphasia affected specific aspects of mediated cognitive activity. Although the hypotheses related to aphasia were somewhat naive, the underlying idea – that a sound psychological theory is needed to explain behavioral disturbances in neurological patients – became foundational for the development of neuropsychology in the USSR” (Luria, 1982, p. 43).

The examination of patient Avt.

The materials concerning patient Avt. focused on speech analysis and the development of methods for its assessment. They included trials conducted in 1929 by clinic physicians, which examined neurological status, impairments in vision, hearing, motor function, and psychological profiling according to G.I. Rossolimo. These assessments followed a research protocol used at the clinic to evaluate mental status (*The Course of Nervous Diseases*, 1930). In his scientific autobiography, A.R. Luria wrote: “At the Moscow Institute of Neurology named after G.I. Rossolimo, there were a number of tests for clinical diagnosis, similar to the later Wechsler scales. However, this battery of tests failed to explain the psychological mechanisms disrupted by neurological disorders” (Luria, 1982, p. 43).

Between May 27 and July 1, 1929, Luria conducted multiple daily assessments of patient Avt. to study memory, thinking, and speech. Given the patient's knowledge of several languages, Luria also examined his ability to interpret texts in German and English and to understand grammatical structures.

In late winter of 1933, Luria resumed work with patient Avt., aiming to experimentally validate L.S. Vygotsky's theoretical approach. A unique document preserved in the archive – a detailed individual examination plan – is presented here for the first time

(see Table 1). As in previous studies, this examination focused on the patient's speech functions (see also Akhutina & Agris, 2018).

Luria began the new series of assessments in February 1933, which included the Rorschach test and analysis of nonsensical words. Until March, he conducted testing sessions several times a week; later, the frequency was reduced to weekly meetings. Due to the patient's deteriorating condition and increasing fatigue, Luria eventually limited the sessions to no more than two or three in total.

Avt's anamnesis

Diagnosis: neurosyphilis, amnesic aphasia, unilateral hemianopia.

Complaints: amnesic-type speech impairment, unilateral visual deficit.

Patient Avt. was born in 1885 into a well-off, intact family with no reported history of neurological or psychiatric disorders. He completed secondary education at a real school, enrolled in the university's law faculty, but was expelled after 1.5 years due to involvement in

revolutionary activities. He spent two years in England working at a textile enterprise. Upon returning, he enrolled in the economics department of the Moscow Commercial Institute. After graduation, he worked as an economist in the textile industry. Both his studies and work came easily to him, and he was regarded as a capable, energetic individual. He was sociable, enjoyed travel, and was fluent in English, German, and French.

He married for the first time at the age of 25, and remarried in 1923. His son, born from the second marriage, was three and a half years old and physically weak, likely due to congenital syphilis.

Avt. was diagnosed with neurosyphilis in 1925 and began treatment at the Clinic of Nervous Diseases at the 1st Moscow State University in the winter of 1929.

As the illness progressed, he developed irritability, emotional lability, impatience, suggestibility, shyness, excessive helpfulness, and frequent underestimation of his condition – symptoms commonly associated with neurosyphilis (Gilyarovskiy, 1942).

In 1929, Luria described his speech as follows: "Agrammatism, paraphasia, word-finding difficulties, and impaired comprehension despite intact hearing

Table 1

Research Design Avt.

<p>1. Description of agrammatism a. Description of the grammatical structure of the spontaneous speech b. Description of an agrammatical voluntary speech c. Field of agrammatism¹ d. Law of agrammatism (a phasic and semic agrammatism)²</p>	<p>¹a. Semic sphere, b. Syntactic sphere ²a. Experiment on shifting the words, and accents b. Experiment on the provocation to a complex (text, syllogism, analogy)</p>
<p>2. Functional effects of agrammatism a. Misunderstanding of the relations³ b. Inability to draw the conclusion from the relations⁴</p>	<p>³a. Absolute assessment – the brother of the father / more and less b. Delivery of the phasic sequence 4a. Syllogism b. Bert's reasoning (who of them is the most...)</p>
<p>3. Towards the explanation of agrammatism. Hypotheses. 1. There is only an immediate speech directed to an object but there is no possibility of directing speech to speech = another place of speech in consciousness. 2. This is connected to the impairment of an internal speech that gives the possibility for a simultaneous bifurcation = an internal speech. 3. This leads to the involuntary speech and to the impairment of its voluntary construction. a. Involuntary and voluntary constructions of the speech⁵</p>	<p>⁵a. Experiment with the construction of the phrase b. Experiment with repetition of phrases (the voluntary perseveration) c. Rorschach experiment (the voluntary composition of phrases) d. Composition and writing under a different motivation</p>
<p>b. Awareness of the meaning and awareness of the thought (phrase) [A comparative research of understanding the speech structure (agrammatism)].⁶ with: 1. Immediate operations (usage)⁷ 2. Conscious operations (realisation)</p>	<p>⁶a. Experiment with a fragment (understanding – the analysis of thought – grammatical analysis) 7b. Experiment with a figurative meaning (understanding and analysis)</p>
<p>c. Inner speech: understanding the hidden components of speech⁸ note: 1. [Understanding the phrases with hidden elements 2. Transferring the correspondence to highlighted and hidden features] [Does the subject treat our task as new?]</p>	<p>⁸c. Phrases with a hidden generation d. Number series e. Analogies</p>

(he could not understand long or complex questions), as well as disturbances in abstract thinking and pronounced deficits in auditory rhythm. Notably, there was a complete inability to comprehend foreign languages (English, German), inaccurate reading in those languages, but with surprisingly good pronunciation of isolated words.”

According to Akhutina and Agris (2018), neuropsychological assessment revealed general inertia, reduced insight into his illness, disorientation in everyday situations, emotional instability, and personality changes more consistent with anterior and/or subcortical brain damage (possibly reflecting diffuse cerebral symptoms) than with localized lesions in the parietal-occipital region (TPO-zone). These impairments may have stemmed not only from local damage to the TPO zone and resulting semantic aphasia but also from other foci or diffuse dysfunctions in brain activity.

The Rorschach test performed by patient Avt.

Between 1923 and 1936, the Rorschach test was primarily used in Soviet psychological research as a tool for studying fantasy and imagination (Nikonova & Rupchev, 2024). A.R. Luria incorporated the test into his diagnostic work to investigate speech functions, particularly the patient’s ability to voluntarily construct phrases.

The original records are presented in Figure 1, and Table 2 provides a transcription of the patient’s responses. This transcription is based on both a hand-

written protocol and its typewritten copy, which contain minor discrepancies.

A.R. Luria took cards I, III, and VI from the 10 test cards for the research; perhaps, that choice of the cards was associated with the patient’s fatigue.

Deciphering the record of the Rorschach test performance

The transcript is based on a handwritten version of the test records, which was later supplemented and verified with a typewritten copy. The numbering of individual responses and the underlining of questions and phrases were added by A.R. Luria, whose remarks are marked with underlining. Footnotes in the text indicate where Luria’s comments are inserted, while the patient’s actions are noted in parentheses. The authors also provide commentary on Avt.’s responses in the notes. The test is interpreted according to the Exner scoring system (Exner, 1997). According to Luria, the spatial localization of responses on the inkblots was only partially recorded; in our analysis, we attempt to reconstruct potential localization based on the available data.

Discussion

The medical history of patient Avt. reflects the impact of the syphilis epidemic that spread in the early 1920s, leading to a rise in cases of aphasia. He was diagnosed with its late-stage form, accompanied by progressive dementia, personality changes, apathy, and

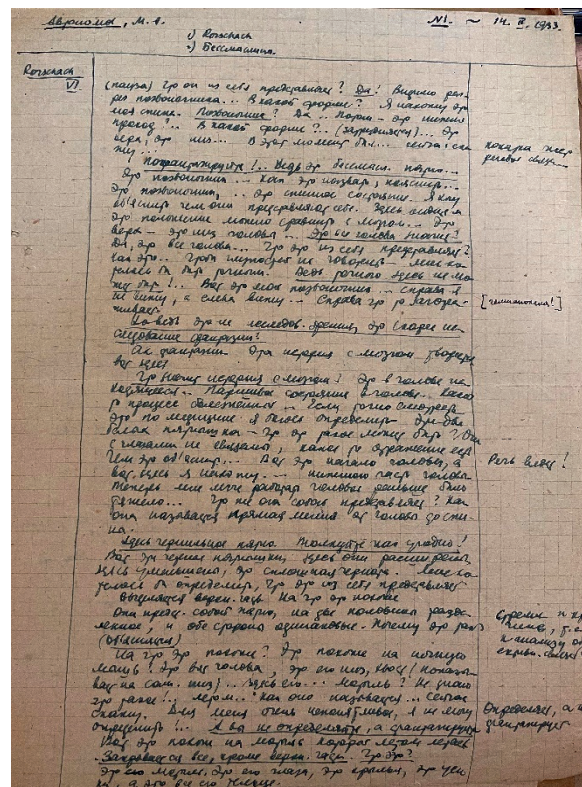
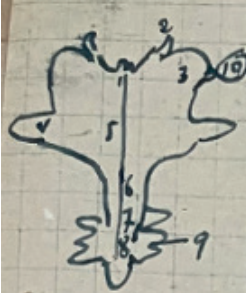
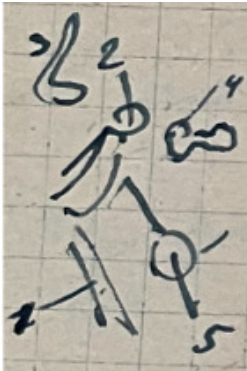


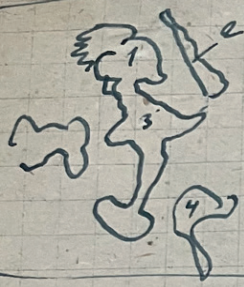
Fig. 1. The first page of the Rorschach test protocol conducted by A.R. Luria on 02/14/1933

Table 2

Inkblot card	Patient's response and clarifying questions by the examiner	Comment by A.R. Luria
	1. Some pause. What does it represent? Yes. Seemingly, this is a section of the spine... in what form? I find — this is my back. <u>Spine?</u> Yes... then — this is a line transition... in what form? (Hesitating). This is the top, this is the bottom. At that moment, there was... I'll tell you now ¹	¹ An attempt at a purely verbal communication
<p><i>Note:</i> A.R. Luria noted a significant pause before the patient responded. Although the first verbal response followed shortly thereafter, it was egocentric in nature, reflecting a tendency toward personification (PER) and a fixation on bodily symptoms (An), both according to the Exner system. These features may suggest elements of autistic thinking commonly associated with schizophrenia. The patient then reacted to the symmetry of the inkblots, which, as Luria observed, may reflect heightened anxiety and self-doubt. Repetition of the examiner's question may indicate mild perseveration or the activation of internal speech processes. The patient had difficulty providing a coherent and concise explanation of what he perceived in the image.</p>		
	2. <u>Rephrase. Since this is a meaningless spot...</u> this is the spine... what can I call it? Shall I explain? This is the spine. This is the spinal (?) status. I want to explain what they imagine. Here, you see — this position can be compared to the brain. This is the top, this is the bottom of the head. <u>Is it the whole head, then?</u> Yes, this is the head, all... what it represents... How it is... In order not to tell stupid things — I would like to be precise. <u>After all, there cannot be any precise thing here...</u> This is my spine. — I see nothing on the right but I see on the left ² . Something obscures on the right	² [Hemianopia!]
<p><i>Note:</i> The patient's response gradually evolves and becomes more elaborate. Frequent questions and fragmented speech suggest a general cognitive decline and reduced performance. His difficulty in producing a complete response reflects overall uncertainty and impaired verbal formulation. A.R. Luria often simplified the task instructions to assist the patient. Although the response developed further, it remained disorganized. At one point, the patient used a neologism — “spinal status” — possibly as a compensatory strategy for anomia or as an indication of autistic-type thinking. Notably, the target word “spine” had already been used earlier. The response then shifted to a second version, identifying the image as “a head with a spine,” indicating the brain. However, the patient lacked confidence and seemed driven to revise his answer. A sense of failure, partial awareness of his deficit, and underlying cognitive impairment appeared to prevent him from completing and finalizing this second version.</p>		
	3. <u>But this is not the research of vision, this is rather the research of fantasy.</u> Ah, fantasy. This story with the brain is happening right here. <u>What does the story with the brain mean?</u> It is in the head being... a lousy state in the head. There is some process painful. If to look properly, — I am afraid to determine it according to the medicine. They are two white spots, what it might be. They are not associated with the eyes, there is some kind of reflection ³ . What can I explain this with... this is the beginning of the head, and here I find the lower part of the head. Now it is easy for me to work with my head, it has been hard before. What does it represent? What is it called, a straight line from the head to the back	³ He is speaking!
<p><i>Note:</i> To reduce the complexity of the task, A.R. Luria guides the patient toward a familiar response involving anatomical content (An), now combined with elements of morbidity (MOR). This combination points to a hypochondriacal projection and a subjective awareness of his impaired condition. The patient's response reflects a general projection of somatic discomfort (e.g., “a lousy state”) and possibly dysphoria, evidenced by occasional swearing during the session. Avt. attempts to mitigate his sense of failure (e.g., “... I'm afraid to determine it according to the medicine”) by compensating with exaggerated precision — focusing on minor details (DdS), though this effort remains ineffective. The progression of the response is disrupted; perseveration and cognitive viscosity prevent him from completing the thought. He becomes excessively meticulous, producing a deviant response (DR1), which resembles loosening of associations. In response, Luria encourages greater spontaneity and appeals to the patient's imagination. He observes that Avt. engages with the test rigidly, either trying to guess the “correct” answer or provide an exact one. This rigid approach simplifies his responses in an overly schematic way. The perceptual strategy follows a bottom-up pattern, moving from details to the overall form, which may stem from actual disturbances in the visual system. Avt. continues to discover new features in the inkblot, becomes distracted, and ultimately fails to complete the interpretive hypothesis.</p>		

Inkblot card	Patient's response and clarifying questions by the examiner	Comment by A.R. Luria
	<p>4. <u>Here is an inkblot here. Interpret it as you wish.</u> Those black spots, here they are widened, here they are reduced, it is a solid blackness. I would like to determine what this represent. (The upper part is separated). <u>What is it like?</u> They represent a stain⁴ divided into two halves and both sides are the same. Why is it so? <u>It can be explained</u></p>	<p>⁴ He strives for an analysis of the causes, i.e. an analysis of the objective connection</p>
<p><i>Note:</i> A.R. Luria further simplifies the instruction, which the patient accepts by repeating the suggested term (“inkblots”), possibly displaying echolalia. The patient then reacts to the achromatic color of the blot (C/F), which may represent a “shock” response, reflecting subdepressive affect, emotional blunting, or melancholic states. The form quality remains poor and ill-defined; the image (“spot”) lacks any clear structural interpretation (Wv), suggesting a diminished capacity for perceptual organization and analytic–synthetic processing. These features point to cognitive dysfunction and signs of intellectual immaturity.</p>		
	<p>5. <u>What does it look like?</u> It looks like a night mouse. This is its head, this is its bottom, its tail (he points to the very bottom) here is its... bloodworm, I don't know what it is... in the summer... what is it called. I'll tell now. It's very unclear to me, I can't define it. <u>You don't define it but fantasize⁵</u></p>	<p>⁵ He define, does not fantasize</p>
<p><i>Note:</i> For the first time, the patient provides a brief and singular response — “a night mouse” — which resembles a verbal paraphasia (substituting “bat” with a semantically related but incorrect term) or possibly a mnemonic, substitutive confabulation (replacing “bat” with “night”). However, his naming of the image lacks stability, as he later shifts the interpretation to “bloodworm” or hesitates with the phrase “what is it called?”. At this point, A.R. Luria adopts a more directive approach, instructing the patient: “You don't define it but fantasize,” thereby deliberately encouraging figurative and imaginative thinking.</p>		
	<p>6. This one looks like a bloodworm that flies in the summer (he covers everything except the upper part). <u>What is this?</u> This is a bloodworm. These are its eyes, these are its wings, these are its antennae, and this is its entire body</p>	
<p><i>Note:</i> Avt. provides a complete response. However, perceiving the full stimulus field (the entire blot) appears challenging, likely due to underlying visual deficits, which hinder object-based interpretation. When the visual field is narrowed or when attention is directed to a smaller portion of the blot, the patient begins to produce clearer and more coherent responses.</p>		
<p>Table VI</p>  <p>Fig. 2. Enlarged image of the VI card</p>	<p>7. (the table AR is inverted again) This is my throat (1), these are collars (2), these are my shoulders (3), this is similar to my arms (4). This is a chest divided in half, two chests... this is already the spine going through such a state. This is my lower back (6). This is the lower hole, apparently (7). These are my legs (8) (points to the bottom of the table), this is what my legs are made up of together (9). And this I don't know, at all, why they are here, what they coincide with</p>	<p>6 Then he continues speaking and completely stops distinguishing corrections. He speaks into the table.</p> <p>7 leeres sprach—phantasieren (an empty language of fantasy, Ger.)</p>
<p><i>Note:</i> The patient shows signs of fatigue. He sequentially identifies fragments of a larger object (e.g., parts of a human figure), but fails to integrate them into a coherent whole. This fragmentation, combined with impaired cognitive control, may account for crude anatomical interpretations that would typically be suppressed or censored in socially normative responses. His replies also exhibit recurring self-referential themes, a pattern commonly observed in thought disturbances associated with both syphilitic dementia and schizophrenia.</p>		
	<p>8. <u>And what is this (10)?</u> This are identical spots — this is the position of the eyes. 9. <u>And what is this</u> (there is a white spot next to 10)? And it is below, I will tell you now. To my mind, this is the upper part... 10. <u>How do you do this?</u> I do it on myself, I start from the head and to the end. I start with the brain, here it should be on top, it is not depicted here, and then there should be the neck, the back. And these spots — you ask... so they well... so that they look like something? How is that possible?</p>	

Inkblot card	Patient's response and clarifying questions by the examiner	Comment by A.R. Luria
<p><i>Note:</i> Avt. attempts to provide an explanation, once again reverting to self-referential content and earlier imagery from Table I (e.g., “the brain,” “a head”). However, he fails to follow the instruction, then appears to recall it by echoing the experimenter's guidance – only to confuse himself again in the process.</p>		
<p>Illegibly Clowns</p>  <p>Fig. 3. Enlarged image of the III card</p>	<p>11. <u>At first impression?</u> At first impression? There is some kind of caricature here – it represents two animals – though no⁸, not animals but two people who want to create – they want to seek something hidden, this is a nest and this is a nest – they are looking for something... a bloodworm... Why are they red (in the middle)? Why is it made? This is a caricature to clarify some⁹ – a caricature for... this is unclear. I feel and cannot explain. There was a similar story in Germany. These are newly released caricatures creates for persons, I will tell you now...</p>	<p>⁸ NB leeres sprachphantasieren ⁹ NB leeres sprachphantasieren (an empty language of fantasy, Ger.)</p>
<p><i>Note:</i> When the examiner repeats the question, the patient's response once again raises the hypothesis of echolalia, rather than suggesting a simple deficit in auditory-verbal memory. Nevertheless, Avt. promptly provides a well-formed response featuring human figures (H), describing it as “a caricature.” The interpretation is based on specific details (D9) and evolves – moving from animals to people – while also projecting movement (M), which indicates active ideation. The response briefly takes on a combinatorial character (e.g., “people and a nest”), but is interrupted by the re-emergence of a previous association (“a bloodworm”), indicating a perseverative substitution of a past impression for the current stimulus. Although formally adequate, the response is not sustained. As Zeigarnik observed in patients with organic brain damage, such individuals may demonstrate brief episodes of intact cognitive function (“flashes”) within an overall dementing state. Avt. attempts to justify his interpretation using personal memory rather than through direct perceptual analysis of the blot (area D), suggesting a shift from stimulus-bound reasoning to autobiographical association.</p>		
	<p>12. <u>And what is that? (1)</u> – Legs. <u>And that? (2)</u> – A head <u>And this? (3)</u>¹⁰ – A monkey that is inverted. <u>And that? (4)</u> What is the name of the one that flies, or it is rather – a tie¹¹</p>	<p>¹⁰ At the direction! ¹¹ Illegibly</p>
<p><i>Note:</i> A.R. Luria offers analysing and substantiating the image in parts. A new response is given (“a monkey”) to the side details (D2). The inverted objects may be the consequence of neurosyphilis. Avt. suffers difficulties with naming (“a butterfly”), replacing the unnamed object with a similar one according to its shape (“a tie”).</p>		
	<p>13. <u>Now identify it by yourself.</u> They wanted to create some kind of a game here. It's good here (5). In this nest, they want to take out some things, or they hide them... and at the same time... they want to take it out from there, maybe chicks and pool them out from here... they are two monkeys that want to create a game.</p>	
<p><i>Note:</i> the concept (combination) of the response develops (“create a game”) but the images interact unrealistically, the answer is realised into a nun-crude fabulised combination (FABCOM1) – an absurd combination of incompatible objects (monkeys—a caricature—game—a toy—a nest) – indicating the decrease in clarity, logic and the consistency of thinking.</p>		
	<p>14. <u>Now explain some more details.</u> In general, this is a game of circus¹². They want to create a toy somehow, they are spinning, maybe, they have fun, play, dance and, perhaps, jump. In general, this is a caricature. <u>And in what condition?</u> A caricature for... these are simply Japanese. Because these are very small people and the most active, they want to create some kind of game.</p>	<p>¹² !!</p>

Inkblot card	Patient's response and clarifying questions by the examiner	Comment by A.R. Luria
<p><i>Note:</i> Avt. structures different objects into the whole (“the game of circus”), the answer improves. Detachedly — a depersonalised image (“caricature”) (H) is humanised (“Japanese”) with the elements of devaluation (small)). The substantiation of the answer is based on the autistic logic (ALOG — because they are small and the most mobile).</p>		
<p>(Rotates)</p>  <p>Fig. 4. Enlarged fragment of the inverted drawing of the III Card</p>	<p>This represents (inaudible)... in Tashkent or Tiflis... an animal that stabs... cattle... This is its head (1), these are its arms (2), these are all its parts, but for some reason. it was cut in half... these are its two arms, and these are its eyes (1), you can only imagine them, this is its middle part (3), this is its end. And these were some small parts flying with it during... this is what they look like... it's the same as where the red and the black are, the same? I'll tell you now! This is an impression! ... It's like that insect (4). They look very similar to each other.</p> <p>Why did you think it was an insect? They are very small, and they move¹³</p>	<p>¹³ Speech</p>
<p><i>Note:</i> Avt. gives the response through his memories but derails (they do not help). There arise difficulties in nomination (he cannot name a mosquito, a midge) and the base on the insignificant feature (he is a cattle, or he stabs a cattle — the speech disintegrates here). The image is again destructed (cut, apparently, due to the symmetry). In view of the feelings of failure and guilt before A.R. Luria, Avt. promises to “solve everything” (“I'll tell you now!”) but remembers only the word “insect”, using again in a perseverative way the previous autistic logic as a support (“they are very small. and they move”). There is an inability to construct a holistic image, fragmentation of perception and thinking, fixation on one's grave condition, dysphoria, an unstable perceptual work and accompanied by periods of a relative success, when he can simultaneously organize the image into the object response.</p>		

reduced social engagement (Zilberberg et al., 2019).

The influence of the disease was also apparent in the Rorschach test records. A.R. Luria focused on speech dynamics, particularly the patient's ability to name and verbally describe the images. During the assessment, the examiner guided the patient, often requesting clarification of his responses. Patient Avt. exhibited fragmented perception, drawing on autobiographical memories and emotionally charged imagery, which may suggest derealization. Some responses reflected his physical condition; for example, anatomical references might relate to his frequent complaints of headaches and dizziness. In one instance, he described “a night mouse” instead of “a bat,” which may be interpreted as a verbal paraphasia, though the overall image recognition remained intact. Later responses included references to circuses, cities, and ethnic themes, reflecting vivid autobiographical experiences.

The analysis of his responses confirmed cognitive impairments characteristic of late-stage neurosyphilis, including simplified thinking, unstable attention, perseveration, and reduced naming ability. Although Luria's guiding questions helped the patient better identify image components, assembling them into a coherent whole proved challenging. His speech was marked by long pauses, neologisms, asponaneity, and episodes of derailment and confabulation — all indicative of internal speech dysfunction, as described by Luria.

More recent studies on the effects of aphasia on Rorschach test performance (Reitan, 1954; Collin

Dilmore, 2016) suggest that while speech impairments do not alter image interpretation per se, they do affect the form of verbal responses. Patient Avt.'s emotional state was marked by anxiety, uncertainty, and episodes of dysphoria. Aware of his difficulties, he often relied on trial and error and egocentric associations as coping strategies, relating the images to his own experiences (e.g., personification; Exner, 1991).

Luria's efforts to facilitate the task and stimulate speech production did not yield substantial improvement. The patient continued to experience marked cognitive difficulties in integrating perceptual information into coherent images — a process further hindered by hemianopia and dementia.

Conclusion

The surviving records contain no further detailed descriptions or references to A.R. Luria's use of the Rorschach test. The textbook *The Scheme of Neuropsychological Research*, published under Luria's editorship in 1973 (Luria, 1973), briefly mentions the use of projective tests — including the Rorschach — in the final section titled “The Assessment of Emotional Reactions.” The test is noted for its ability to assess emotional and personality-related disorders, though no specific methodology is provided. The final mention of the Rorschach test in Luria's work appears in a 1975 article on the use of psychological assessments in the USSR (Zeigarnik, Luria, Polyakov, 1977).

Luria's use of the Rorschach test in the study of patient Avt. provides insight into how he gradually developed a comprehensive methodological framework for neuropsychological research. His aim was to use the "Rorschach experience" (i.e., voluntary verbal formulation) to explain agrammatism and to support the hypothesis that "voluntary speech construction," linked to "internal

speech impairment," was disrupted in this patient.

Although this hypothesis remained unconfirmed, Luria never returned to the topic of internal speech impairment in semantic aphasia in his later work. Nevertheless, this failed hypothesis offers valuable insight into the creative thinking of A.R. Luria — one of the founding figures of global neuropsychology.

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Information about the authors

Eugenia Yu. Nikonova, Junior Researcher at the Laboratory of the Psychology of Professions and Conflict, Faculty of Psychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6338-3764>, e-mail: eniconova@mail.ru

George E. Rupchev, PhD in Psychology, Associate Professor, Senior Research Fellow at the Chair of Neuro- and Pathopsychology, Faculty of Psychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Senior Research Fellow at department of Mental Illness Therapy, the Mental Health Research Center Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4440-095X>, e-mail: rupchevgeorg@mail.ru

Tatyana V. Akhutina, Doctor of Psychology, Chief Researcher, Laboratory of Neuropsychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8503-2495>, e-mail: akhutina@mail.ru

Информация об авторах

Никонова Евгения Юрьевна, младший научный сотрудник лаборатории психологии профессий и конфликта, факультет психологии, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова (ФГБОУ ВО «МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова»), г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6338-3764>, e-mail: eniconova@mail.ru

Рупчев Георгий Евгеньевич, кандидат психологических наук, старший научный сотрудник кафедры нейро- и патопсихологии, факультет психологии, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова (ФГБОУ ВО «МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова»); научный сотрудник отдела терапии психических заболеваний, ФГБНУ «Научный центр психического здоровья», г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4440-095X>, e-mail: rupchevgeorg@mail.ru

Ахутин Татьяна Васильевна, доктор психологических наук, главный научный сотрудник лаборатории нейропсихологии, факультет психологии, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова (ФГБОУ ВО «МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова»), г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8503-2495>, e-mail: akhutina@mail.ru

Contribution of the Authors

All the authors made an equal contribution to the concept, analysis of archival data and preparation of the manuscript, as well as participated in the discussion of the results and agreed on the final text of the manuscript.

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Научная статья | Original paper

The relationship between the identified significant events and the emotional status of adolescents in an unstable social situation of development

S.V. Molchanov^{1,2} ✉, O.V. Almazova^{1,2}, A.G. Dolgikh^{1,2}, I.V. Sultanova³

¹ Federal Scientific Center for Psychological and Interdisciplinary Research, Moscow, Russian Federation

² Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russian Federation

³ Sevastopol State University, Sevastopol, Russian Federation

✉ s-molch2001@mail.ru

Abstract

Context and relevance. An unstable and volatile social environment and its events can have a significant impact on the mental development and psychological well-being of adolescents. The active position of a teenager in a social situation of development creates conditions for reflecting his attitude to what is happening. **Objective.** The study aims to examine the relationship between significant events experienced by adolescents living in an unstable social environment and their emotional well-being. The study focuses on two key questions: first, to what extent are the significant events of the past year determined by age-related psychological characteristics or by the unstable situation of the region of residence; and second, whether the significant areas identified by adolescents and their associated emotional coloring are related to their overall emotional state? **Methods and materials.** The sample consisted of 559 teenagers from Sevastopol aged 15 to 17 years ($M = 15,7$; $SD = 1,01$). Three methods were used: the author's questionnaire, in which participants indicated three emotionally significant events from the past year; the Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS-21); and the Positive and Negative Experiences Scale (SPAN). **Results.** There are ten categories of events mentioned: educational activities; self-development; independent achievements; interpersonal relationships with peers; parental family; travel and entertainment; holidays; material acquisitions; relocations; and loss/death of loved ones, as well as situations involving surgery and dangerous diseases. The frequency of occurrence of these events suggests that they are more related to age-related psychological specifics (developmental tasks) than to the instability of the social environment. Interrelations between the identified significant spheres of events, their emotional coloring, and adolescents' emotional states were also found. Teenagers focused on self-development exhibit the fewest signs of negativity.

Keywords: social situation of development, unstable social environment, significant events, emotional status, adolescence

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Взаимосвязь выделяемых значимых событий и эмоционального статуса подростков в условиях нестабильной социальной ситуации развития

С.В. Молчанов^{1,2} ✉, О.В. Алмазова^{1,2}, А.Г. Долгих^{1,2}, И.В. Султанова³

¹ Федеральный научный центр психологических и междисциплинарных исследований,
Москва, Российская Федерация

² Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова, Москва, Российская Федерация

³ Севастопольский государственный университет, Севастополь, Российская Федерация

✉ s-molch2001@mail.ru

Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. Нестабильная и изменчивая социальная среда и события, происходящие в ней, могут оказывать значительное влияние на психическое развитие и психологическое благополучие подростков. Активно-деятельная позиция подростка в социальной ситуации развития создает условия для отражения его отношения к происходящему. **Цель.** изучение взаимосвязи значимых событий, выделяемых подростками, проживающими в условиях нестабильной социальной среды, с их эмоциональным состоянием. Выделены два исследовательских вопроса: 1) насколько значимые события последнего года определяются возрастнo-психологической спецификой возраста или нестабильной ситуацией региона проживания; 2) связаны ли выделяемые подростками значимые сферы и их окраска с эмоциональным состоянием. **Методы и материалы.** Выборку составили 559 подростков из г. Севастополь от 15 до 17 лет ($M = 15,7$; $SD = 1,01$). Использованы 3 методики: авторская анкета, в которой надо указать три эмоционально значимых события последнего года; шкала депрессии, тревожности и стресса (DASS-21); шкала позитивного и негативного пережитого опыта (SPANЕ). **Результаты.** Выделены 10 категорий упоминаемых событий: учебная деятельность, саморазвитие, самостоятельные достижения, межличностные отношения со сверстниками, родительская семья, путешествия и развлечения, праздники, материальные приобретения, переезды, утрата/смерть близких людей, ситуации операции и опасных болезней. Частота встречаемости событий свидетельствует об их большей связанности с возрастнo-психологической спецификой (задачами развития), чем с нестабильностью социальной среды. Обнаружены взаимосвязи между выделяемыми значимыми сферами событий, их окраской и эмоциональным состоянием подростков. У подростков с фокусированием на саморазвитии наблюдаются наименьшие признаки негативного эмоционального состояния. Сверстники с выраженным фокусированием на отношениях или на себе и негативных событиях демонстрируют большую выраженность тревожности, депрессии и стресса в совокупности с преобладанием негативных эмоций.

Ключевые слова: социальная ситуация развития, нестабильная социальная среда, значимые события, эмоциональный статус, подростковый возраст

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Introduction

Many authors note that the modern social world is characterised by a high degree of variability and uncertainty about the future. In the psychological space, sharp uncontrollable transitive social changes that alter social conditions and opportunities for life are considered as risk factors of human mental development (Martsinkovskaya, 2019). The modern world is associated with plurality and diversity, where the 'challenges of modernity' create wide opportunities for self-determination, while

at the same time placing increased demands on a person's personality in the situation of life choices (Asmolov, 2015). The diversity of society interactions generates a wide variability of individual development trajectories of adolescents' maturity achievement, including in the conditions of crisis phenomena (Larson, Wilson, 2014). Thus, the modern social world is a diverse space of opportunities and constraints that can dynamically change uncontrollably, creating zones of future uncertainty due to the difficulties of logical justification and prediction of ongoing and potential changes.

The key psychological process of adolescence is self-determination, where the surrounding social world acts as a basis for self-discovery. The age-psychological specificity of adolescents' self-determination is determined by developmental tasks solution (R. Havighurst), that among others include: setting and realization of self-determination in education and career sphere; acquisition of interpersonal communication skills (in particular, relations of friendship and love) in peer group of own and opposite sex; development of new family relations on the basis of liberation from parental care with autonomy and independence. Also important is development of psychological new formation – sense of adulthood (D.B.Elkonin) as a form of self-consciousness expressed in independence and actions 'as an adult'. (Molchanov, 2024). Stability of the surrounding world, stability and clarity of social guidelines, predictability and predictability of social structures become important conditions for successful socialization and identification. In the modern understanding, the content of identity arises from individual everyday experience, thoughts, feelings, interactions and behavior of individuals and refers to their efforts to construct, maintain and refine their identity. (Grishina, 2025, p. 17). Thus, the events of the changing and unpredictable world around them and the attitude towards them, which are singled out as significant, become important conditions for the development of an adolescent's identity.

It is known that the social situation of development as an 'age-specific, exclusive, unique and unrepeatable relationship between the child and the surrounding reality, primarily social' is the most important component of the child's mental development (Vygotsky, 2000, p. 903). The nature of the adolescent's attitude to the social environment, in particular to the events taking place is important to understand the correlation between personality and social situation of development is. As L.S. Vygotsky wrote '... a child at different stages of development ... comprehends and imagines the surrounding reality and environment in different ways' (Vygotsky, 2001, pp. 77-78). Experience as 'the child's internal attitude as a human being to this or that moment of reality' realizes his or her active-action position in relation to the world (Vygotsky, 2000, p. 994; Karabanova, 2024). It can be assumed that individual allocation of personally significant events is a manifestation of the adolescent's active-action position within the social situation of development, which determines the variability of the influence of the social environment on his/her mental development and well-being.

In adolescence, there is a sensitivity rise to the influences of surrounding world, that can be reflected in the emotional status, as well as affect mental development (Sawyer, Patton, 2018). The experienced emotional states are important for the subjective well-being of adolescents. In the model proposed by E. Diener, the presence of positive and negative affective states, along with life satisfaction constitutes the interrelated content of subjective well-being of a person (Diener, 1984). A large number of studies confirm the role of positive emotions

in human life (Walsh, Boehm, Lyubomirsky, 2018). A specific feature of adolescence is the high lability of experienced emotional states: the intensity of experiences and the speed of change of opposite emotional states can be very high (Tolstykh, Prikhozhan, 2015). In this perspective, it is important in the study of adolescents' emotional states as predictors of subjective well-being not only to analyze the balance of experienced positive and negative effects, but also to study stable emotional states of clinical nature. High levels of anxiety, severity of depressive symptoms, and difficulties in coping with stress can be indicators of a low level of subjective well-being can influence adolescents' interaction with the social world, and complicate the process of solving the problems of age development.

There is a large number of psychological studies of adolescents who have been in areas of combat operations. However, most of them are aimed at studying the psychological consequences of changes in the living conditions of adolescents due to the participation or proximity of military events. (Aleksandrova, Dmitrieva, 2024; Menshova et al., 2024; Schiff et al., 2012). These are studies of the psychological consequences of direct participation in armed conflicts, the experience of forced migration from zones of constant shelling, etc. They study adolescents that experience losses: the death of people, the experience of loss of material property, the risks of potential threat to their lives, the lives of their relatives and acquaintances, the experience of living in new social, often unfavourable conditions. It is noted that such adolescents often experience stress due to restrictions in the availability of familiar forms of social life: education (e.g., transition to distance learning), places for walks, meetings, entertainment, etc. (Betancourt, 2017). Numerous negative psychological consequences of adolescents' inter-sectional experiences with combat experience in emotional, cognitive, and regulatory spheres are highlighted (Samokhvalova et al., 2025). For example, the perception of the world as less benevolent, less belief in luck and conviction in life control, and less positive image of the self was identified in adolescents from Mariupol, Donetsk People's Republic, who have experienced combat operations, compared to their peers without such experience, are recorded at the level of basic beliefs of the personality (Dolgikh, Almazova, Molchanov, 2025).

The social conditions of living in Sevastopol city in recent years are characterized by increased risks due to the special military operation. Residents of the region face regular air defense activities protecting the area from drones; there are occasional tragic incidents involving loss of life and destruction of certain city objects. External reminders of the proximity of military operations, associated with various time constraints, are also present. The issue of studying the psychological specificity of adolescents living in such conditions becomes relevant to identify the risks to mental development and ways to prevent them.

The aim of the study: to investigate the relationship between significant events identified by adolescents and their emotional status in an unstable social environment in Sevastopol city.

The aim of the study allows us to formulate an exploratory hypothesis: significant events of the last year, identified by adolescents in an unstable social environment, are related to their emotional status. This led us to formulate two research questions:

1. Are the significant events of the last year identified by adolescents more determined by age-psychological specificity (in particular, age-related developmental tasks) or by the unstable situation in the region?

2. Are the significant spheres and the emotional coloring of identified events related to adolescents' emotional state?

The following research objectives were identified:

1. To analyze the content of significant events of the last year experienced by adolescents;

2. To examine the peculiarities of the emotional status associated with significant events of the last year experienced by adolescents;

3. To analyze the features of adolescents' emotional status in relation to various significant events of the last year.

Materials and Methods

The study involved 559 adolescents from Sevastopol from 15 to 17 years old ($M=15,7$; $SD=1,01$), studying in grades 9-11 of general education schools, 231 (41,3%) were males. Data were collected in October 2024, in an online form on the Testograph platform, in classrooms with separate seating to maintain confidentiality of responses.

Research methods:

1. Author's questionnaire focused to indicate three emotionally significant events that occurred last year. It was suggested to describe emotionally significant events of the last year in free form.

2. DASS-21 (Depression Anxiety Stress Scales-21). The level of psychological well-being in the emotional sphere was assessed using the Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale (Lovibond, Lovibond, 1995; Zolotareva, 2021). The version of the technique used includes 21 items assessed on a 4-point scale by R. Likert.

3. SPANE (The Scale of Positive and Negative Experience, SPANE). The technique is aimed at assessing the frequency of positive and negative experiences during the last four weeks and the balance between them (Diener et al., 2010; Rasskazova, Lebedeva, 2020). The 5-point scale of R. Likert was used.

Statistical processing of the data was carried out in the Jamovi 2.3.28 programme.

Results

The first empirical task of the study was to analyze the content of significant events of the last year experienced by adolescents. Based on the analysis of respondents' answers about the three most significant events of the last year, the group of experts identified 10 main categories of events:

1) the sphere of educational activity, including description of school grades, passing exams, end of the school year, change of school, and issues of professional self-determination. At least one event in this sphere was mentioned by 43,3% of adolescents. Examples are: 'got 4 and 5 in a particular subject', "passed the exams very well", "cancellation of the exam/entry to 10th grade without exams".

2) sphere of self-development, focused on self-discovery, development, maturation, personal self-determination. Named by 5,9% of participants. Examples of events described: 'realization of what is real happiness for me', "a new outlook on life".

3) the sphere of independent achievements in the field of competitions, achieved personal goals, purchases with one's own money. Named by 24,7% of subjects. Examples are: 'winning a competition in another city', "winning the championship of Sevastopol city in ...".

4) The sphere of interpersonal relations with peers in the areas of friendship and love. It is noted by 42,0% of adolescents. Examples are: 'stopped communication with my best friend', "returned communication with an old friend", "made new friends", "found love".

5) the sphere of parental family, including family holidays (birthdays of relatives, joint events, births of family members, changes in relations with parents). Named by 15,9% of respondents. Common examples: 'all relatives are doing great', 'the birth of my brother', 'my relations with my parents have become even better'.

6) the sphere of travelling and entertainment, including visits to other countries, cities, as well as out-of-town activities. It is noted by 39,7% of participants. Typical examples of statements are: 'a busy summer with travelling', "a trip for summer holidays with relatives", "a trip to Gelendzhik".

7) The sphere 'holidays', in which two main events are singled out: birthdays, New Year. Named by 17,7% of adolescents. Examples of statements: 'my birthday', "birthday of the closest person".

8) The sphere of material acquisitions and gifts in the form of phones, laptops, pets, books, etc. is mentioned by 28,3% of adolescents. It occurs in 28,3 per cent of adolescents. Examples of statements are: 'bought a new phone', "got a dog", "bought a computer".

9) The sphere of moving in connection with a change of place of residence. It was named by 4,8% of participants. Examples of statements of the described events in this sphere are: 'moving to another city', "forthcoming move".

10) The sphere of loss/death of loved ones, situations of surgery and dangerous diseases. It is mentioned by 6,4% of adolescents. Examples of statements of described events in this sphere are: 'bombing in May', "terrorist attack on Uchkuevka", "on 23 June I worked in an open cafe on Uchkuevka" (the date of the terrorist attack), "death of a close person", "loss of a close person".

For each research participant, the number of events according to categories was counted. Table 1 shows the mean and standard deviations of the frequencies of event categories in the whole sample and separately for boys

and girls, and a comparison of these frequencies (Student's t-test for independent samples).

The most common popular are the spheres of education, relations with peers and travel, entertainment. The least frequently mentioned events are those related to removing, lose/death/illness and self-development.

For further analysis, we identified larger categories of significant events in the last year. The initial 10 categories of significant events were organized into groups, each of which was given a different name:

- self-development event group (includes the categories of education, self-development, and achievement);
- the interpersonal events group (consisting of the categories of peer and parental family relationships);
- hedonism event group (comprising the areas of travel, entertainment and holidays);
- a group of stressful events (consisting of the domains of loss/death/illness and removing).

To investigate the respondents' focus on different groups of events, the number of events belonging to each of the identified groups of categories was counted for each respondent. Using cluster analysis (K-means method), five clusters of study participants were identified based on the number of events in the four category groups.

Table 2 shows the centers of the clusters.

One-factor analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed that the number of responses for all groups of categories in different clusters differed significantly ($p < 0,001$), which allows us to speak of different clusters as types. Thus, we identified groups of adolescents with different focus in identifying emotionally significant events of the last year.

Let us describe these types/groups in more detail.

The first type describes 24,7% of the sample. Respondents more often note events of the last year related to self-development (at least 2 events out of 3 named belong to this sphere). They describe events related to the space of education, self-development and the area of independent achievements. Let us denote this type as 'self-development focus'.

The second type unites 18.6% of adolescents. The focus is on interpersonal relations with peers and adults (at least two events out of the three named events belong to this sphere). In relations with peers, adolescents actively point to events related to friendship and love, and to the experience of termination of relationships with significant others. Descriptions of events involving parents are mostly associated with mentioning positive events that strengthened the relationship, as well as changing relationships with parents. Let us designate the group as 'interpersonal relationship focus'.

The third type is characteristic of 21,5% of subjects. This group more often mentions events related to the manifestation of hedonism (to a strong degree) and to a lesser extent the areas of self-development. The description is dominated by events related to entertainment, travelling and holidays, and to a lesser extent by events related to changing oneself. This type is labelled as 'focus on self'.

The fourth type is described by 26,7 % of adolescents. Respondents of this mixed type highlight events of different spheres: self-development, relationships and hedonism. The events highlighted by adolescents are related to different, in many respects opposite spheres – orientation towards themselves and others, interest in obtaining available pleasures and readiness for self-change. This group has been called 'mixed focus'.

Table 1

Comparison of answer's quantity of different categories for all data, men and women (N = 559)

Category	All (M ± SD)	Men (M ± SD)	Women (M ± SD)	Differences		
				t	p	d
Education	0,5 ± 0,66	0,5 ± 0,66	0,5 ± 0,67	0,097	0,923	0,01
Self-development	0,1 ± 0,27	0,1 ± 0,31	0,1 ± 0,23	1,653	0,099	0,14
Achievements	0,3 ± 0,59	0,4 ± 0,66	0,3 ± 0,54	2,457	0,014	0,21
Relations with peers	0,5 ± 0,71	0,4 ± 0,68	0,6 ± 0,72	-2,539	0,011	-0,22
Parent's family	0,2 ± 0,43	0,2 ± 0,42	0,2 ± 0,43	-0,504	0,614	-0,04
Travel, entertainments	0,5 ± 0,68	0,4 ± 0,64	0,6 ± 0,70	-2,804	0,005	-0,24
Holidays	0,2 ± 0,51	0,3 ± 0,57	0,2 ± 0,48	1,868	0,062	0,16
Material sphere	0,3 ± 0,61	0,4 ± 0,66	0,3 ± 0,57	1,083	0,279	0,09
Removal	0,1 ± 0,23	0,1 ± 0,20	0,1 ± 0,25	-1,737	0,083	-0,15
Lose/death/illness	0,1 ± 0,26	0,1 ± 0,22	0,1 ± 0,28	-1,104	0,270	-0,09

Table 2

Cluster's centers of quantity of events in groups of categories (N = 559)

	1	2	3	4	5
Self-development	2	0	1	1	1
Interpersonal relations	0	2	0	1	0
Hedonism	0	0	2	1	0
Stress events	0	0	0	0	1
Quantity of subjects in cluster	138	104	120	149	48

The fifth type is characteristic of 8,6 % of the sample. This group is focused on the topic of self-development and encountered stressful events. The named events are related to the experience of loss, death, illness and focus on self. Let's denote it as 'focus on self and negative events.'

Consider cross-sex differences in focus on different types of events. Table 3 shows the distribution of boys and girls by different types of significant events.

Using the χ^2 criterion, it was found that gender and type on significant events are related ($\chi^2=10,009$; $p=0,040$; Cramer's $V=0,134$). As can be seen from the above data, type 1 (self-development focus) is more frequent in boys than in girls, and type 2 (relationship focus) and type 4 (mixed focus) are more frequent in girls than in boys.

In order to determine the peculiarities of the emotional status of significant events of the last year, each event, in addition to the category, was also assigned a rating of the emotional status of the event: - 1 - negative event, 0 - no emotion or neutral, 1 - positive event. After that, a final score was calculated for each participant of the study - the sum of emotion scores of all three events.

Table 3 shows the mean and standard deviations of the total scores of the emotional status of the events for

the study participants of each type and the result of comparison of these scores (one-factor ANOVA analysis of variance), and Fig. 1 shows the scatter of the emotional status scores in different types.

Using Tukey's post hoc test, it was revealed that the total evaluation of the emotional component of significant events in type 5 (self-focus and negative events) was significantly lower than in type 1 (self-development focus) ($MD=-1,201$; $p<0,001$), type 2 (relationship focus) ($MD=-1,487$; $p<0,001$), type 3 (focus on self) ($MD=-1,408$; $p<0,001$) and type 4 (mixed focus) ($MD=-1,383$; $p<0,001$). Thus, we can say that for adolescents, event-oriented on the lived experience, self-development theme and stressful events encountered, less pronounced positive emotional background is characteristic compared to other peers.

Let us analyze the peculiarities of the emotional status of adolescents identifying various significant events of the last year, according to the different types allocated by events. The peculiarities of the emotional status of adolescents were identified using two techniques - SPANE and DASS-21.

Table 5 shows the mean and standard deviations of scores on the scales of these techniques for adolescents from different types of significant events, a comparison

Table 3

Distribution of men and women for different types of significant events (N = 559)

	1 type	2 type	3 type	4 type	5 type
Men	72 (31,2%)	37 (16,0%)	50 (21,6%)	55 (23,9%)	17 (7,4%)
Women	66 (20,1%)	67 (20,4%)	70 (21,3%)	94 (28,7%)	31 (9,5%)

Note: 1 type - self-development focus; 2 type - interpersonal relations focus; 3 type - self focus; 4 type - mixed focus; 5 type - focus on self and negative events.

Table 4

Comparison of emotional colour in different types of significant events (N = 559)

	1 type (M ± SD)	2 type (M ± SD)	3 type (M ± SD)	4 type (M ± SD)	5 type (M ± SD)	Differences		
						F	p	η^2
Emotions	1,5 ± 0,93	1,8 ± 1,11	1,7 ± 0,90	1,7 ± 1,06	0,3 ± 1,11	21,356	< 0,001	0,13

Note: 1 type - self-development focus; 2 type - interpersonal relations focus; 3 type - self focus; 4 type - mixed focus; 5 type - focus on self and negative events.

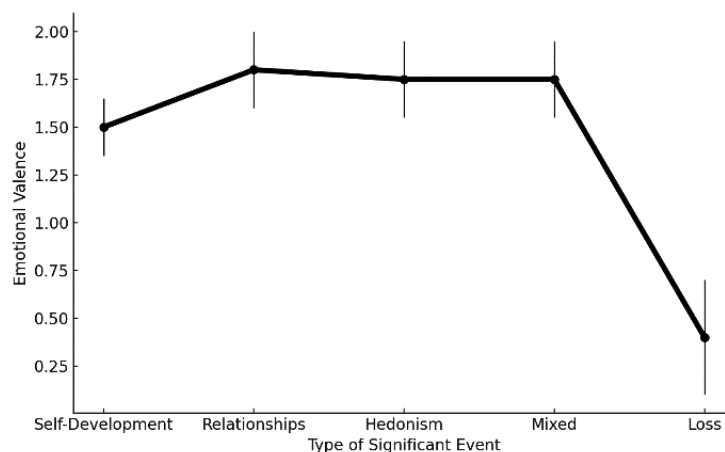


Fig. 1. The spread of estimates of the emotional coloring of significant events in adolescents from different types (95% confidence interval) (N = 559)

of these scores (one-factor analysis of variance), and Figures 2 and 3 show a graphical representation of the scatter of scores in different types.

Statistical analysis using Tukey's test (posthoc) revealed that:

(a) negative emotions:

1) negative emotion scores of adolescents from type 2 (relationship focus) were significantly higher than adolescents from type 1 (self-development focus) ($MD=1,993$; $p=0,005$) and type 3 (self focus) ($MD=1,793$; $p=0,022$);

2) negative emotion scores of adolescents from type 5 (focus on self and negative events) were significantly higher than those of adolescents from type 1 (self-development focus) ($MD=2,442$; $p=0,009$) and type 3 (focus on self) ($MD=2,242$; $p=0,026$);

b) emotion balance: emotion balance scores of adolescents from type 5 (focus on self and negative events) were significantly lower than those of adolescents from type 1 (self-development focus) ($MD=-4,101$; $p=0,014$) and type 3 (focus on self) ($MD=-3,708$; $p=0,042$);

c) depression: depression scores of study participants from type 1 (self-development) were significantly lower than those of adolescents from types 2 (relationship focus) ($MD=-4.286$; $p=0.005$), 4 (mixed focus) ($MD=-3,501$; $p=0,015$) and 5 (focus on self and negative events) ($MD=-5,212$; $p=0,009$);

d) anxiety: anxiety scores of respondents from type 1 (self-development) were significantly lower than those of adolescents from types 2 (relationship focus) ($MD=-4,448$; $p=0,002$) and 5 (focus on self and negative events) ($MD=-5,984$; $p=0,001$);

Table 5

Comparison of emotional status of adolescents in different types of significant events (N = 559)

Emotional status	1 type (M ± SD)	2 type (M ± SD)	3 type (M ± SD)	4 type (M ± SD)	5 type (M ± SD)	Differences		
						F	p	η ²
<i>Scales of questionnaire SPANE</i>								
Positive emotions	23,2 ± 4,04	22,6 ± 4,29	23,0 ± 4,39	22,3 ± 4,84	21,5 ± 4,90	1,666	0,157	0,01
Negative emotions	12,9 ± 4,69	14,9 ± 4,35	13,1 ± 3,98	14,3 ± 4,46	15,3 ± 4,78	5,636	< 0,001	0,04
Balance	10,3 ± 7,88	7,7 ± 7,54	9,9 ± 7,38	8,0 ± 7,99	6,2 ± 7,99	4,124	0,003	0,03
<i>Scales of questionnaire DASS</i>								
Depression	3,3 ± 3,99	5,4 ± 5,43	4,4 ± 4,46	5,0 ± 4,79	5,9 ± 5,41	4,763	0,001	0,03
Anxiety	2,9 ± 4,12	5,1 ± 5,12	3,7 ± 4,27	4,3 ± 4,79	5,9 ± 5,52	5,637	< 0,001	0,04
Stress	4,9 ± 4,66	7,1 ± 5,51	5,7 ± 4,52	6,4 ± 5,11	7,4 ± 5,39	4,139	0,003	0,03

Note: 1 type – self-development focus; 2 type – interpersonal relations focus; 3 type – self focus; 4 type – mixed focus; 5 type – focus on self and negative events.

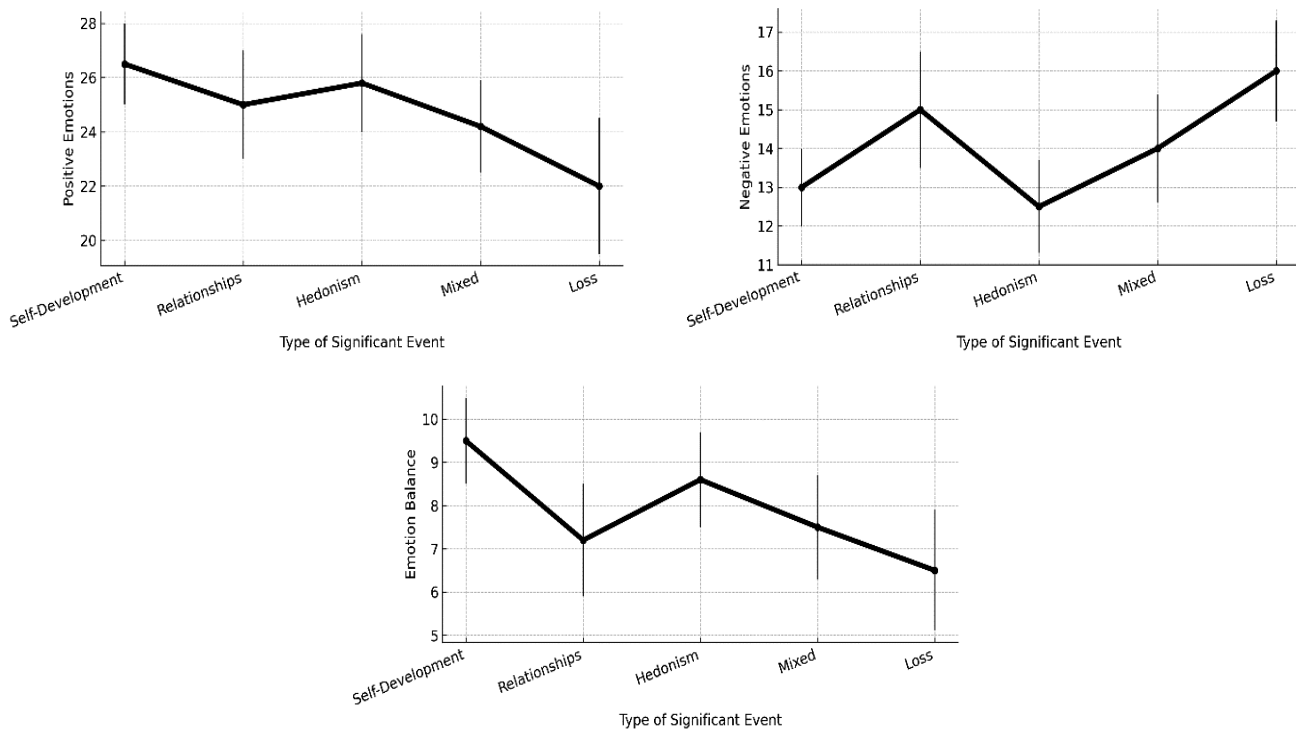


Fig. 2. The spread of ratings according to the scales of the SPANE technique in adolescents from different types (95% confidence interval) (N = 559)

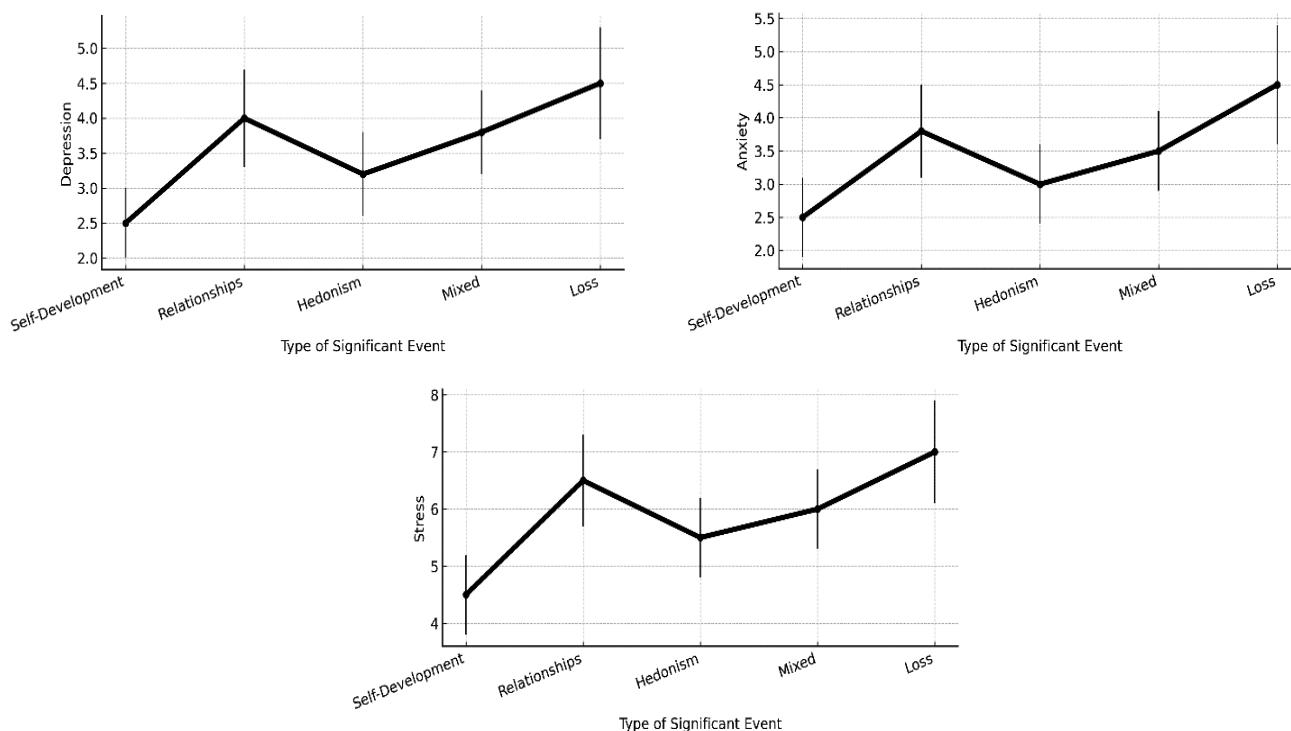


Fig. 3. The spread of scores on the scales of the DASS methodology among adolescents from different types (95% confidence interval) (N = 559)

e) stress: stress scores of adolescents from type 1 (self-development) are significantly lower than those of adolescents from types 2 (relationship focus) (MD=-4,361; p=0,007) and 5 (focus on self and negative events) (MD=-4,880; p=0,030).

Consider the results obtained. The group focused on self-development, which includes the categories of learning, self-development and achievement, has a more positive emotional status compared to the group of focus on relationships, the group of focus on self and negative events, which significantly outperform the others in the expression of indicators of depression, anxiety, stress, as well as the number of negative evaluations of their lives. Also note that the self-focus group demonstrates a more positive emotional status compared to the relationship focus group and the self-focus and negative events group. Thus, the results demonstrate that the emotional status of adolescents belonging to different groups on named significant events differs meaningfully.

Result discussion

The study analyzed the content of significant events of the last year experienced by adolescents in the city of Sevastopol. The first result was the identification of categories of significant events that adolescents named in free form. These categories include: spheres of educational activities (43,3% of the sample), interpersonal relationships with peers in the areas of love and friendship (42,0%), travel and entertainment (39,7%), material acquisitions (28,3%), independent achieve-

ments (24,7%), holidays (17,7%), relationships in the parental family and with relatives (15,9%), loss/death of loved ones, situations of danger (6,4%), self-development (5,9%), and removing (4,8%). As can be seen, the potential risks of adolescents' social environment due to a special military operation are not reflected for the majority of respondents in the frequency of events highlighted. The significance of events that are frequently indicated – education, interpersonal relations with peers in the field of friendship and love, travel and entertainment, material acquisitions, is largely determined by the stable age-psychological specifics and actual age-specific tasks of adolescent development in accordance with the models of R. Havighurst, and D.B. Elkonin. The solution of such tasks of adolescence development as educational activity and professional self-determination, mastering role models of interpersonal interaction with peers, becoming independent in relations with parents is reflected in the preferred emotionally significant events of one's own life. Similar results were obtained in a study on student youth of Moscow city after partial mobilization during a special military operation. A high level of psychological resilience of youth to crisis transitivity events was also determined. University students were more focused on the events related to solving the developmental tasks of the period of entry into adulthood than on the stress caused by the events of the special military operation (Markina, Molchanov, 2023). Note that the lack of focus on military actions and their consequences also makes it easier to experience stress existing in a person's life (Nevryuev, 2022). However, it is necessary to

note a group of adolescents (6.4% of respondents) who highlight events of the sphere of loss/death, situations of surgery and dangerous diseases. It is possible to assume the presence of risks of psychological well-being of adolescents focusing on this group of events.

The analysis allowed us to identify the types of focus on events: 'self-development focus', 'relationship focus', 'focus on self', 'mixed focus', 'focus on self and negative events'. Note the fairly even distribution of adolescents across the different event focuses: the percentages range from 18,6% to 26,7% for four of the five types, except for the smallest group 'focus on self and negative events.' The 'self-development focus' and 'focus on self' groups are in opposition to each other. These groups are similar to the 'contradiction' of values of self-exaltation (in particular, hedonism) and values of self-overcoming (benevolence and universalism towards others) highlighted in S. Schwartz's model of value orientations. In this model, values determine a person's ultimate desired state (emotional, cognitive) or behavior, including the control function of choice and behavioral evaluation (Schwartz et al., 2012). It can be hypothesized that experiencing values as meaningful influences event-world orientation and recall of important emotional events in the past year.

The group of adolescents who recall more frequently events related to education, self-development and achievement has a more positive emotional status compared to peers orientated towards relationship events and self and negative events. Definition of events of education, self-development, and achievement, consistent with age developmental tasks, is associated with respondents' positive emotional status. At the same time, focus on interpersonal events – also an important age development task – is associated with a more negative emotional status. This can be explained by adolescents' different levels of satisfaction with their achievements in different domains. Greater sensitivity and involvement in interpersonal relationships, that lead to greater criticality in evaluating themselves and the events of their lives can be the possible reason. Another explanation for this phenomenon lie in the area of intersex differences. Previous research shows that girls report symptoms of depression, anxiety, and stress more often than boys (Shilko et al., 2021). At the same time, girls more often

focus on events in the sphere of interpersonal relations. Thus, it is possible to assume that the greater focus on negative events is connected with intersex differences in the reflection of their own negative emotional states. It should be noted that despite the different content of the named events, the emotional status of the groups focused on interpersonal relations or focused on themselves and negative events appears to be similar: the expression of anxiety, depression and stress together with the prevalence of negative emotions. Note that the focus on self and negative events is largely associated with encountering experiences of loss, death, and illness, which naturally increases negative emotional status, while the expression of negative status for the interpersonally oriented group is of concern. Groups of adolescents more oriented towards interpersonal relationships, as well as those focused on self and negative events, need closer examination of their emotional status, which appears to be similar despite the different content of the named events.

Conclusion

Our study aimed to investigate the significant events of the last year identified by adolescents in an unstable social environment and their relationship with their emotional status. Based on the respondents' answers, the main categories of the mentioned events were identified. The formed event groups mostly are related to adolescence developmental tasks. The idea about the greater role of the age-psychological specifics of adolescence in singling out significant events of the last year in comparison with the instability of the social environment was confirmed.

Certain correlations were obtained between the identified significant spheres and the event colouring, on the one hand, and the emotional state of adolescents, on the other. Special attention should be paid to the group of adolescents focused on events related to the sphere of loss/death, the situation of surgery and dangerous diseases. Psychological support for this group will help reduce the risks associated with difficulties in solving age developmental tasks, as well as increase the overall level of psychological well-being of adolescents experiencing multiple crises in a situation of high uncertainty.

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Information about the authors

Sergei V. Molchanov, Candidate of Science (Psychology), Leading Research Associate, Senior Researcher, Laboratory of Family Psychology and Child-Parent Relations, Federal Scientific Center for Psychological and Interdisciplinary Research, Moscow, Russian Federation; Assistant Professor, Department of Developmental Psychology, Faculty of Psychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5147-3551>, e-mail: s-molch2001@mail.ru

Olga V. Almazova, Candidate of Science (Psychology), Senior Researcher at the Laboratory of Psychology of Theatrical Activity, Federal Scientific Center for Psychological and Interdisciplinary Research, Moscow, Russian Federation; Assistant Professor, Department of Developmental Psychology, Faculty of Psychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8852-4076>, e-mail:almaz.arg@gmail.com

Alexandra G. Dolgikh, Candidate of Science (Psychology), Head of the Laboratory of Psychology of Information Security for Adolescents, Federal Scientific Center for Psychological and Interdisciplinary Research, Moscow, Russian Federation; Assistant Professor, Department of Educational Psychology and Pedagogy, Faculty of Psychology, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8845-1575>, e-mail: ag.dolgikh@mail.ru

Irina V. Sultanova, Candidate of Science (Psychology), Head of the Department of Psychology, Sevastopol State University, Sevastopol, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8306-4290>, e-mail: ivsultanova@sevsu.ru

Информация об авторах

Сергей Владимирович Молчанов, кандидат психологических наук, доцент, старший научный сотрудник лаборатории психологии семьи и детско-родительских отношений, Федеральный научный центр психологических и междисциплинарных исследований (ФНЦ ПМИ), Москва, Российская Федерация; доцент кафедры возрастной психологии, факультет психологии, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова (ФГБОУ ВО «МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова»), Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5147-3551>, e-mail: s-molch2001@mail.ru

Алмазова Ольга Викторовна, кандидат психологических наук, старший научный сотрудник лаборатории психологии театральной деятельности, Федеральный научный центр психологических и междисциплинарных исследований (ФНЦ ПМИ), Москва, Российская Федерация; доцент кафедры возрастной психологии, факультет психологии, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова (ФГБОУ ВО «МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова»), Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8852-4076>, e-mail:almaz.arg@gmail.com

Долгих Александра Георгиевна, кандидат психологических наук, заведующая лабораторией психологии информационной безопасности подростков, Федеральный научный центр психологических и междисциплинарных исследований (ФНЦ ПМИ), Москва, Российская Федерация; доцент кафедры психологии образования и педагогики, факультет психологии, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова (ФГБОУ ВО «МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова»), Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8845-1575>, e-mail: ag.dolgikh@mail.ru

Султанова Ирина Викторовна, кандидат психологических наук, доцент, заведующая кафедрой психологии, Севастопольский государственный университет (ФГАОУ ВО СевГУ), Севастополь, Российская федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8306-4290>, e-mail: ivsultanova@sevsu.ru

Contribution of the authors

Molchanov S.V. — research ideas; annotation, analysis and interpretation of the data obtained, writing and formatting of the manuscript;

Almazova O.V. — the idea of research, the use of statistical methods for data analysis; visualization of research results, analysis and interpretation of the data obtained, writing a manuscript;

Dolgikh A.G. — research ideas; planning and organization of research; control over the conduct of research, analysis and interpretation of the data obtained: writing a manuscript;

Sultanova I.V. — research planning; data collection and analysis, monitoring of research.

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

Вклад авторов

Молчанов С.В. — идеи исследования; аннотирование, анализ и интерпретация полученных данных, написание и оформление рукописи;

Алмазова О.В. — идея исследования, применение статистических методов для анализа данных; визуализация результатов исследования, анализ и интерпретация полученных данных, написание рукописи;

Долгих А.Г. — идеи исследования; планирование и организация исследования; контроль за проведением исследования, анализ и интерпретация полученных данных: написание рукописи;

Султанова И.В. — планирование исследования; сбор и анализ данных, контроль за проведением исследования.

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Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Evolution of preschool girls' beauty standards over the recent 10 years: findings of the experimental longitudinal study

O.V. Shalygina¹, A.B. Kholmogorova² ✉

¹ “European gymnasium” Moscow, Russian Federation

² Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, Moscow, Russian Federation

✉ kholmogorova-2007@yandex.ru

Abstract

Context and Relevance. Body dissatisfaction is a risk factor for the development of eating disorders, which has also been found over the recent decades among children and adolescents. In turn, eating disorders are associated with an increasing psychological ill-being, and namely, low self-esteem, anxiety and depression. The body positivity social movement has been expanding recently countering thinness standards imposed by Western culture, while raising experts' concerns about the normalization of obesity. **Objective.** The aim was to investigate how the representation of the female beauty standard has evolved among preschool girls. **Hypothesis.** Despite some changes in the propagated female beauty standards that have been occurring in mass culture over the recent decade, girls still prefer dolls with ultra-thin bodies. Dolls act as role models, with their appearance forming the basis for girls' perceptions of attractiveness. **Methods and materials.** The article presents the findings of a “Doll Choice” experiment, replicated 10 years after the original one, which involved 30 girls aged 4 to 8 years. **Results.** Similar to their peers from a decade ago, contemporary girls continue to prefer ultra-thin dolls (fashion dolls) that embody the values of consumer society, wherein the body and overall appearance are regarded as objects subject to manipulation with the aim of enhancement and presentation to others. At the same time, a doll with a regular physique of a 5–6-years-old girl evoked negative emotions and was rejected. The girls paid more attention to the design of appearance than we had previously observed. **Conclusions.** The current generation of children finds itself in an unfavorable social environment for development, under the influence of pathogenic consumer society values, which are risk factors for the development of mental disorders and emotional maladjustment. This situation necessitates the development and implementation of specialized educational programs for parents to prevent mental ill-being in children and adolescents.

Keywords: dolls, girls, beauty standards, longitudinal study, physical perfectionism, eating disorders, consumer society

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Динамика стандартов красоты у девочек дошкольного возраста за последние 10 лет: данные экспериментального лонгитюдного исследования

О.В. Шалыгина¹, А.Б. Холмогорова² ✉

¹ Европейская гимназия, Москва, Российская Федерация

² Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет, Москва, Российская Федерация;
НИИ скорой помощи имени Н.В. Склифосовского, Москва, Российская Федерация

✉ kholmogorova-2007@yandex.ru

Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. Чувство неудовлетворенности телом является фактором риска развития нарушений и расстройств пищевого поведения, рост которых, в том числе среди детей и подростков, наблюдается в последние десятилетия. В свою очередь, расстройства пищевого поведения коррелируют с ростом психологического неблагополучия — сниженной самооценкой, тревогой и депрессией. В противовес навязываемому канону худого тела в западной культуре ширится социальное движение бодипозитива, которое вызывает обеспокоенность специалистов по поводу нормализации ожирения. **Цель.** Исследовать динамику представлений о стандартах женской красоты у девочек дошкольного возраста. **Гипотеза.** Несмотря на некоторые изменения в пропагандируемых стандартах женской красоты, произошедшие в массовой культуре за последние 10 лет, девочки по-прежнему отдадут предпочтение куклам с ультратонкими телами. Куклы выступают как ролевые модели, внешность которых девочки соотносят со своими представлениями о привлекательности. **Методы и материалы.** В статье приводятся данные эксперимента «Выбор куклы», повторенного спустя 10 лет, в котором приняли участие 30 девочек от 4 до 8 лет. **Результаты.** Современные девочки, как и их ровесницы 10 лет назад, отдадут предпочтение ультратонким куклам (fashion doll), олицетворяющим ценности общества потребления, где тело и внешность в целом становятся объектом для манипуляций с целью улучшения и презентации другим. При этом кукла с нормальным телосложением, соответствующим телу девочки 5–6 лет, вызывает негативные эмоции и отвергается. Девочки больше внимания, чем было нами зафиксировано прежде, уделяют оформлению внешности. **Выводы.** Современное поколение детей находится в неблагоприятной социальной ситуации развития, испытывая на себе давление патогенных ценностей потребительского общества, являющихся факторами риска по развитию психических расстройств и эмоциональной дезадаптации. Данная ситуация требует разработки и реализации специальных просветительских программ для родителей с целью профилактики психического неблагополучия у детей и подростков.

Ключевые слова: куклы, девочки, стандарты красоты, лонгитюд, физический перфекционизм, нарушения и расстройства пищевого поведения, общество потребления

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Introduction

In 2014, we conducted a study on a contribution of fashion dolls and the accompanying production (girl magazines, social media) to development of preschool girls' physical attractiveness standards (Shalygina, Kholmogorova, 2014, 2015). At that time, the standard of anorexic “beauty” was extremely popular in the

mass culture. The pursuit of this standard cost many women their health and often their lives. Internalizing the scaffold of attractive looks with its obligatory attribute of a young, thin and fit body¹ translated through socio-cultural messages, on the one hand, and a negative attitude towards people with larger body sizes and weight, on the other hand, is one of the risk factors for the development of disordered eating

¹ “The Substance”, a movie by Coralie Farja (2024), demonstrates the current society's demand for physical beauty, youth and perfection very vividly.

and eating disorders (DE and EDs)², as well as mental problems, including low self-esteem, distress, disorders of body image, anxiety and depression³.

We decided to replicate the “Doll Choice” experiment ten years later to find out whether the preferences in perceiving physical attractiveness had changed in the new generation of preschool girls, whose frame of reference including the ideas about beauty develops relying on their environment. At each developmental stage, *“there develops a completely original, exclusive, single, and unique relation, specific to the given age, between the child and reality, is formed between the child and the surrounding reality, mainly the social reality, that surrounds him. The social situation of development represents the initial moment for all dynamic changes that occur in development during a given period. It determines wholly and completely the forms and the path along which the child will acquire newer personality characteristics, drawing them from the social reality as from the basic source of development, the path along which the social becomes individual”* (Vygotsky, 1984, vol. 4, p. 258).

Skeletal thinness has given way to a sporty physique with a thin waist and visible muscle relief (Kholmogorova & Rakhmanina, 2020). The body positivity movement has been growing and has tended to normalize obesity and promote bodies of a dangerously large weight. The body has ceased to be an individual's personal given having become an object of close attention at all – macrosocial, family, personal and interpersonal⁴ – levels. *Physical perfectionism* (an increased concern about one's appearance, one's wish to meet unhealthy standards) was studied in several Russian studies under the supervision of A.B. Kholmogorova. Their findings allow us to trace the dynamic changes in the spread and pathogenicity of this phenomenon. These studies showed that 80% of younger adolescents studying in Moscow grammar schools were dissatisfied with their appearance and physique; more than half of them invested efforts to lose weight and even expressed readiness

for surgical intervention in order to improve their appearance (Kholmogorova & Dadeko, 2010). They confirmed the effect of macro- and microsocial factors on the development of physical perfectionism, the severity of which correlated with the levels of emotional distress, depression and anxiety symptoms (Tarkhanova, 2014); and revealed a high correlation between the physical perfectionism levels and a fear of negative evaluation and rejection from other people (Kholmogorova & Rakhmanina, 2020). It was found that women who participated in fitness marathons and spent a significant amount of time on Instagram⁵ both had heightened expectations as to their own physical perfection, and demonstrated symptoms of mental distress, including suicidal tendencies (Lepesheva & Kholmogorova, 2021). A study of the family context of DE in adolescents showed that the cultural focus on external perfection and adherence to unhealthy standards manifested itself in interpersonal relationships within the family via general perfectionism: The desire to meet the others' high expectations, demonstration of a prosperous façade, and a focus on one's own imperfection (Sukhanova, & Kholmogorova, 2022).

Stice et al. (2017) note that the disturbed attitudes toward weight, body shape, and nutrition are crucial for the development and maintenance of destructive, lethal, and costly EDs. The classification of EDs as lethal is confirmed by statistics: According to the American National Association of Anorexia Nervosa and Related Disorders (ANAD), 10 out of 200 American deaths each year are caused by eating disorders, that is, one death every 62 minutes. More than 70% of people with EDs also have other medical conditions, most often anxiety and mood disorders⁶.

EDs occur mainly in adolescence. Girls begin to worry about their weight as early as at 6–10 years old; at 14 years old, 60–70% of girls attempt at losing weight; about 12% of teenage girls have some form of ED⁷. A meta-analysis of 32 studies using the SCOFF questionnaire (January, 1999 – November, 2022) embracing 63,191 people from

² Phillipou et al. (2018) consider body image disturbances to be the core symptom and the driving force behind restrictive eating in anorexia nervosa and purging practices in bulimia nervosa. They believe that they differentiate these disorders from other EDs and suggest classifying them as “body image disorders.” Phillipou, A., Castle, D.J. and Russell, S.L. (2018). Anorexia nervosa: Eating disorder or body image disorder? Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 52, 1, 13–14 <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epub/10.1177/0004867417722640>

³ See, for example: Kholmogorova, A.B., Tarkhanova, P.M. (2014) Appearance standards and culture: the role of physical perfectionism and its consequences for the emotional well-being of people in our era. *Issues of Psychology*, 2, 52–65.

⁴ Our research relies on a multifactorial psychosocial model of affective spectrum disorders (Kholmogorova, Garanyan, 1998); (Kholmogorova, 2011).

⁵ Forbidden in Russia.

⁶ <https://www.eatingdisorderhope.com/blog/eating-disorder-statistics-what-the-numbers-reveal>

⁷ <https://anad.org/eating-disorder-statistic/>

16 countries, showed that the share of EDs in children and adolescents aged 6 to 18 years was 22%, with girls reporting EDs significantly more often than boys (López-Gil et al., 2023). Russian medical specialists also registered cases of the onset of EDs as early as at 6–7 years old (Sukhanova & Kholmogorova, 2022). The growth of disordered eating is confirmed by the obesity statistics, and in particular, the obesity epidemic among children and adolescents⁸. The study findings (Flitman et al., 2024) suggest a high level of comorbidity between obesity, depressive symptoms and anxiety in children and adolescents.

The severity of EDs, their high prevalence and early onset necessitate comprehensive investigation, including studies on the development of ideal beauty standards in childhood and adolescence⁹.

In previously published articles, we emphasized a special role of the dolls in the development of children's identity, their emotional impact on the child's developing personality. In 2016, the Mattel company released a new Fashionista line of Barbie dolls with varying body types: The standard Barbie (Original) got a company of "plump" dolls (Curvy), tall (Tall) and miniature (Petite) dolls, all except Curvy were excessively thin. These dolls were used in a study (Harriger et al., 2019) of attitudes to body shape and size in girls aged 3 to 10¹⁰. We refer to the results of that study for the purpose of comparison.

Methods

Sample.

The study involved 30 girls (28 preschool girls aged 4 to 6 years old studying at a pri-

vate Moscow kindergarten) and 2 first-grade students of a Moscow grammar school (aged 8 years old); parental consent was obtained for all the girls.

«Doll Choice» Experiment Procedure

Five dolls were presented to the girl. Four of them belonged to the "fashion" segment, and namely, a Barbie doll, a Bratz doll, a "Surprise Tube Doll", a KariKids doll and one was a porcelain doll of the same height and a regular child physique (a Girl Doll). The dolls were selected based on the number of marketplace reviews confirming their popularity. The girls were asked to choose the doll they liked the most, and to describe it. Then, the doll "went about its business", and the child had to make a choice from the remaining dolls again until there was only one doll left, which the girls described as well.

Results

Each choice from the first to the last was assessed on the scale from 4 to 0, respectively (i.e. Top 1 = 4, Top 2 = 3; Top 3 = 2; Top 4 = 1; Top 5 = 0). Table 1 presents findings describing the results of the girls' choice.

The Barbie doll was in the lead. It was the first-choice doll more often than others; it was followed by its cheap analogue — «a Surprise Tube Doll», KariKids — a doll representing a fragile pre-teen girl — was slightly behind it.

It should be noted that the range of dolls has changed over 10 years. Barbie, Bratz and Monster High that used to be highly popular have lower representation on the market places. Their price has

Table 1

Distribution of the Dolls by the Choice Order, Number of Choices and Total Score

Doll's name	Number of corresponding choices / Sum of the Scores					Total score
	1 st choice	2 nd choice	3 rd choice	4 th choice	5 th choice	
Barbie	10/40	8/24	7/14	4/4	1	82
KSurprise Tube Doll	9/36	7/21	7/14	3/3	4	75
KariKids	8/32	7/21	8/16	5/5	2	74
Bratz	2/8	7/21	6/12	8/8	7	49
Girl Doll	1/4	1/3	2/4	10/10	16	21

⁸ In the Russian Federation, the overall incidence of obesity among children increased by 21.4% in 2014–2018 (Flitman et al., 2024).

⁹ Having studied ideas about the beautiful body in 140 girls aged 4 to 17, Volokhova and Gurina (2023) noticed increasing demands for thinness as a marker of beauty. Whereas in 7-year-old girls this marker was found only in 26% of the participants, it grew to 50% in 8–9 year-olds, and in 12–13 years old, 70% of respondents called thinness and slimness an indispensable attribute of a beautiful body (Volokhova, Gurina, 2023).

¹⁰ The 4 dolls "participating" in the experiment had identical heads and wore identical bikinis and differed only in height and body size.

See <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC6857835/pdf/nihms-1055799.pdf>

increased sharply¹¹. When comparing the choices in 2014 and 2024, it can be noted that Bratz dolls¹², which were at the peak of their popularity in 2014, have lost their leadership. Their large detachable feet and massive shoes left the participants bewildered, whereas earlier this feature used to be perceived positively. It can be assumed that the girls' choice was influenced by the fashion for the doll and its popularity.

The Girl Doll was out of the girls' focus again. It became the first and the second choice only once; twice it became the third choice, it remained the last, that is, not chosen, 16 times. In their experiment, Harriger and colleagues (2019) also showed 4 dolls to the girls limiting their choice with 2 options: To choose the one they would like to play with and point to the one they would not like to play with. The "Curvy" doll was characterized as "ugly" (59%) and most often (39%) they pointed to it when the experimenter asked the question, "Which one of them would you not like to play with?", arguing their refusal with its "plumpness" and thickness (25%)

or presenting no arguments at all (25%). The girls almost never pointed to the original Barbie when asked this question (1.7%).

We conducted a qualitative analysis of the dolls' descriptions and divided all the mentioned characteristics into two categories: Representing the actual body image characteristics and representing the decorative characteristics related to clothes, accessories, shoes and makeup. Each mention of a particular characteristic was registered in Table 2, regardless of their valence (positive or negative).

The first thing the girls mentioned was the dolls' hair, its color, "texture" (A., 6 years old), length. They used such epithets as "beautiful, long, unusual, smooth, sleek, lush, silky, like Cinderella's" often comparing it with their own hair,

"Her hair is almost like mine, as if it were made from my hair" (A., 6 years old); "Her hair color is the same as my tips, look" (A., 7 years old).

It is interesting that in Harriger and colleagues' (2019) experiment, where the dolls had the same hair and hairstyles, 14% of the girls said they did not like the "Curvy" doll's hair.

Table 2

Dolls' Body Characteristics Mentioned by the Girls

№ п/п	Observed body characteristics	Barbie	Surprise doll	KariKids	Bratz	Girl doll	Total mentions
1	Hair	31	30	26	23	25	135
2	Eyes	4	2	13	11	10	40
3	Lips	4	5	1	18	5 негатив.	33
4	Legs (toes, heels. Knees)	7	4	7	6	0	24
5	Hands (elbows, wrists)	3	6	5	3	1	18
6	Eyelashes	1	1	9	5	1	17
7	Face	2	4	2	3	0	11
8	Brows	0	2	4	4	0	10
9	Skin	5	1	2	5	0	13
10	Physique	2	3	2	2	2	11
11	Ears	1	3	0	1	1	6
12	Teeth	4	0	0	0	0	4
13	Breast	0	3	0	0	0	3
14	Smile	2	0	0	0	1	3
15	Nose	0	0	0	1	1	2
16	Cheeks	0	0	1	1	0	2
17	Fingers	1	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Total</i>		67	64	72	83	47	333

¹¹ The AST publishing house will launch production of its own dolls under the Neo Stars brand to replace popular Mattel dolls. The Komersant writes about this referencing the director of the publishing house's toy department E. Yuryeva. She did not disclose the volume of the investment in this development, but admitted that the market situation after Mattel's departure "allows to recoup the investment fairly quickly." Some sources estimated the investment as 400 million rubles. <https://retailer.ru/izdatelstvo-ast-zapustit-proizvodstvo-kukol-na-zamenu-barbie/>

¹² In 2016, MGA, unable to withstand the competition, stopped producing Bratz dolls, the price of the dolls in the series increased; while this article was being written, marketplaces reported the return of Bratz dolls - "the legendary foursome of friends whose passion for fashion and desire for success are still strong."

Facial features (119) were top 2 among most frequent characteristics mentioned, especially when the eyes were highlighted. For example, Barbie and Surprise Doll have eyes matching the facial proportions, and the girls hardly paid any attention to them; Barbie's eyes were mentioned only 4 times, and Surprise Doll's eyes were mentioned twice. Meanwhile, as the eyes grew larger and brighter, the number of mentions increased sharply: KariKids had 13, Bratz and Girl Doll had 11 and 10 mentions, respectively. Bratz's pumped-up lips earned 18 comments, 14 of which were positive, "I like her coloured lips" (A., 6 years old); "Her lips are plump and beautiful" (M., 5 years old); some statements conveyed parents' preferences, "I don't want this one, she has big lips, and my mother and I don't like big lips" (A., 7 years old).

There were 5 mentions of Girl Doll's lips, but they were all negative,

"The lips are not very good – somewhat thin" (M., 6 years old); "The lips are yellow, but they should be red, I don't like it" (E., 5 years old); "Her lips are all mush, as if she has just eaten porridge" (K., 6 years old).

These contrasting descriptions do not only reflect what the girls thought the lips should be like, but also what they thought they *should not be like*.

Another characteristic mentioned was skin: "I like her skin, it's a little tanned" (T., 6 years old); "Her skin is beautiful – it's glossy" (S., 6 years old). There were 13 comments like that, whereas in 2014, during the experiment, we found almost no comments about skin¹³.

When describing the fashion dolls' physique, girls used such words as "slender; tall; neat; flexible; thin; very thin; thin body shape; a good physique – a thin waist; and it's curvier here; I like it very thin on top, but thick here". The girls explained the doll's thinness by ballet classes or sports, "She has a figure that suits ballet" (T., 7 years old). 22 assumptions were made that fashion dolls did sports (running, swimming, stretching, gymnastics) and

15 assumptions were made that they did ballet or dancing. Only 2 assumptions out of 37 described a girl doll (that she did somersaults and danced). The girls seemed to directly associate thinness with physical activity. The girls' predictions about the physical activity of each doll are shown in Table 3.

Just like 10 years ago, during the experiment, we observed the process of *identification*, i.e. comparing one's looks to the doll's appearance, which confirms the hypothesis about the girls' perception of the dolls as role models involved in the development of ideas about attractiveness. Here are some examples,

"She has long hair like Rapunzel. I also used to have long hair, but I cut it, and now I regret it, because I also want long hair" (A., 7 years old); "I like her eyes and dress, my mother bought me almost the same one, but black. Her eyes are cute, I like them, the arrows reach here, I also had them on my face until they disappeared, I also have a heart on my face. Her sneakers are like mine and my mother's" (A., 7 years old); "Her eyes are brown, like mine (laughing). I have brown eyes too" (M., 6 years old); "She looks a little like me – brown eyes and hair, (then, looking at her earrings), – But I'm afraid to pierce my ears" (S., 6 years old); "She looks like me, her hair and her eyes are of the same color" (N., 8 years old).

The girls compare their appearance with the dolls' looks, and compare their own and dolls' skills,

"She can do the splits, I also do gymnastics, I just need a bit more time to do the splits" (A., 7 years old); "This is how she can do it, like a ballerina. I can do it too, but it makes my bones crunch" (A., 7 years old); "She likes stretching, I do it too" (S., 4 years old).

In one case, we encountered a projection of one's feelings onto the Girl Doll, "She is very sad because she is leaving kindergarten for school" (S., 7 years old).

Much attention was paid to the doll's external design, and namely, clothes, especially the

Table 3

Girls' Assumptions about Dolls' Physical Activity

Types of physical activity	Barbie	Surprise doll	KariKids	Bratz	Girl doll	Total mentions
Sports: gymnastics, stretching, swimming, running	3	3	5	10	1	22
Dancing: ballet, break dance	9	3	1	1	1	15
<i>Total</i>	12	6	6	11	2	37

¹³ The school-age girls mentioned skin as a significant feature in their doll description blogs, whereas none of the preschool girls mentioned this characteristic.

dress (one of the dolls was dressed in shorts and a T-shirt), shoes, accessories, including those that decorated the clothes, e.g. buttons shaped as beads or glitter on the dress and makeup. The frequency with which a particular detail of the image design is mentioned is reflected in Table 4.

As we can see from Table 5, the number of comments on decorative characteristics (420) exceeded the number of mentions of bodily characteristics (333). The girls associated clothes and accessories with the doll's assumed lifestyle and status. Their statements show how the children adopt both the ideology of consumerism¹⁴, and the idea of building one's Self on appearance and the "all-for-show" lifestyle. The fashion dolls' lifestyle as verbalized by the girls appears as idle, full of narcissistic admiration,

"Her favorite pastime is trying on crowns" (A., 8 years old); "She's just a Princess, she walks around the house and has fun, does what she wants, puts all sorts of beautiful dresses on, plays with her friends" (A., 6 years old); "It'll go to a beauty salon or a clothing store" (M., 6 years old); "She will go to the palace to give orders and relax" (E., 6 years old); "She would go dancing where they decide who has the most beautiful dress – to a fashion show" (A., 6 years old); "[She will go] To the store, she will buy everything she wants there – a tablet and a live dog" (A., 5 years old); "She looks like a queen. She can do everything she wants. She will meet boyfriends" (K., 6 years old); "She will go to a disco with her (female) friends, where everyone is having fun, dancing and singing" (E., 6 years old); "She is

Table 4

Number of Comments on Decorative Characteristics

Doll's Decoration							
№ п/п	Category	Barbie	Surprise doll	KariKids	Bratz	Girl Doll	Total
<i>Clothes and footwear</i>							
1	Dress (skirt, sundress)	34	33	34	1	21	123
2	Other clothes	6	0	14	33	11	64
3	Shoes	2	-	20	26	11	59
<i>Total</i>		42	33	68	60	43	246
<i>Accessories</i>							
1	Crown	0	26	0	-1 (no crown)	0	27
2	Bows, headband)	6	4	4	9	9	32
3	Earrings	-	2	-	20	1 («needed»)	23
4	Barrette	18	-	-	-	-	18
5	Bracelet	-	-	-	16	-	16
6	Other accessories and decorative elements	2	7	11	1	4	25
<i>Total</i>		26	39	15	47	14	141
<i>Makeup</i>							
1	Makeup (eyeshadow, eyeliner arrows, lipstick)	14	6	4	9	-	33
<i>Total comments on decorative characteristics</i>		82	78	87	116	57	420

Table 5

Total Number of Comments for Each Doll

Total comments	Barbie	Surprise doll	KariKids	Bratz	Girl Doll	Total
Bodily characteristics	67	64	72	83	47	333
Decorative characteristics	82	78	87	116	57	420
Total comments on the doll	149	142	159	199	104	753

¹⁴ "Having freed themselves from the educational and upbringing functions, the world mass media have changed their focus and functioned as stimulation consumption <...> Consumerism is a socio-cultural system in which social identification is grounded in things beyond the sphere of labor and production, beyond work, that is, primarily in entertainment, and, first and foremost, in showing off, demonstrative entertainment." (Ilyin, A.N., (2013) Consumer society and its essential features. *Values and meanings*, 6 (28), 22–35. URL : <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/obschestvo-potrebleniya-i-ego-suschnostnye-osobennosti> (date of access: 12.01.2025)).

Table 6

Dolls' Assumed Activities¹⁵

Doll's Name	Preferred Activity
Barbie	Loves to dance / Does ballet / She will go to a ball / To a fashion show (2) / To perform at a disco with friends (2) / To a friend's birthday / To a party / To go on vacation somewhere / To do gymnastics/ She has such arms and legs, it appears that she does jogging / To pick out a dress for someone / To go to a ball to dance and eat strawberries
Surprise doll	She is just a princess, walks around the house, has fun, does whatever she wants / She will go to the palace to give orders and relax / She looks like a queen who came to the ball and did whatever she wanted there / She is a princess/queen, will go to the ball to choose a prince / She will be greeted at the ball as a queen / She will go to a meeting with a king and a queen, she is a lady-in-waiting / Her favorite activity is trying on crowns / She will go to the store for a crown or a headband / She will go to a ball / To a party/ She is a singer / To a masquerade – she is an artist / To the store for a royal pet / To her wedding with a boyfriend / To the royal wedding / On a date / To the pool / To the ball
KariKids	She is a fashion designer / She will go play the violin / To take photos / To draw, she is an artist / She will go to her wedding / To a beauty salon or a clothing store / To visit friends / To dance the samba / To the store, she will buy everything she wants – a tablet and a live dog – there / She will go ice skating/ Developing flexibility / Gymnastics/ [She will] Dance beautifully / Works at CIAN, where my mother works / She will go to the theater / horseback riding / to a Halloween party
Bratz	She loves to do break dancing / She will go on vacation to relax, swim in the sea / collect shells / Go to the beach / to the sea / She works as a waitress in a cafe in hot countries / A French or English chef/ Goes to feed animals in the zoo/to take pictures of animals / to do sports, gymnastics / She will perform at a concert, sing, dance / She is a singer / To a fashion show / She loves to put on makeup and try on outfits / go to the store to buy outfits
Girl doll	She goes to kindergarten / definitely to kindergarten / She goes to school / likes going to school / A schoolgirl, an excellent student / She is ordinary, she will go to school / She will be a doctor and treat them all (dolls) / She works as a hairdresser / She will go to learn how to cook / She will go for a walk, ride down the slide and ride on the swings / She likes to go to the theater, she was given the role of Matryoshka there / She will go to a drawing school / Play games / hide and seek / dolls / Will clean the castle of two Barbies / Do somersaults at gymnastics / She will go to eat and walk in the park / Likes to make things with her hands at home / Looks like a day in the village – everyone is like that there, singing Russian folk songs / She will go to a dog show to choose a dog for herself / Loves to walk with friends in the park. Now she will go to the Sokolniki Park and meet her friends there/ I would give her the role of a villain in a cartoon where she is a criminal child

stunning, she wants to dress up for the ball. She has a beautiful dress, without a dress she is not so stunning. She has a crown, there is space in the dress for boobs (points to the cleavage). When the boyfriend comes to her, he will say, “You are stunning, just like me!” And they will go to the ball” (A., 7 years old).

In some cases, the dislike of the appearance indicated that the beauty standards had already been formed. For example, when describing Bratz, S., 7 years old, said,

“I don't like her. Her suit is shabby, there is a spot which is like a mole on her face, I don't like thick boots, earrings. There is nothing good. She would go and dye her hair white.”

If we look at Table 6 and read the girls' statements about the dolls' intended activities carefully, we will see that they are good at reading the image implied by the creators (Surprise Doll is most often associated by the girls with the image of a princess/queen, whose life is filled with dresses, balls, plea-

tures and boyfriends; Bratz is associated with exotic countries, the sea, the beach, and cafes).

Unlike the fashion dolls, Girl Doll is presented as an ordinary one, going to kindergarten (2 answers) or school (7 answers),

“She is a schoolgirl, an excellent student, excellent girls are always like that, with ribbons instead of loose hair” (A., 6 years old); “She is realistic, just like a person. She is going to the store to buy an album and paints” (A., 8 years old).

Her potential activities include walking in the Sokolniki Park, hide-and-seek or other games, drawing; she could be a doctor, a hairdresser (no one sent her to a ball or a fashion show). In the only case where the girl doll was a Top 1 choice, S., 6 years old, said, “She – her hair, dress, eyes, smile – looks very beautiful”, but other descriptions sounded rejecting, snobbish, even aggressive,

“Is it possible not to choose her? I don't like her, I don't like everything about her: her sundress, her T-shirt, her curly hair. And what a

¹⁵ The girls were asked to guess what the doll likes to do and where she will go after the conversation.

face, uh! It's ugly! Let her go to the dog show to choose a dog for herself" (A., 5 years old); "I don't like this one the most, I don't even want to keep it, the skirt is like a servant's one, I don't like her at all. Her hair is not like Barbie's. She will clean the castle of two Barbies I have already mentioned, they live in the castle" (S., 7 years old); "She has an old dress, she looks like Cinderella when she is at home" (S., 6 years old); "Her head is somewhat small (laughs), awkward" (M., 6 years old); "Her sandals are strange" (E., 5 years old); "I would give her the role of a villain in a cartoon where she is a child criminal" (N., 8 years old).

One of the girls told the following story about this doll: "Her lips are all mush, as if she had just eaten porridge, and her hands are big. She came to us from the coolest park on our planet, because she was expelled from there, because she looks ugly there. She needs to put on earrings, go get her ears pierced, put on a rainbow dress, put on beautiful shoes on her feet, so that everyone will greet her" (K., 6 years old).

In this story the girl worded the ideology of consumerism imposing the attitude of external perfection, and the need for others' admiration quite accurately. There is no place for those who *look ugly* in this world. Erich Fromm, who laid the foundations for understanding of the role that cultural pathology plays in the origin of personality pathology¹⁶, was deeply interested in the difference between being and possession. He inferred that "...possession and being are two basic modes of human existence, the predominance of one of which determines the differences in the individuals' characters and types of social character" (Fromm, 1990, p. 22).

Discussion

We deem the studies on fashion dolls to be important as fashion dolls represent the values of the contemporary society, including the desire for physical perfection.

The findings of the "Doll Choice" experiment replicated 10 years after the original one confirmed the hypothesis that standards of external attractiveness and beauty develop very early, and

by the senior preschool age, the girls preferred fashion dolls with their unrealistically thin bodies, and rejected a doll with a regular physique. Body slimness was often associated with physical activity, i.e. sports and/or dancing. Skin was a new significant body characteristic that the girls mentioned.

Much attention was still paid to the external design and decoration, i.e. clothes and accessories. In 2024, the number of the related comments turned out to exceed the number of comments on bodily characteristics (in contrast to the findings as of 2014). The girls listed even the most insignificant outfit details meticulously, often giving them an emotional assessment (I like – I don't like / beautiful – ugly).

The girls associated the dolls' appearance with a certain life style. They believed that fashion dolls bought clothes, went to parties and visited friends, performed at some shows, while "ordinary" Girl Doll went to school or kindergarten, worked as a doctor or "*made something with her hands*".

It is worth mentioning that most girls emotionally responded with admiration and joy when interacting with fashion dolls, whereas Girl Doll evoked neutral or negative emotion. Vygotsky believed *experiencing (perezhivanie)* to be a unit for studying personality and environment, "*The child's perezhivanie is also this kind of very simple unit about which we must not say that in itself it represents the influence of the environment on the child or the individuality of the child himself; perezhivanie is the unit of the personality and the environment as it is represented in development. Thus, in development, the unity of environmental and personality factors happens in a series of perezhivanie of the child. Perezhivanie must be understood as the internal relation of the child as a person to one factor or another of reality*" (Vygotsky, 1984, v. 4, p. 382, translation by Veresov, 2017, p. 64)¹⁷.

Nowadays, social and mass media have been promoting body positivity ideas. There are TV shows engaging participants with higher weight. However, our experimental data confirm that a thin body has remained the preferred beauty standard in girls aged 4–8 years. The subject of developing standards of physical attractiveness in children and adolescents is extremely relevant and requires further research.

¹⁶ Kholmogorova A.B., Garanyan N.G. Narcissism, perfectionism and depression // Counseling psychology and psychotherapy. 2004. Vol. 12. No. 1. P. 18–35. (In Russ.). DOI

¹⁷ Veresov, N. (2017). The Concept of Perezhivanie in Cultural-Historical Theory: Content and Contexts. In: Fler, M., Gonz lez Rey, F., Veresov, N. (eds) Perezhivanie, Emotions and Subjectivity. Perspectives in Cultural-Historical Research, vol 1. Springer, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-4534-9_3

Conclusion

1. The results of the experiment and the analysis of the girls' verbal statements allow us to infer that they prefer bodily standards represented by fashion dolls with unrealistically thin bodies and reject dolls with a regular, realistic body type. This finding is consistent with similar findings of other colleagues (Harriger et al., 2019). The criteria of attractiveness also embrace bright design including makeup, clothes, accessories. Contemporary girls paid more attention to these details than their peers 10 years ago and associated external attractiveness with situations of acceptance, success and admiration. Thus, it can be argued that the social situation of the girls' development in the modern world has remained unfavorable, contributed to the development of stereotyped ideas about body attractiveness, narcissistic attitudes and the consumer society values.

2. The analysis of the findings of the numerous studies allows us to infer that early internalized ideas about the bodily perfection are risk factors for the development of physical perfectionism, dissat-

isfaction with one's own body, emotional distress, low self-esteem; they contribute to the development of eating disorders.

3. The current situation of contemporary children's development necessitates the task of preventing mental ill-being in the younger generation, developing and implementing educational programs for parents. An important target of this work could be pathological parental attitudes of physical and socially-induced perfectionism, which have been found to be associated with development of DE in children and adolescents (Sukhanova & Kholmogorova, 2022). It is important to emphasize that it is the family that can become the barrier to the pressure of pathogenic cultural values that are unsafe for the children's mental health.

4. The subject of the development of the beauty and physical attractiveness standards in childhood remains relevant and requires further research.

Limitations. The sample size is limited by both the number of participants (30 people) and the territory (Moscow).

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Information about the authors

Olga V. Shalygina, educational psychologist, “European gymnasium” Moscow, Russian Federation. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-0601-0490>

Alla B. Kholmogorova, Professor, Dean of the Faculty of Consultative and Clinical Psychology, Head of the Department of Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy, Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, Moscow, Russian Federation. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5194-0199>, e-mail: kholmogorova-2007@yandex.ru

Информация об авторах

Ольга Владимировна Шалыгина, педагог-психолог, Частное учреждение общеобразовательная организация «Европейская гимназия», Москва, Российская федерация, e-mail: gosteva-shalygina@yandex.ru

Алла Борисовна Холмогорова, профессор, декан факультета «Консультативная и клиническая психология», заведующая кафедрой клинической психологии и психотерапии, Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет (ФГБОУ ВО МГППУ), Москва, Российская Федерация; НИИ скорой помощи имени Н.В. Склифосовского, Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5194-0199>, e-mail: kholmogorova-2007@yandex.ru

Contribution of the Authors

Olga V. Shalygina — ideas, annotation, conducting the experiment; data collection and analysis writing and design of the manuscript.

Alla B. Kholmogorova — ideas, planning of the research; control over the research, design and translation of the manuscript.

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

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The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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ТЕОРИЯ И МЕТОДОЛОГИЯ
THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Научная статья | Original paper

Феномен информационно-смыслового поля с позиций культурно-исторического подхода

В.Т. Кудрявцев^{1,2} ✉, К.В. Злоказов³, С.Н. Ениколопов^{1,4},
Н.В. Мешкова¹, М.С. Рыбакова¹

¹ Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет, Москва, Российская Федерация

² Московский институт психоанализа, Москва, Российская Федерация

³ Санкт-Петербургский университет МВД России, Санкт-Петербург, Российская Федерация

⁴ Научный центр психического здоровья, Москва, Российская Федерация

✉ vtkud@mail.ru

Резюме

С опорой на представление о личности как системе отношений (М. Бубер, В.Н. Мясищев), соотношении видимого и смыслового поля (Л.С. Выготский, А.Н. Леонтьев), а также концепцию жизненного пространства в теории поля (К. Левин) вводится понятие «информационно-смысловое поле». По мнению авторов, оно позволяет наиболее полно учитывать современные тенденции влияния информации на личность и обратное влияние — личности на информацию. Предпринята попытка применить ряд ключевых идей культурно-исторического подхода Л.С. Выготского и его школы для анализа феномена информационно-смыслового поля. Данный феномен рассматривается в рамках социальной ситуации развития современного человека, которая носит проблемный характер. Раскрываются источники ее проблемности. Предложена трехмерная модель информационно-смыслового поля. Подчеркивается продуктивность топологической метафоры для культурно-исторической психологии, в которой она по-своему укоренилась (например, в понятиях зоны актуального и ближайшего развития). Проанализировано значение информации в жизни и развитии личности, для которой она обладает не только инструментальными функциями. Предложенный (психологический) подход к пониманию информации основан на соотнесении теоретических представлений о понятиях «информация» и «смысл» в границах личностного мира человека. При этом проанализирован и учтен опыт других подходов к трактовке понятия «информация». По-новому раскрывается содержание понятия «информационная потребность». Раскрыт механизм образования информационно-смыслового поля, определены его характеристики с позиции формирующего это поле субъекта. Информация становится репрезентантой субъекта, не только в значении цифрового следа истории ее поиска, но в более значимом ключе отражения преобладающей направленности личности, ее доминирующего состояния, социальных и асоциальных потребностей. Прослежен процесс построения информационно-смыслового поля в форме (1) получения информации (обусловленной удовлетворением информационной потребности), (2) переработки информации (опосредованной когнитивными возможностями личности) и (3) применения информации личностью. Кратко описаны пилотный вариант опросника для оценки психологических параметров информационно-смыслового поля и результаты его апробации.

Ключевые слова: информационно-смысловое поле, социальная ситуация развития, смысловое поле, реальное (видимое) поле, трехмерная модель информационно-смыслового поля, переживание, сознательность, общность, психологическое поле, личность, информация, смысл, опросник информационно-смыслового поля

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The phenomenon of the information-meaning field from a cultural-historical perspective

V.T. Kudryavtsev^{1, 2} ✉, K.V. Zlokazov³, S.N. Enikolopov^{1, 4},
N.V. Meshkova¹, M.S. Rybakova¹

¹ Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, Moscow, Russian Federation

² Moscow Institute of Psychoanalysis, Moscow, Russian Federation

³ Saint Petersburg University of the MIA of Russia, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation

⁴ Mental Health Research Center, Moscow, Russian Federation

✉ vtkud@mail.ru

Abstract

Based on the concept of personality as a system of relationships (M. Buber, V.N. Myasishchev), the relationship between the visible and meaningful fields (L.S. Vygotsky, A.N. Leontiev), as well as the concept of life space in field theory (K. Lewin), the notion of the information-meaning field is introduced. According to the authors, it allows for a more comprehensive consideration of modern trends in the influence of information on personality and the reciprocal influence of personality on information. An attempt has been made to apply a number of key ideas from the cultural-historical approach of L.S. Vygotsky and his school to analyze the phenomenon of the information-meaning field. This phenomenon is examined within the framework of the social development situation of the modern individual, which is characterized by a problematic nature. A three-dimensional model of the information-meaning field is proposed. The productivity of the topological metaphor for cultural-historical psychology is emphasized, in which it is rooted in its own way (for example, in the concepts of the zone of proximal development and the zone of actual development). The significance of information in the life and development of personality is analyzed, for which it possesses not only instrumental functions. The proposed (psychological) approach to understanding information is based on the correlation of the theoretical concepts of “information” and “meaning” within the boundaries of a person’s personal world. At the same time, the experience of other approaches to interpreting the concept of “information” has been analyzed and taken into account. The content of the concept of informational need is revealed in a new way. The mechanism of the formation of the information-meaning field is revealed, and its characteristics are defined from the perspective of the subject who shapes this field. Information becomes a representative of the subject, not only in the sense of a digital trace of its search history but also in a more significant way as a reflection of the prevailing orientation of the personality, its dominant state, and social and asocial needs. The process of constructing the information-meaning field is traced in the form of (1) obtaining information (driven by the satisfaction of informational needs), (2) processing information (mediated by the cognitive capabilities of the individual), and (3) applying information by the person. A brief description of a pilot version of a questionnaire for assessing the psychological parameters of the information-meaning field and the results of its testing are provided.

Keywords: information-meaning field, social development situation, meaning field, real (visible) field, three-dimensional model of the information-meaning field, experience, consciousness, commonality, psychological field, personality, information, meaning, questionnaire of the information-meaning field

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Введение

Мир первой трети 21 столетия характеризует расхождение информации и смыслов, даже если информация репрезентируется «со значением». За этим стоят не просто противоречивые отношения значения и смысла, которые подробно описаны в психологии, психолингвистике, лингвистике и других дисциплинах. Людям, в том числе исследователям, не явлена суть современной социальной ситуации (точнее социальных ситуаций) развития, в которой складываются эти отношения и внутри которой возникает особое информационно-смысловое поле, конструируемое индивидуальными и групповыми субъектами (общностями). В значительной степени этот процесс протекает стихийно — настолько, что возникает впечатление его бессубъектности. Культурно-исторический подход Л.С. Выготского и его школы позволяет проникнуть в его природу, условия и закономерности протекания. Данная статья содержит попытку взглянуть на него с опорой на идеи культурно-исторической психологии.

Проблемность социальной ситуации развития современного человека

Как известно, Л.С. Выготский в работе «Проблема возраста» (Выготский, 1984а) рассматривал понятие социальной ситуации развития (далее ССР) в рамках психологии развития, а именно детской психологии. Для каждого возраста, считал он, складывается особое отношение ребенка с миром, который изначально задан ему в человеческих категориях, категориях исторически развивающейся культуры, носителями которой являются другие люди, в первую очередь взрослые. По Выготскому, это динамическое отношение, оно меняется не только от возраста к возрасту, но и внутри одного возраста. Его нельзя вывести из внешней среды или самих по себе психологических особенностей ребенка, поскольку ССР наполнена переживанием прожитого в ней. Это переживание Выготский трактовал как единицу личности и среды, если их рассматривать в развитии (там же). В отношении к становящейся личности меняется, развивается и среда. Это принципиальный вывод, не всегда принимаемый во внимание.

На наш взгляд, существует возможность расширения понятия ССР за рамки детской, возрастной психологии — применительно к тем задачам, которые решает человек и человечество в целом. По Выготскому, ССР предполагает самоизменение ребенка в меняющейся действительности. Это не просто освоение новых знаний, умений и навыков, даже формирование которых продиктовано новой ситуацией, а преобразование самой этой ситуации в содействии с другими людьми. Ситуации, которая приобретает форму «задачи возраста» (Э. Эриксон), имеющей характер открытой проблемы. В таком виде она и переживается ребенком. Эта тема заслуживает специального анализа, и мы ограничимся лишь некоторыми доводами.

Что первоначально характеризует ССР при поступлении ребенка в школу? По Д.Б. Эльконину (Эльконин, 1989), — необходимость усвоения особых, научных, знаний, в отличие от дошкольных и особого уклада, правил школьной жизни. Сегодня в эпоху раннего «квазишкольного» обучения вчерашний дошкольник часто «не замечает» перехода к освоению «школьных понятий», многое воспринимается им как уже известное («это мы проходили»), и вскоре наступает пресыщение учением. Другое дело — школа как система новых социальных отношений. Он сталкивается с иным миром взрослых (учителей, представителей школьной администрации), требования которых не очевидны; не ясно, что можно, а чего нельзя ожидать от них. Да и сверстники, с которыми ходил в садик или гулял во дворе, становятся какими-то «необычными», «знакомыми незнакомцами» — они теперь школьники. Хотя они и испытывают ту же проблемность новой ССР, им предстоит заново объединиться в общность и найти свое место в ней, когда не выручает даже старая дружба.

Но нечто подобное испытывают и взрослые 21 века, когда весь мир становится «школой будущего уже сегодня» с неясными «правилами общежития». Речь идет не просто о сложной и динамичной неопределенности современного мира, которая подчас скрывается за технологичными упрощениями способов деятельности. Речь идет о поисках человека и социальных групп своей идентичности, привычные ориентиры для которого сбиты, об их готовности к трансформации собственной идентичности в неожиданных направлениях при сохранении базовых ценностей «человеческого в человеке». «Поиски себя» не должны оборачиваться самоутратой. Это означало бы «антропологическую катастрофу» (М.К. Мамардашвили). Не сама по себе аномия в условиях глобальной либерализации жизни людей 21 века толкает их на подобные поиски, усложняя и ужесточая задачи социальной идентификации. В «индивидуализированном обществе» (З. Бауман) самоизменение становится не просто нормой, а особой задачей, проблемой для человека, культурно значимой формой социального творчества. В этой ситуации особое значение приобретает преадаптивность (А.Г. Асмолов) — готовность действовать не только в сфере возможных сценариев деятельности, но и невозможных, которые, в принципе, не могут быть воплощены в текущих обстоятельствах жизни, утверждая в этом универсальные ценности культуры, т. е. свою человеческую сущность, скрытую под напластованиями изменчивых явлений современности. «Кризис идентичности» уже давно перестал быть возрастным. Собственно, он всегда был вневозрастным, но уже в конце 20—начале 21 века человек убедился в том, что главной «болезнью роста» является сам рост, а рост — это не болезнь, а залог существования жизни. Иное дело, что под это убеждение не всегда удавалось «подвести» глубокую и ответственную рефлексии: в итоге, коллективная ностальгия по старому доброму миру переплетается с рискованными экспериментами над человеческой

сущностью. Оно только сейчас становится центром самосознания культуры, и психология может сыграть решающую роль в этом процессе.

К слову, Л.С. Выготский творил в эпоху такого же мощного социального перелома, который, к тому же, сопровождался смелыми, невиданными, реформаторскими экспериментами в образовании. А в заключение «Исторического смысла психологического кризиса» (Выготский, 1982) отмечал, что именно такие переломы благодатны для роста научного психологического знания.

Можно говорить о двух Ренессансах. О первом пишут в школьных учебниках. Его ключевой мотив общеизвестен — утверждение человека в качестве универсального преобразователя мира. Второй Ренессанс пришелся примерно на первую треть 20 века. Его смыслообразующая идея — преобразование самого человека. Оба Ренессанса протекали на изломах истории, порой в сверхжестких исторических обстоятельствах, и их не стоит идеализировать и тем более романтизировать. Наука налагает запрет на это и требует мыслить диалектически. Да, в смысловом фокусе Возрождения Человек — в ореоле расцвета наук и искусств, но он же — и на костре на римской площади «Поле цветов» в лице Джордано Бруно, во времена так называемого Высокого Ренессанса (1660 г.). Это период Итальянских войн с вовлечением многих европейских государств, период одной из самых длительных междоусобиц — 30-летнего противостояния Алой и Белой Розы в Британии, первоначальной колонизации мира и т. д. и т.п. Но главное обретение этой эпохи — осознание ценности человеческой личности как «всеобщей индивидуальности» (по Гегелю), что подробно раскрыто в известной книге Л.М. Баткина (1989).

Второй Ренессанс падает на первую треть 20 столетия. Этот период включает в себя Первую мировую, «Серебряный век» русской культуры, все формы европейского модернизма, становление психоанализа, революции в физике (рождение квантовой механики и оформление общей теории относительности) и... политические революции в России. В некотором (важном) смысле — это феномены, закономерны вовлеченные в один круг исторических событий. Смысловой лейтмотив «второго Ренессанса», который связывает его преемственными узлами с первым — преобразование самого преобразователя мира — самоизменение человека в его многообразных реализациях. Постреволюционная идеология в СССР — формирование «нового человека», который наделялся буквально титаническими качествами. Но у каждого Ренессанса, как водится, были и свои реальные титаны. К титанам «второго Ренессанса», несомненно, относился Л.С. Выготский, заявивший о себе в этом статусе уже как автор диссертации «Психология искусства» (1925). Выготский придерживался идеологии формирования (не формовки!) нового человека» и даже дал ей научно-психологическое обоснование в том же «Историческом смысле психологического кризиса» (Выготский, 1982).

Мы не историки, но с психоисторической точки зрения, допустимо предположить, что исторический шлейф «второго Ренессанса» простерся на весь двадцатый век и охватил первую треть двадцать первого с усилением экспрессивной доминанты процессов самоизменения, «поисков себя» внутри новой человеческой общности, которая еще не сложилась, поскольку пребывает в поисках критериев собственной идентичности. На вопрос «Кто я, где и зачем?» можно ответить лишь в рамках ответа на вопрос «Кто мы и что нас связывает?».

Современный человек — почти Гамлет, он ощущает распад связи времен, но во внешнем мире. Тогда как Гамлет трагически испытывал этот распад внутри себя и своего ближайшего окружения. В этом смысле анализ его истории в «Психологии искусства» Выготского (Выготский, 1987) сегодня более чем актуален и поучителен. ССР (точнее, многообразие ССР) современного человека, может быть, не столько трагично, но остро проблемно. Понятия и метафоры «транзитивность», «социальная турбулентность», «социальная сверхтекучесть», «ускользающий мир» (Э. Гидденс) и др. характеризуют то, что творится вовне, и не схватывают переживания проживаемого момента истории. И ничего не говорят о смыслах самоизменения в меняющемся мире, порой оправдывая неизбежность деструктивных процессов в общественной и индивидуальной жизни.

Мы полагаем, что понятие информационно-смыслового поля, возникающего в рамках социальной ситуации развития человека, позволяет отчасти преодолеть эту тенденцию в науке и практике жизни.

Трехмерная модель информационно-смыслового поля

Мы наблюдаем эпоху стремительного развития информационных технологий и других инструментов коммуникации, благодаря которым формируется уникальная ситуация, кардинально меняющая привычное восприятие человеком своего жизненного пространства. Границы между регионами, странами и даже континентами утрачивают свое физическое значение и превращаются скорее в условные рубежи. Человек получает доступ к информации (новости, аналитика, мнения экспертов и обывателей) практически в режиме реального времени. Этот процесс оказывает глубокое влияние на степень осведомленности, вовлеченности и возможность взаимодействия не только человека с человеком, но и человека с глобальными событиями и бытовыми обстоятельствами по всему миру.

Под информацией мы будем понимать, с одной стороны (в самом широком смысле слова), фундаментальные проявления динамических свойств этого мира, а с другой стороны — любые сведения, передаваемые посредством знаков — как искусственно созданных стимулов, позволяющих вызывать в сознании человека образ объекта. С опорой на пред-

ставления Л.С. Выготского можно сказать, что знаки служат своего рода орудиями, позволяющими человеку воздействовать на других людей, формируя при этом индивидуальное и общественное сознание (Выготский, 2004). В основе этого лежат новые формы самоотношения человека внутри культуры. Культурные инструменты двунаправлены, «кентавричны» (Ф.Т. Михайлов). Срабатывает старая философская идея (Гегель и Маркс лишь артикулировали ее): изменение обстоятельств при помощи новых средств опирается на глубинное самоизменение коллективного и индивидуального субъекта. Оно констатируется философами, социологами, культурологами, психологами, — это лейтмотив философии и специальной гуманитаристики 19-го и, особенно, 20-го веков, — но его конкретные формы изучены слабо. В новейшей истории разрыв «информации» и «смыслов» разрастается и обостряется. Попытки строить объяснения исходя из усложнения технологической инфраструктуры, которая требует радикального «самоизменения человека», малопродуктивны. Это ничем не лучше «социального бихевиоризма».

Кроме того, завершается первая треть 21 века, мы давно живем в нем, и «дигитальный мир» не бросает никаких «вызовов»: уже как минимум 2 поколения выросли в ежедневном соприкосновении с виртуальной реальностью. А мы продолжаем испытывать Тофлеровский «шок от будущего» (наступившего), конструируя немислимые объекты вроде «цифрового детства», «цифрового субъекта» и даже «цифрой личности»! В то время как мир уже свыкся с жизнью в Mixed Reality (MR) — смешанной реальности. Гуманитаристика (включая психологию) отстает не просто от глобальных трансформаций человека, человеческих общностей, социальности и культуры, «плетясь в хвосте» их «инфраструктурных» изменений. Впрочем, это отставание испытывает не только наука, но и сам современный человек. Отсюда и «компенсаторно-игровое» увлечение ИИ, нейросетями и т. д. на бытовом уровне. Увлечение на грани мифологизации. ИИ и нейросети уже идентифицируют с субъектами. Типичный газетный заголовок: «Нейросеть сняла кино», а не «Кино сняли при помощи нейросети». Вопрос о критериях субъектности — не к ИИ, а к его творцу. Симптоматично, что результаты выдающихся научно-технологических прорывов очень скоро, порой молниеносно с исторической точки зрения, становятся гаджетами (это французское слово, а не английское, в старину обозначавшее «безделушку» для развлечения взрослых, вроде механических певчих птичек в клетках или фигурки Маннекен-Писа, «писающего мальчика», в Брюсселе). Для нынешнего мира это нормально. Но это и упрощает его картину, стирая в общественном сознании грань между житейскими представлениями о мире и его научным пониманием.

Совсем недавно лавочки у подъездов российских городов были заполнены пожилыми людьми, в основном женского пола. Это были целые «дворовые клубы». Сейчас их нет. Нет смысла куда-то спускаться. С подругой из соседнего подъезда или внуками из

другого города можно пообщаться по мессенджеру. Пустые лавочки — самое достоверное свидетельство ИТ-прогресса. Или чего-то другого, что произошло в иной сфере — смешанной реальности, что не имеет прямого отношения к ИТ? Поколения и сблизилась, и разошлись: для рефлексии оснований их взаимоотношений произошла явная задержка в развитии самосознания человечества. Рупоры этого самосознания — философы и другие аналитики — впадают либо в аларизм, либо в защитное самоуспокоение, звучащее в термине «новая нормальность». А когда была «старая»? Были «исторические передышки», когда определенный строй конвенционально исповедовался некоторое время, хотя казалось, что испокон и навечно. История не знает «литических» и «критических» периодов, о которых писал Выготский, если речь не идет об архаических обществах с их постфигуративными, по квалификации Маргарет Мид (Мид, 1982), культурами, где традиционные образцы «консервируют» образ жизни на тысячелетия (и то история вносит в него определенные коррективы — см. ниже).

А игра — социальная школа нормотворчества — на фоне с каждым веком пролонгирующегося взросления в истории человечества и онтогенезе человека (ВОЗ продлила молодость до 42 лет) — атрибут истории человечества.

Нидерландский историк и философ Йохан Хейзинга в книге «*Homo ludens*» («Человек играющий») (Хейзинга, 1992) рассматривал культуру, культурную жизнь как своего рода игру с правилами. Там, где правила нарушаются, замечал он, гибнет культура. Многих в концепции Хейзинги, по понятным причинам, привлекает «игра», а не «правила». Но сейчас не об этом.

Правила, нормы историчны, как и формы их нарушения, которое будет всегда, пока есть нормы, а значит, — покуда существует культура. Ее самоотрицание — в ней же, а не в сторонних «варварах». Такова диалектика. Диалектическая плата за культуру.

Человечество даже не подозревает, сколько норм разрушило, двигаясь в исторической перспективе (здесь, конечно, имеются этнокультурные различия). Чем-то можно и нужно было поступиться, в силу жизненной необходимости. С точки зрения архаических обществ каннибалов, современный европеец со своими ценностями немислим. Каннибализм для них сакрален, он — часть священного культа, ритуала, утверждающего их в их человеческой сущности и добродетели (наделение силой при поедании), как они ее определяют. Но даже в мифологическом сознании возможна (и порой необходима) замена себе подобного, например, на тотемное животное, которое приносится в жертву. Одному из авторов статьи местные жители — представители одного северного народа рассказывали про охоту на медведя. У охотников еще в 30-е годы прошлого века был такой обычай: на пенек ставили бутылку водки и клали пачку папирос «Беломор» (советское привнесение) — ждали тотемного родственника «в гости», а потом уж убивали (подобные иллюстрации можно найти в работах известных

этнографов, изучавших угорскую и ненецкую традиционную культуру, — К. Карьялайнена (Карьялайнен, 1995), Т. Лехтисало (Лехтисало, 1998) и др.).

Не забудем, что игра — культурно-историческая производная от мифа, культа, обряда, ритуала, вплетенных в повседневный труд. Именно их генетическое единство создавало внутри человеческой деятельности и системы взаимоотношений по поводу и внутри нее то, что мы называем информационно-смысловым полем. Но уже как «луденс» человек знает, чем (когда и где) заведомо нельзя поступаться, а чем можно. Эта способность формируется уже в развитой игре ребенка-дошкольника (как ведущей деятельности возраста), где на смысловом уровне выдерживается граница «всамделишного» и «понарошку». В «категориях» («предкатегориях», по Н.Н. Поддьякову) своего детского разума через общение со значимыми людьми, взрослыми и сверстниками, ребенок стихийно переплавляет в формы индивидуального опыта коллективную совесть (со-весь) человечества. И по мере этого начинает поступать «лично».

М. Бубер в своем труде «Я и Ты» утверждает: «Личность проявляется тем, что вступает в отношения с другими личностями. <...> Тот, кто состоит в отношении причастен к действительности, то есть к бытию, которое присутствует не только в нем и не только вне его. Всякая действительность есть действие, в котором я участвую, но которое не могу присвоить» (Бубер, 2025, с. 295). В идеях философа пространство значимых отношений возникает не как разграничивающее «между», а как сливающее «вместе». Личность как систему отношений рассматривал и отечественный психолог В.Н. Мясищев. Он считал, что направленность личности определяется ее избирательным (условно положительным или отрицательным) отношением к различным сторонам действительности, а мерой выражения отношения является поступок, т. е. практическое действие (Мясищев, 2024, с. 109) (Ср. формулу А.Н. Леонтьева: «начало личности — поступок»).

В общении как процессе *порождения* общности людей (через «производство общего» для них, по В.А. Петровскому) всегда складывается, ищется (а не задается наперед как значение, к которому еще нужно прийти) некоторый смысл. Вокруг него строится содержание общения, и именно им наполняется человеческая коммуникация. Его общее содержание, вокруг которого это общение строится. Понятие «смысл» обладает двойственной природой, поскольку одновременно включает в себя объективные характеристики коммуникации (знаков, символов) и их субъективную интерпретацию и восприятие человеком. В первом случае мы имеем дело со значением, во втором — с контекстом.

Л.С. Выготский (Выготский, 2005) не без влияния К. Левина (см. ниже) различал «реальное (видимое) поле» — как пространство, где господствует реальное действие с реальным предметом, и «смысловое поле» — как осознаваемую человеком актуальную ситуацию действия (содействия), где нужно заново

овладеть своим поведением. При этом смысл рассматривался как то, что входит в значение, но не закреплено за знаком. Анализируя соотношение значения и смысла (в рамках психолингвистического понимания проблемы), Л.С. Выготский отмечал феномен влияния смыслов друг на друга (Выготский, 2005). Например, такие слова, как «Война и мир», отражают смысловое содержание целого произведения, а не только их прямое значение.

«Вид предмета осмысливается значением...», писал в своих конспектах к лекциям по психологии игры Л.С. Выготский (Выготский, 1978, с. 289). Яркую иллюстрацию этого мы находим в статье А.С. Мигунова (Мигунов, 2000).

В доме приятное волнение: ждут гостей. Эмоции взрослых передались и маленькому сынишке-дошкольнику. Взрослым не до него, надо готовиться к встрече, а он «крутится под ногами», что-то выпрашивает, что-то комментирует. Родители, пытаясь занять малыша, усаживают его рисовать. Ребенок рисует две расходящиеся полосы. Родители интересуются:

- Что это?
- Дорога.
- А почему она расширяется вдаль?
- Так ведь оттуда будут ехать наши гости!

«Вид предмета», фрагмент образа мира наполняется новым смыслом, который позволяет буквально «расширить» его границы. Ожидание события — это ожидание других значимых людей, и оно объективируется в детском рисунке. В способе изображения проступает смысловое видение действительности. Этим приемом сознательно пользуются художники. «Кругозор» — это не объем вещей в поле зрения, а богатство смыслов предстоящего события, участниками которого предстоит стать значимым другим, в тенденции — «обобщенным другим» (по Дж.Г. Миду).

Ученик Выготского А.Н. Леонтьев (Леонтьев, 1975) развернул проблему понимания смысла в сторону переживания отношения к тому или иному явлению действительности. Всякое отношение окрашено оценочностью: нельзя относиться как-нибудь. Российский психолог А.А. Климов в своих лекциях отмечает: «Самая большая ложь, которую может произнести человек: мне все равно. Здоровому человеку не может быть все равно. Ему что-то нравится и что-то не нравится. Он что-то хочет и что-то не хочет, и делает это с разной силой». Проблема смысла была вынесена из плоскости сознания в плоскость реальных жизненных отношений, а сами смыслы стали результатом переживания соотношения того, что мы считаем собственным Я с тем, что обнаруживаем в этом мире. Смысл не заключен в субъекте и его переживаниях, он находится всегда за его пределами и связывает субъект и его переживания с контекстом. Вопрос о порождении смысла — это вопрос о контекстах (факторах), которые влияют на восприятие, принятие решений и поведение людей. К таким факторам, конечно, относится и информация.

Идея о том, что поведение человека в любой момент времени проявляется в рамках существующих

параметров жизненного пространства, нашла свое отражение в теории поля К. Левина (Левин, 2000). Согласно его представлениям, свойства жизненного пространства частично зависят от состояния личности (как продукта своего собственного развития), частично от ее физического и социального окружения. В теории поля особое значение имеет то, как происходит *анализ ситуации*. Вместо того, чтобы выбирать тот или иной элемент и изучать его изолированно от других, считается полезным и необходимым начинать анализ с целостной характеристики ситуации. Сам Левин писал, что теорию поля едва ли можно назвать теорией в обычном смысле этого слова. Он считал, что ее лучше охарактеризовать как метод анализа причинных связей и построения научных конструкций. Стоит отметить, что в те времена, когда разрабатывалась теория поля, жизненное пространство личности имело гораздо меньшие масштабы, чем в наши дни. Просто потому, что возможность взаимодействия с остальным миром физически была довольно ограничена. Те сферы, которые были значимы, интересны, доступны или актуальны размещались в границах (пусть и условных) психического поля, а весь остальной мир беспокоил человека постольку-поскольку.

В современном мире в условиях глобализации и технологического прогресса информация приобретает особое значение, что делает ее важнейшим фактором формирования поведения, деятельности и социального взаимодействия. К. Левин в своих работах не уделял значительного внимания этому понятию как отдельной категории. Однако стоит признать, что в контексте теории поля информация выступает как один из факторов, влияющих на состояние жизненного пространства личности. Получение, обработка и интерпретация информации способствует формированию новых мотивов, целей и установок, что приводит к изменению «силового ландшафта» и, соответственно, к новым моделям поведения. В социальной сфере информация становится не только средством коммуникации, но и каналом влияния на людей, способом трансляции социальных значений с целью формирования социальных связей в динамике меж- и внутригрупповых взаимодействий.

Между тем информация не только передается, циркулирует, но и генерируется в рамках определенных социальных ситуаций развития. Этот момент элиминирован в ее кибернетических, теоретико-информационных и прочих трактовках, но принципиален с психологической, социологической, культурологической, исторической и, в целом гуманитарной точек зрения.

В 1922 г. Велимир Хлебников написал эссе-утопию «Радио будущего» (Хлебников, 1986). Сегодня признано, что в нем он с порой обескураживающей точностью предвосхитил Интернет: «Радио отпечатало сегодня повесть любимого писателя, статью о дробных степенях пространства, описание полетов и новости соседних стран. Каждый читает, что ему любо»; «В каждом селе будут приборы слуха и железного голоса для одного чувства и железные глаза для другого» и т. д. У Хлебникова люди воспринима-

ют информацию из радиотарелок. Но в этом ли суть? Речь идет не о технико-технологическом чуде, а о том, что в корне, что не менее «чудесно», меняет сознание человеческой общности. Сравнительно незадолго до возникновения мировой Сети, в 1984 г. Милорад Павич еще «на бумаге» реализовал технический принцип того, что в 60-х гг. Тед Нильсон назвал гипертекстом (правда, некоторые считают первым гипертекстом Св. Писание). Мы имеем в виду знаменитый роман Павича «Хазарский словарь» (Павич, 2022). В отличие от этого замечательного писателя, Хлебников опередил время на 70 лет, уловив *дух* одного из главных открытий XX века. А в «аспекте духа» все выглядит несколько более возвышенно, принимает черты идеального, должного («главное дерево сознания», «духовное солнце страны», «великий чародей» и т. п.). Хлебников в своей утопии представил описание не столько «идеального» Интернета, сколько Интернета вообще. Но связал его с духовными метаморфозами, изменением личностного способа жизни человека в новой человеческой общности. И, по сути, описал его новую социальную ситуацию развития.

Следуя представлениям о личности как системе отношений (М. Бубер, В.Н. Мясищев), идеям видимого и смыслового поля (Л.С. Выготский, А.Н. Леонтьев), а также концепции жизненного пространства в теории поля (К. Левин), в целях уточнения и расширения существующих подходов нами введено новое понятие — *информационно-смысловое поле*, которое позволяет наиболее полно учитывать современные тенденции влияния информации на личность и личности на информацию.

Информационно-смысловое поле — это динамическая система, объединяющая жизненное и психическое пространство субъекта(ов) и определяющая условия восприятия, интерпретации и реорганизации информации через отношение и поведение субъекта(ов). Эта система формируется под воздействием личностных особенностей, жизненного опыта, культурных контекстов и социальных взаимодействий субъектов, создавая и объединяя внутреннее и внешнее «пространство смыслов» через сигнификацию — как инструмент управления информацией и регуляции поведения. Мы говорим о смысловом поле личности внутри бесконечно разных типов общностей, за счет включения в которые беспрецедентно расширяется современный мир. Это значит, что информационно-смысловое поле личности всегда имеет трансперсональный характер, возникает, складывается и существует в глобальной системе «отраженных субъектностей» (по В.А. Петровскому). Это и задает его топологию.

Вводимое понятие аккумулирует в себе достижения предшественников и позволяет представить отношение между личностным, информационным и смысловым аспектами в качестве объемного системного явления, образованного тремя психологическими категориями: сознательность, активность и поведение. Такой подход к пространственному анализу информационно-смыслового поля обладает особыми преимуществами. Во-

первых, внутри каждой плоскости отражены наиболее существенные единицы анализа понятия. Во-вторых, логика трехмерной модели позволяет обнаружить меж-

ду тремя плоскостями результирующее пространство, отражающее динамическое развитие информационно-смыслового поля (см. рисунок).



Рис. Модель информационно-смыслового поля

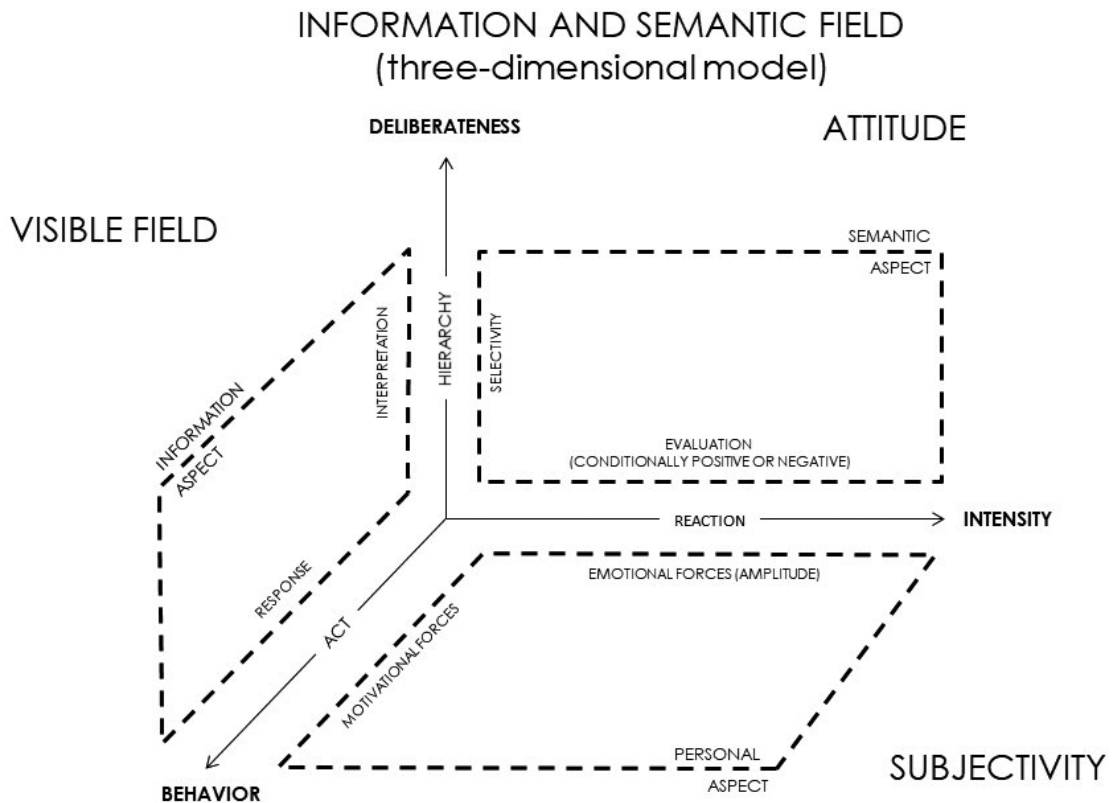


Fig. Model of the information-meaning field

Субъект, как адресат, пользователь, преобразователь, генератор и поставщик информации, интерпретирует ее, исходя из собственной способности проявлять избирательность и выстраивать иерархию интересов и отношений. Информационно-смысловое поле позволяет понять природу вариативного осмысления общезначимых аспектов человеческой жизни при помощи особых инструментов сигнификации, которые не всегда даны в готовом виде, что естественно для любой социальной ситуации развития, тем более проблемной. Условно положительное или условно отрицательное оценивание информации как фактора, влияющего на систему поля, создает напряжение и высвобождает энергию в виде эмоционального «отреагирования» некоторой интенсивности. Выраженность переживания отношения в сочетании с личностными особенностями субъекта служит драйвером мотивационных процессов. Так, отношение реализуется в поступке в качестве смыслового отношения к той или иной информации. Чем сознательней поступок, тем в большей степени можно говорить о выраженности отношения.

Информационно-смысловое поле личности: от ревизии представлений к исследованию

Изучение «полей» для психологической науки стало традиционным способом познания личности, а топологическая метафора присутствует в большинстве классических психологических теорий. В работах психоаналитиков психика человека дифференцирована уровнями, в гештальт-психологии поле осознания «фигуры» отграничивает его от неосознаваемого «фона», в ранних социально-психологических теориях «Я» личности отделяется от социальных «Я», образующих его периметр во взаимодействии с обществом¹. В культурно-исторической психологии топологическая метафора нашла применение в объяснении ключевого принципа развития ребенка — различения актуального уровня и зоны ближайшего развития (Выготский, 1983, с. 265). Продуктивность пространственной аналогии видится в ее применимости не только для диагностики сотрудничества ребенка со взрослым, но и для обнаружения двух планов этого сотрудничества, вначале интерпсихического (совместного со взрослым), затем интрапсихического — самостоятельного (Выготский, 2005, с. 355). Поле пространственного взаимодействия ребенка со взрослым раскрывает внутреннюю архитектуру способности ребенка к новому для него действию, демонстрирует ее сформированность в проявлениях целенаправленности и самостоятельности. Но более важной в русле выполняемого нами исследования является предложенная Л.С. Выготским идея «психологического поля», присущего знаку, которое «...ведет к появлению функций образования намерения и спланированного заранее целевого действия» (Выготский, 1984б, с. 50). Проведение символических операций

позволяет сформировать содержание психологического поля независимым от предметных свойств вещи и не связанным с ситуацией взаимодействия с ней, «...но набрасывающего эскиз будущего и таким образом создающего свободное действие, независимое от непосредственной ситуации» (там же, с. 15).

Идея психологического поля значений, сопровождающего процесс познания личностью окружающего мира и выступающего основанием ее деятельности, представляется чрезвычайно плодотворной для анализа личности, существующей в условиях информационной эпохи. Виртуализация многих практик обыденной жизни, цифровизация бытовых и социальных функций требует осмысления их влияния на личность и, в первую очередь, — личность формирующуюся. Влияние новых культурно-исторических условий существования личности, задаваемых в том числе и высокотехнологичными устройствами, может быть зафиксировано с помощью значений, порождаемых, обобщаемых и используемых ею в повседневности.

Однако проведение этой операции требует ревизии психологического поля значений, воспринимаемых личностью, во-первых, с позиции их информационной основы, во-вторых, с точки зрения ее осмысления личностью (Кудрявцев, 2023). Таким образом, выполнение анализа невозможно без разработки идеи информационно-смыслового поля, которое является для личности носителем значений и при этом выступает результатом их восприятия.

Поэтому наша цель — представить концепцию информационно-смыслового поля личности, построенную на основе обобщения теорий восприятия информации человеком, концепций информационных и смысловых пространств через призму культурно-исторической психологии.

Результатом анализа в статье является концептуализация идеи об информационно-смысловом поле личности как представлении личности о значении воспринимаемой ею информации для решения задач взаимодействия с обществом. Определение информационно-смыслового поля как совокупности процессов восприятия, оценки и использования информации позволяет перейти к ее операционализации, делая доступной для изучения область психологического поля значения, а также личность — как субъекта его построения. Таким образом, решение задачи обогащает информационно-смысловое поле личности.

Построение концепции предполагает раскрытие механизма образования информационно-смыслового поля и определение его характеристик с позиции формирующего его субъекта — личности. Поэтому в качестве теоретических предпосылок нами рассматриваются теории использования информации человеком, а также концепции восприятия и понимания личностью ее значений — осмысления.

¹ Терминология поля имела и не подтвердившийся физикалистский подтекст, выразившийся в терминах «энергия», «сила притяжения», «сила отталкивания».

Потребность в информации рассматривается в числе ключевых потребностей современного человека, в полной мере конкурирующей с потребностями, имеющими онтологическое значение. Конечно, информация неотделима от любой потребности, однако потребность в информации для современного человека фактически обобщила собой бытийные потребности (Соколов, 2013). С начала 70-х годов зависимость личности и общества от информации изучается в рамках предложенного R. Taylor понятия «информационная потребность» (Taylor, 1962). К настоящему времени значение информации возросло настолько, что ее принято рассматривать в качестве ресурса, а ее производство, обработка и транспорт выступают предметом профессиональной деятельности (Цветков, 2017).

Конкретно-операциональное значение потребности в информации заключается в необходимости ее получения субъектом для достижения цели. В таком ее значении можно согласиться с предложенной А.В. Соколовым формулой объективации потребности в информации в виде разницы между требующимися знаниями и знаниями, имеющимися у субъекта (Соколов, 2002).

Потребности субъекта в информации подразделяются: а) на информацию в виде прикладных (практических) знаний для достижения результата в различных сферах деятельности; б) информацию, позволяющую отдохнуть и развлечься; в) информацию в виде теоретических знаний, необходимых для обучения, повышения квалификации; г) информацию — уточнение, необходимую для проверки ранее полученных знаний; д) информацию для удовлетворения потребности в безопасности (Загидуллина, 2012).

Вместе с тем в более широком масштабе необходимость субъекта в информации следует рассматривать в ключе возрастания объема ее потребления и совершенствования ее качества. При этом очевидно, что объем и виды потребляемой субъектом информации пропорциональны не столько его отдельным деятельности, сколько содержанию его жизнедеятельности. Поэтому не только активность, вовлеченность и многоплановость активности субъекта, но и его стремление к преобразованию себя и окружения преобразует информационный обмен, приводит к появлению новых и необычных результатов (Лошилин, Тихомирова, 2018).

Интересно то, что для современного человека высокая зависимость от информации компенсируется средствами ее получения — информационными ресурсами. За тысячелетия человеческой истории они приобрели множество форм воплощения — от наскальных надписей до интеллектуальных систем принятия решений. Но сущностно их инструментальное значение не изменилось. Информационные ресурсы личности обеспечивают высокую скорость получения нужных сведений, гарантируют их относительную бесперебойность, а также качество. Так, для осуществления профессиональной деятельности необходимы первичные источники информации, для осуществления действий — тематические, нужные для получения экспертной информации и принятия решений, фактологические и концептуальные, используемые для организации деятельности. Та-

ким образом, субъекта труда окружает своеобразное информационное поле, отчасти объективно необходимое для выполнения его деятельности, отчасти отвечающее на его субъективные запросы в информации (Тягунов, 2021). Учитывая, что помимо трудовой деятельности информационные ресурсы обеспечивают удовлетворение иных потребностей, потребности субъекта обслуживают и иные источники информации.

Постоянство обращения к информации, частота ее потребления, стабильность в выборе источников, предпочтение одних ресурсов информации другим в совокупности показывает, что информационное поле субъекта можно считать не просто научной абстракцией, а вполне реальной формой взаимодействия субъекта и информации. Его материальные следы — закладки в браузере, переписка в социальных сетях и мессенджерах, «лайки» в видеосервисах — наши повседневные спутники не только в делах, но и в отдыхе.

Результаты информационной активности используются всеми участниками взаимодействия, в том числе и ее поставщиками. Так, интернет-сервисы постоянно анализируют поток потребляемой информации, сокращая время доступа к наиболее востребованным сведениям. Вместе с тем они модернизируют информационное поле, фильтруя не запрашиваемую субъектом информацию, взамен наполняя поисковую выдачу сведениями, ассоциативно связанными с пользовательскими интересами. Тем самым информационное пространство гомогенизируется не только по форме представления информации, наиболее удобной для пользователя, но и по ее содержанию.

Взаимодействие с информацией предполагает не только ее восприятие, обработку и использование (Ахметова, 2007), но и выбор источников, форму получения и условия, в которых информация потребляется, а также преобразование информации ее субъектом — трансляцию, изменение или уничтожение. Для этого следует разграничить информационное поле субъекта и его информационное пространство, поскольку данные понятия близки и нередко используются в качестве синонимов. Полагаем возможным выделить одно от другого, руководствуясь одним из приемлемых для этого критериев — критерием взаимодействия, допуская, что информационное пространство предполагает взаимодействие с другими субъектами обработки и преобразования информации (Каткова, 2008). Иначе говоря, информационное пространство полисубъектно, тогда как информационное поле подчинено влиянию одного субъекта, поскольку организовано им самим для удовлетворения собственных потребностей. Такое деление позволяет понять избирательное и преобразующее значение субъекта в оперировании информацией. Если признать центром информационного поля субъекта, становится возможным выявить его влияние не только на работу с информацией, но и, что немаловажно, на его формирование. Информационное поле, в свою очередь, становится репрезентантой субъекта, не только в значении цифрового следа истории ее поиска, но в более значимом ключе отражения преоблада-

ющей направленности, доминирующего состояния, социальных и асоциальных потребностей.

В этом заключается еще один важный довод в пользу разграничения понятий информационного поля и более крупного в свой топологии информационного образования — информационного пространства. «Эгоцентричность» информационного поля раскрывает индивидуальность его субъекта не только в моменте потребления информации, но и в процессе развития личности, показывая, какие предметы составляют область ее внимания; усиливается и ослабевает направленность на разные области окружающего мира.

Анализ междисциплинарных исследований человека-потребителя информации акцентирует внимание на существовании неразрывной связи между ним, ее формой и содержанием, что ясно указывает на наличие у информационного поля не только объективных, но и субъективных характеристик. В частности, состояния потребителя информации могут быть охарактеризованы в когнитивном, эмоциональном и поведенческом аспектах, сопровождающих этапы ее получения, обработки и использования. Возможности восприятия и осмысления информации ограничивают потребление информации личностью. Следует отметить, что восприятие ограничено не только порогами чувствительности, но и психологическим процессом осмысления информации. Осознание информации предполагает взаимодействие получаемых знаний с уже имеющимися у воспринимающего ее лица. Разработанная Н.А. Рубакиным библиопсихология демонстрирует субъективизм восприятия информации ее потребителем. Считая, что у книги столько содержаний, сколько у нее читателей, Н.А. Рубакин подчеркивает влияние психологии читателя на понимание информации, поскольку содержание, вложенное его авторами, всегда испытывает некоторую перемену в процессе слушания или чтения (Рубакин, 2006).

Связь потребителя информации с его информационным полем проявляется в широком спектре эмоциональных реакций, поскольку отсутствие доступа к информации вызывает чувство беспокойства, возможно тревоги или страха, обладание информацией — эйфорию и утомление. Переживание связи с информационным полем проявляется в удержании средств коммуникации (например, феномен фаббинга — постоянного отвлечения на гаджет в процессе живой коммуникации с собеседником), практиках по избеганию их использования («цифровой детокс»). Конечно, было бы неправильным ограничить исследование информационно-смыслового поля только направлением анализа восприятия и применения информации. Информация оказывает огромное влияние на личность, не только регулируя состояние человека или вмешиваясь в его деятельность. Информация развивает личность, упрощая или усложняя ее взгляд на окружающую действительность, уточняя или оглушая ее восприятие, повышая ее мораль или, наоборот, деморализуя. Характеризуя процесс восприятия искусства и творчества, Л.С. Выготский писал: «Здесь идет сложнейшая конструктивная деятельность, ...заклю-

чающаяся в том, что из предъявляемых внешних впечатлений воспринимающий сам строит и создает эстетический образ» (Выготский, 1987, с. 279). Поэтому оправданным является рассмотрение информационного поля не просто с позиции его субъекта, но в более широком контексте *личностных образований*, возникающих из-за необходимости использовать информационно-коммуникационные технологии в разных сферах жизнедеятельности («цифровой абориген»).

Таким образом, рассмотренные теории и концепции обосновывают принципиальные характеристики информационно-смыслового поля личности — его субъективность, отражающую направленность личности во взаимодействии с обществом, социогенный характер информационного поля, опосредованность способностью личности к восприятию и осмыслению информации. Их рассмотрение составляет вторую задачу нашего исследования, раскрытую в данной статье — концептуализацию информационно-смыслового поля.

Целесообразность разработки концепции информационно-смыслового поля личности вызвана необходимостью научного ответа на несколько проблем, порожденных существованием личности в условиях радикальной информатизации общественных отношений. Концепция должна выступить средством объяснения процессов восприятия потребления и применения информации личностью как субъектом социального функционирования в условиях информационных технологий. Значение информационных технологий представляется существенным не только из-за расширения способов предоставления информации, но, что немаловажно, влияния на форму ее потребления (преобладание аффективной составляющей над когнитивной), соответственно воздействия на возможности личности по ее восприятию, обработке и использованию.

Основываясь на ранее выполненном анализе, мы рассматриваем построение информационно-смыслового поля личности зависимым от трех психологических процессов: (1) получения информации (обусловленной удовлетворением информационной потребности), (2) переработки информации (опосредованной когнитивными возможностями личности) и (3) применения информации личностью. Каждый из процессов вносит свой вклад в формирование информационно-смыслового поля, определяя его ключевые параметры. Рассмотрим их подробнее.

1. *Получение информации* представляется необходимым условием для удовлетворения современным человеком всего объема витальных, социальных и идеальных потребностей (по П.В. Симонову). Информационное поле личности детерминировано потребностью в информации, которая обуславливает не только поиск сведений, но и следующий за ней процесс восприятия, понимания и применения.

Потребность в информации опосредует удовлетворение других потребностей личности, поскольку требует овладения специальными знаниями, использования информационных технологий и средств. Для современного человека значительная часть информа-

ционной потребности удовлетворяется технологически сложным способом, поскольку предполагает использование информационных средств и устройств. В нашем представлении применяемые средства часто образуют инфраструктуру информационного поля, на которую ложатся функции поиска, сбора, обработки, хранения информации. От инфраструктуры во многом зависят формальные характеристики потока информации — ее объем и скорость поступления, однородность либо разнообразие формы ее предоставления.

Данные характеристики в нашем представлении выступают ключевыми параметрами информационной составляющей информационно-смыслового поля. Объем информации, скорость ее поступления и форма ее предоставления рассматриваются нами в качестве объективных, независимых от личности характеристик информационного поля.

2. Переработка информации. Возможности личности по восприятию и осмыслению информации влияют на информационно-смысловое поле в той же мере, как и характеристики поступающей информации.

Психологические возможности определяют пределы понимания не только информационного потока, но и содержания информации. В этой связи их следует понимать не только как сумму сенсорно-перцептивных и интеллектуальных характеристик, распространяющихся на всю когнитивную сферу личности, в том числе на представления, знания и умения, установки и убеждения. Более того, отдельные стадии познавательного процесса могут опираться на информационно-смысловое поле личности в виде записей, заметок, выписок, в таком виде являющихся своего рода вынесенной за пределы личности совокупностью знаний и инструментов для их обработки и оценки.

Поскольку переработка информации личностью предваряет ее использование, изучение психологических характеристик данного процесса в нашем представлении позволяет прогнозировать смысловую составляющую информационного поля личности. Таким образом, компонент переработки информации рассматривается в качестве дополнительного к информационной и смысловой составляющей процесса. В нашем представлении переработка выражается в двух характеристиках — степени относимости сведений к предмету интереса, а также их простоте, не требующей уточнения, разъяснения. Вторым аспектом переработки информации выступает сопоставление полученной информации с имеющимися у субъекта знаниями и оценка их согласованности либо противоречий, а также принятие решений об их правильности либо ошибочности. Полагая, что данные процессы выражают отношение личности к получаемой информации, отметим, что они имеют не только когнитивные, но и социальные механизмы формирования. Под их влиянием информация рассматривается с позиции внешних по отношению к личности критериев, приводя субъекта к выводу о возможности либо невозможности ее использования.

3. Применение информации личностью рассматривается в качестве третьей компоненты, образующей ин-

формационно-смысловое поле личности. Как уже нами отмечалось выше, информация в современных условиях выступает социально необходимым условием удовлетворения потребностей, поэтому она подвергается оценке с позиций ее ценности относительно уже имеющихся у субъекта сведений, а также полезности ее применения для получения результата (Андреева, 2005).

Безусловно, смысловая характеристика топологии информационного поля личности будет неполной без выявления того, как личность оценивает получаемую информацию, сопоставляя ее с индивидуальными представлениями. Ведь применение информации предполагает не только ее осмысление в процессе поступления, но и переработку относительно массива сведений, которыми уже обладает субъект. Концепция информационно-смыслового поля позволяет выстроить параллель между этими процессами, показывая, в какой мере они согласуются, а в какой могут противоречить друг другу. В последнем случае субъект должен предпринимать шаги по преодолению конфликта смыслов новой и старой информации.

С учетом этого целесообразно допустить преобразование информационного поля личности, исходя из субъективного значения (смысла), придаваемого находящимся в нем сведениям. Соответственно, изучение информационно-смыслового поля через оценку значения информации для личности может помочь в понимании его топологии, например обнаружить ценностное информационное ядро (ядра) и незначимую периферию, что, в свою очередь, открывает возможности для изучения актуального состояния личности. Далее, с позиции применения информации могут быть выделены инфраструктурный и смысловой уровни информационно-смыслового поля. Так, обретение полезной информации сопровождается осознанием ее ценности и предвосхищением положительного результата. На уровне архитектуры информационно-смыслового поля оно будет выражаться в предпочтении определенных источников информации и форм ее предоставления. Незначимая и бесполезная информация будет осознаваться личностью как демотивирующая и приводящая к неудаче. Соответственно и на личностном уровне, и на уровне представляющих ее средств и источников подобная информация будет вытесняться, игнорироваться, забываться.

Таким образом, информационно-смысловое поле личности в нашем представлении возникает вследствие использования личностью информационных технологий и средств для удовлетворения потребностей. В его основании находятся процессы взаимодействия личности и информации, влияющие на ее получение, переработку и применение.

* * *

Завершая наш анализ, можно заключить, что уже в таком виде он позволяет приблизиться к пониманию современных отношений между личностью и информацией, возникающих вследствие увеличива-

ющегося значения коммуникативных, медийных и знаниевых технологий для существования современного общества и функционирования его институтов. Информационно-смысловое поле в предлагаемой нами концептуализации раскрывает и различные стороны внутреннего мира личности, и способности воспринимать, перерабатывать и распоряжаться содержанием социальной информации. Продуктивность предлагаемой концепции — еще и в возможности перехода от рассуждений к исследованию.

Ближайшие перспективы использования концепции информационно-смыслового поля связаны с ее значением для понимания процесса социального познания и социального функционирования личности в современном обществе, диагностики способности личности обрабатывать и применять информацию. Решение этих задач осуществляется нами в операционализации конструкта и разработке на его основе методики оценки параметров информационно-смыслового поля.

В развитие идей статьи нами разработан и апробируется психодиагностический опросник для характеристики информационно-смыслового поля. На этапе пилотного варианта опросник включает 12 индикаторов, характеризующих процессы получения, обработки и применения информации личностью, в совокупности образующих ее информационно-смысловое поле. Каждый индикатор измеряется по семибалльной биполярной оценочной шкале (по типу семантического дифференциала). К примеру, для диагностики получения информации используются дихотомические характеристики (информации «недостаточно—избыточно», она поступает «медленно—быстро», ее источники «однородны—различны» и др.). Респондент выбирает из противоположных по значению характеристик наиболее близкую к его мнению. Всего пилотный вариант состоит из 12 ин-

дикаторов-субшкал, сгруппированных в 3 шкалы (Получение информации, Обработка информации и Применение информации), а также обобщающего их суммарного показателя характеристик информационно-смыслового поля личности.

Пилотный вариант был проверен на выборке из 440 человек, различающихся условиями доступа к информации, возможностями по ее обработке и применению. Соблюдение этого условия является ключевым для выявления фундаментальных различий в архитектуре информационно-смыслового поля личности, существующей в разнородном и регламентированном информационном пространстве.

Результаты факторизации подтвердили состоятельность теоретической модели опросника информационно-смыслового пространства из трех шкал. При этом они показали на возможность упрощения пилотного варианта опросника путем исключения 3 смежных по смыслу и конкурирующих между собой индикаторов. За счет этого их общее количество снизилось с 12 до 9, что повысило доступность стимульного материала опросника для обследуемых, сократило время его заполнения.

В целом, апробация продемонстрировала возможность использования опросника ИСП для опытно-экспериментальной работы. Кроме того, она выявила перспективы совершенствования психометрических характеристик опросника. В частности, предстоит проверка внешней валидности опросника, оценка его дискриминантных возможностей путем изучения различий в выборках лиц, имеющих разный доступ к информации, отличающихся способностями по ее обработке и возможностями применения.

Инструментарий, ход и результаты исследования предполагается подробно охарактеризовать в отдельной статье.

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Информация об авторах

Владимир Товиевич Кудрявцев, доктор психологических наук, профессор, профессор кафедры ЮНЕСКО «Культурно-историческая психология детства», Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет (ФГБОУ ВО МГППУ); профессор, Московский институт психоанализа, Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9283-6272>, e-mail: vtkud@mail.ru

Кирилл Витальевич Злоказов, доктор психологических наук, доцент, начальник, научно-исследовательский отдел, Санкт-Петербургский университет Министерства внутренних дел Российской Федерации (ФГКОУ ВО СПбУ МВД России), г. Санкт-Петербург; Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0664-8444>, e-mail: zkirvit@yandex.ru

Сергей Николаевич Ениколопов, кандидат психологических наук, зав. лабораторией, Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет (ФГБОУ ВО МГППУ); руководитель отдела клинической психологии, Научный центр психического здоровья (ФГБНУ НЦПЗ), Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7899-424X>, e-mail: enikolopov@mail.ru

Наталья Владимировна Мешкова, кандидат психологических наук, доцент кафедры теоретических основ социальной психологии, факультет социальной психологии, Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет (ФГБОУ ВО МГППУ), г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3965-9382>, e-mail: meshkovanv@yandex.ru

Марина Сергеевна Рыбакова, младший научный сотрудник, Московский государственный психолого-педагогический университет (ФГБОУ ВО МГППУ), г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1622-7715>, e-mail: ryb-mar@yandex.ru

Information about the authors

Vladimir T. Kudryavtsev, Doctor of Psychology, Professor of the UNESCO Chair “Cultural-Historical Psychology of Childhood”, Moscow State University of Psychology and Education; Professor, Moscow Institute of Psychoanalysis, Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9283-6272>, email: vtkud@mail.ru

Kirill V. Zlokazov, Doctor of Psychology, Docent, Head, Research Department, Saint Petersburg University of the MIA of Russia, Saint Petersburg, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0664-8444>, e-mail: zkirvit@yandex.ru

Sergey N. Enikolopov, Candidate of Science (Psychology), Head of Laboratory, Moscow State University of Psychology and Education; Head of Clinical Psychology Department, Mental Health Research Center, Moscow, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7899-424X>, e-mail: enikolopov@mail.ru

Natalya V. Meshkova, PhD in Psychology, Associate Professor at the Chair of Theoretical Foundations of Social Psychology, Faculty of Social Psychology, Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3965-9382>, e-mail: meshkovanv@yandex.ru

Marina S. Rybakova, Junior Researcher at the Laboratory, Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, Moscow, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1622-7715>, e-mail: ryb-mar@yandex.ru

Вклад авторов

Кудрявцев В.Т. — идеи теоретического анализа; аннотирование, написание рукописи.

Злоказов К.В. — идеи исследования; написание раздела рукописи, проведение эмпирического исследования, описание результатов эмпирического исследования.

Ениколопов С.Н. — идеи исследования; написание раздела рукописи, планирование исследования; контроль за проведением исследования, анализ полученных результатов.

Мешкова Н.В. — идеи исследования; проведение эмпирического исследования, описание полученных данных, оформление рукописи.

Рыбакова М.С. — участие в разработке трехмерной модели предмета исследования и подготовка списка литературы.

Все авторы приняли участие в обсуждении результатов и согласовали окончательный текст рукописи.

Contribution of the authors

Vladimir T. Kudryavtsev— ideas of theoretical analysis; annotation, manuscript writing.

Kirill V. Zlokazov — research ideas; writing a section of the manuscript, conducting an empirical study, describing the results of an empirical study.

Sergei N. Enikolopov— research ideas; writing a section of the manuscript, planning the research; monitoring the research, analyzing the results.

Natalya V. Meshkova— research ideas; conducting empirical research, description of the data obtained, design of the manuscript.

Marina S. Rybakova— preparation of the scheme and references.

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

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Four degrees of meaningfulness in human life: a perspective from the jointness development model (following O.S. Nikolskaya and F.E. Vasilyuk)

A.V. Novichkova¹ ✉

¹ Independent researcher, Moscow, Russian Federation

✉ alena.novichkova@gmail.com

Abstract

Context and Relevance. We previously described a dynamic model of jointness, a general psychological unit for understanding the human being that integrates key insights from cultural-historical psychology. However, the model remains fairly abstract. **Objective.** In order for the model to be practically applicable, it is essential to showcase its capacity to comprehend the dynamic essence of human experience. **Hypothesis.** Psychological development proceeds through the emergence of the jointness domains within one's lifeworld: I, Thing, Goal, and You. These changes can be described using O.S. Nikolskaya's (2020) concept of affective organization of consciousness and behavior, while the inner work carried out can be understood through F.E. Vasilyuk's (2010) typology of coping with critical situations. **Methods and materials.** We compared two approaches to experiencing and, together with other psychological theories, used them to outline the ontology and phenomenology of four levels of jointness. We identified the psychological processes and types of fabric of meaning specific to each level. We drew a parallel with the evolution of living organisms and defined the biological values corresponding to each level. We also highlighted resonance and feedback as key biological mechanisms in the development of jointness. **Results.** Thus, we described models of four levels of jointness development and produced a detailed, multifaceted description of the four degrees of meaningfulness in human life. **Conclusions.** The proposed connection between the development of jointness, affective organization, and critical situations was broadly confirmed, with certain qualifications. The findings point to an evolutionarily continuous bio-psycho-socio-cultural organization of human existence and suggest the presence of a general anthropological trajectory of development.

Keywords: jointness, meaning, bio-psycho-socio-cultural model, resonance, feedback, sign, experiencing, I, You, goal, value, set, relation, activity, communication

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Четыре степени осмысленности человеческой жизни с точки зрения модели развития совместности (по стопам О.С. Никольской и Ф.Е. Василюка)

А.В. Новичкова¹ ✉

¹ Независимый исследователь, Москва, Российская Федерация
✉ alena.novichkova@gmail.com

Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. Ранее мы описали и обосновали динамическую модель совместности. Эта общепсихологическая единица понимания человека обобщает ключевые идеи культурно-исторической психологии, но пока она довольно абстрактна. **Цель.** Чтобы модель стала полезна в психологической практике, необходимо раскрыть возможности, которые этот инструмент дает для понимания живой ткани человеческих переживаний. **Гипотеза.** Психологическое развитие происходит в процессе выделения внутри жизненного мира человека доменов совместности: Я, Ты, Вещь и Цель. Эти изменения можно описать с помощью уровней аффективной организации сознания и поведения, по О.С. Никольской (2020), а совершаемую в этом процессе внутреннюю работу можно понять с помощью типологии преодоления критических ситуаций, по Ф.Е. Василюку (2010). **Методы и материалы.** Мы сопоставили два подхода к пониманию переживания. На их основе и с помощью других психологических теорий описали онтологию и феноменологию четырех уровней развития совместности. Выделили специфические для каждого уровня психологические процессы и типы смысловой ткани. Провели параллель с эволюцией живых организмов и определили соответствующие каждому уровню биологические ценности. Отметим ключевые биологические механизмы развития совместности — резонанс и обратную связь. **Результаты.** Так мы построили модели четырех уровней развития совместности, получили детальное и разноплановое описание четырех степеней осмысленности человеческой жизни. **Выводы.** Предположение о связи развития совместности, уровней аффективной организации и типов критических ситуаций нашло достаточно широкое обоснование с некоторыми уточнениями. Это исследование привело нас к представлению об эволюционно преемственной био-психо-социо-культурной организации организации человеческого бытия, о существовании общего антропологического вектора развития.

Ключевые слова: совместность, смысл, био-психо-социо-культурная модель, резонанс, обратная связь, знак, переживание, Я, Ты, вещь, цель, ценность, установка, отношение, деятельность, общение

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Introduction

Continuing to consider jointness as a *key general psychological phenomenon*, we will try to understand its properties in more detail. The dynamic model of jointness generalises the achievements of cultural-historical psychology and develops the legacy of F.E. Vasilyuk (Василюк, 1984; Василюк, 2010). It includes structural and dynamic aspects of a human's lifeworld, as well as captures its meaning development, and allows describing the processes of experiencing and meaningful activity resulting from successful experiencing (Fig. 1, 2). Nevertheless, so far our model is rather abstract.

We have previously defined jointness as “an integral phenomenon of interpersonal communication” (Мишина, 2010), as *resonance and coordination* between people, as a *joint meaning field* (Новичкова, 2024). But such a representation lacks the details that would allow us to look back at the whole of the human experience in question. Let us now try to understand how this phenomenon appears and manifests itself in our lives.

Let us assume that the development of jointness proceeds from simple to complex, from biology to culture, from its origins to developed forms. In this case, what is the initial form of the jointly shared fabric of meaning in human life? How does its de-

velopment take place? Let us assume that initially meaning is “biological values” (Damasio, 2018, p. 37), “adaptive meanings” (Никольская, 2020) of the organism. And the fabric of meaning develops in the process of successive singling out within the human lifeworld of *functional domains forming the phenomenon of jointness: I, Thing, Goal and You* (Fig. 2; Новичкова, 2024). In what order, then, can this occur? We found a clue to the answer to this question in O.S. Nikolskaya (Никольская, 2020). The author considers the disorganising nature of childhood autism as a key to understanding normal, organising, human meaning development. And also in the works of F.E. Vasilyuk we find a detailed developed psychotechnical system (Василюк, 2010), which in many aspects complements the theory of O.S. Nikolskaya. Let us take the works of my teachers as a basis and try to reconstruct the general psychological regularities of the jointness development that emerge in them. As a result, *the origin of jointness will appear as an evolutionary successive process of a human’s acquisition of the meaningfulness of their own life*. Such a description will open up the possibility of studying the phenomenon in practice, and will also help to open up a discussion of the interconnectedness of various fields of human science with its help.

Materials and methods

A *spectral and polyphonic* (Цапкин, 2004) comparison of approaches from two areas of psychological practice — experiential psychotherapy and special psychology of childhood autism — was carried out. It was shown that the parameters of these typologies complement each other.

On the basis of *psychotechnical methodology* (Василюк, 2010), the processes that form the four levels of jointness organisation and the four degrees of meaningfulness of human life are described. The discussion incorporates references to evolutionary biology, neurobiology, and numerous aspects of human psychology, highlighting the strong interconnection between the phylogenetic development and ontogenetic processes of jointness.

Results

Proximity and difference between the two approaches

O.S. Nikolskaya identified four levels of affective (emotional and meaning) organisation of

human behaviour and consciousness, which are *formed in an unambiguously given order*: “plasticity”, “affective stereotypes”, “expansion” and “emotional control” (Никольская, 2020). The adult in this approach is “...the centre of the child’s life situation, its mental organiser, mediator and conductor of cultural development” (Никольская, 2020, p. 163).

F.E. Vasilyuk described classifications from four modes of consciousness functioning, four types of critical situations and corresponding to them “dialogical internally” types of experiencing (perzhivanie) (Василюк, 2010, pp. 143, 155). These three classifications have not been fully correlated by their author, but it seems that they can be correlated (Василюк, 2010, p. 119). Let us try to consider them in unity.

O.S. Nikolskaya describes the “affective sphere” of a person based on her long-term practice of working with childhood autism and studying the history of human culture. The author stresses the “charge” of all human behaviour with adaptive meanings, describes the inseparable connection of cultural forms of behaviour with their “natural” basis (Никольская, 2020, p. 142).

F.E. Vasilyuk describes qualitative transformations of a human’s “lifeworld” with the help of phenomenology of everyday life and experience of clinical and psychotherapeutic practice, as well as using fiction literature. He speaks about the inseparable integrity of “human-life-in-the-world” (Василюк, 2010, p. 216).

Both authors strive to understand the human being on the way to meaningfulness. They are inspired by the works of L.S. Vygotsky, realising his ideas about the meaning structure of consciousness and the key role of experiencing. Both approaches grow out of the psychology of activity and rely on the category of “subject activity” (Никольская, 2020, p. 38; Василюк, 2010, p. 5; Leontiev, 1978). At the same time, from our point of view, they go beyond the framework of the activity approach, *considering the Other as an ontologically significant entity* (Бахтин, 2003).

The key difference between the approaches is found in the understanding of experiencing. For O.S. Nikolskaya, it is primarily “affective experiencing”, which “...reveals for the subject the adaptive meaning of what is happening”, “...modulates our consciousness and gives form to adaptive behaviour”. With its help “...needs maintain control over human activity” (Никольская, 2020, p. 6, 140). And for F.E. Vasilyuk, experiencing is primarily “the activity of experienc-

ing”, a voluntary activity that is “aimed at producing meaning”, at “consolation, pacification” of the feeling-based foundation (Василюк, 2010, pp. 117-8; Василюк, 1984). That is, the differences in the theories consist in the focus of attention on the involuntary and voluntary sides of experiencing, respectively on the external and internal sources of regulation of the psyche (Fig. 1, 2; Vygotsky, 1978).

Thus, the approaches develop in a common field, although they follow different paths and describe functionally different aspects of experiencing. This allows us to consider them as fundamentally complementary, but not to make a direct translation of concepts. Let us try to organise the meeting of the two approaches in the coordinate space of the joint-

ness model. This can help us to describe the processes of gaining meaningfulness of life quite fully (Fig. 1, 2).

Reconstructing the development of jointness

Let us consider the development of jointness from two perspectives – as an *ontology* of overcoming a critical situation and forming a fabric of meaning in activity, and as a *phenomenology* of meaningfulness emerging through the processes of experiencing (Leontiev, 2019; Новичкова, 2024). We will compare the typological parameters of the two approaches (Tab. 1) and, based on this comparison, describe four *jointly shared “lifeworlds”* (Vasilyuk, 2010).

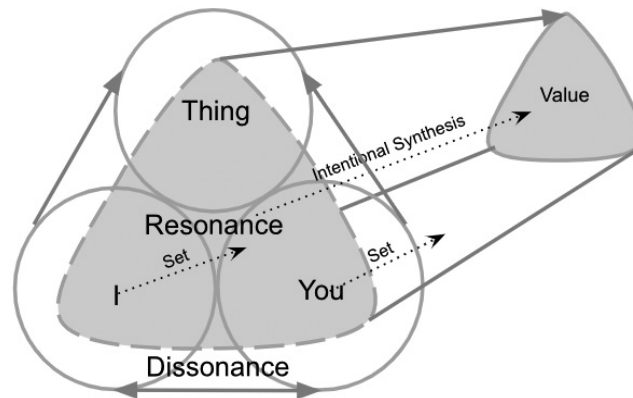


Fig. 1. Involuntary manifestation of jointness

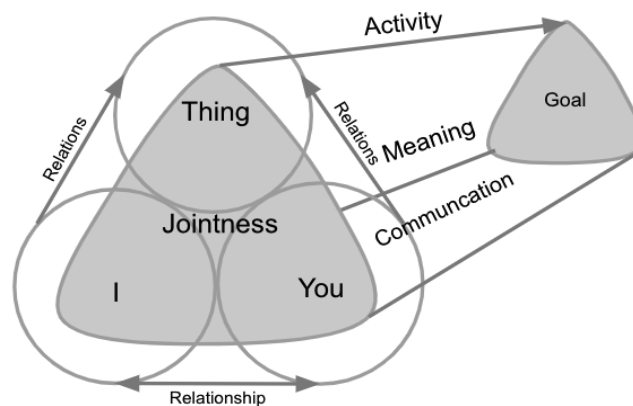


Fig. 2. Voluntary manifestation of jointness

Table 1

The levels of affective organisation of consciousness and behaviour according to O.S. Nikolskaya and types of lifeworlds, critical situations and modes of consciousness functioning according to F.E. Vasilyuk

Involuntary experiencing according to O.S. Nikolskaya	Voluntary experiencing according to F.E. Vasilyuk
N1.1 Adaptive meaning: plasticity	V1.1 Infantile (vital) lifeworld
N1.2 The subject is fitting into a living «timed» space, assimilating the rhythms of the environment	V1.2 The Observer is passive and the Observed is passive

Involuntary experiencing according to O.S. Nikolskaya	Voluntary experiencing according to F.E. Vasilyuk
N1.3 Peripheral consciousness	V1.3 Mode of consciousness: Unconsciousness
N1.4 A new affective parameter: Safe-Dangerous	V1.4 Critical situation: Stress
N1.5 Deepening contact with the world: Self-preservation	V1.5 The psychological «unit»: Set
N2.1 Adaptive meaning: Affective stereotypes	V2.1 Values lifeworld
N2.2 Subject fits the space into his/her motor pattern and links his/her life activities to the rhythms of the environment	V2.2 The Observer is passive and the Observed is active
N2.3 Magical consciousness	V2.3 Mode of consciousness: Experiencing
N2.4 A new affective parameter: Want-I don't want	V2.4 Critical situation: Conflict
N2.5 Deepening contact with the world: Establishing order	V2.5 Psychological «unit»: Relations
N3.1 Adaptive meaning: Expansion	V3.1 Realistic lifeworld
N3.2 The subject dominates the space of the problem situation but is affected by time constraints	V3.2 The observer is active, and the Observed is passive
N3.3 Story consciousness	V3.3 Mode of consciousness: Conscious awareness
N3.4 A new affective parameter: Can-Can't	V3.4 Critical situation: Frustration
N3.5 Deepening contact with the world: Achieving the goal	V3.5 Psychological «unit»: Activity
N4.1 Adaptive meaning: emotional control	V4.1 Creative lifeworld
N4.2 Subject loses affective immediacy, is modulated by the objective givenness of Others, voluntarily plans their actions in time and space claiming dominance	V4.2 The Observer is active and the Observed is active
N4.3 Awareness of necessity	V4.3 Mode of consciousness: Reflection
N4.4 A new affective parameter: Good-Bad	V4.4 Critical situation: Crisis
N4.5 Deepening contact with the world: Establishing emotional interaction	V4.5 Psychological «unit»: Communication

Biology: sensory-harmonic meaningfulness of safety

This first, most ancient, level of *life* organisation can be imagined in the form of the simplest single-celled creature that originated in the world ocean (Fig. 4). *Safety* (N1.4), *preservation of integrity* (N1.5), *survival* (Fig. 3) at this stage of development is the only “biological value” (Дамасио, 2018) for the organism, its “vital adaptive meaning” (Никольская, 2020). In the course of natural selection, those biochemical structures continue to exist that are able, undestroyed, to fit into the *fluctuations of the environment* (Fig. 3). Nascent in the “primary broth”, the organism first acquires integrity by means of the *synchronisation* of vibrational processes in different parts of the complex of randomly joined molecules (Кепа Ruiz-Mirazo, Briones, Escosura, 2014, p. 308). This primary *resonance* statistically increases its resilience to environmental influences (Ibid.) and allows it to start an evolutionary pathway – to develop a *pre-emptive response* to a potentially harmful *perturbation* (N1.2; Fig. 3). And the better this simplest biological structure tracks the *periphery* (N1.3) of its environment, the faster and more accurately it can respond to *environmental changes* (Fig. 3). The generalised non-specific *stress* (V1.4) response mobilises the formed integrity to provide

a live-saving impulse to move in the direction *from danger to safety* (N1.4). This is what allows the organism to *survive by dissolving into the impersonal force of the elements* (V1.2; Fig. 4) and, together with its flows, *to plastically circumvent the irregularities of space* (N1.2).

As organisms become more complex, systems of instantaneous response also develop. At the level of creatures like humans, this function is performed by innate and acquired *reflex response* systems (Fig. 3), automatisms, behavioural stereotypes, or, to use D.N. Uznadze’s term, *sets* (B1.5; Figs. 1, 4; Новичкова, 2024). Unconscious assessment of the environment and spontaneous response, automated skills and intuitive decision-making – all this allows the organism to quickly respond to environmental influences that threaten its integrity.

Comparing F.E. Vasilyuk’s typologies at this first level of development of jointness, we find that in the *unconscious* mode of consciousness (V1.3) there is “no place” for *voluntary experiencing* (Василюк, 2010, p. 123). From our point of view, this contradiction is resolved if we consider *involuntary human activity as an integral operational basis of voluntary activity*. Then *involuntary, feeling-based, experiencing is also an activity to overcome a critical situation, because its methods were largely formed in the process of voluntary, active, experiencing* (Василюк, 2010, p. 117).

The successful result of this felt experiencing is a merging with the environment, with its spatial organisation and rhythms. This is phenomenologically felt by a person, for example, as security and peace, harmony with nature, as dissolution in music or in the spontaneous pattern of dance movement, as *unity with the world* (Fig. 4).

What function does the Other fulfil for the human being at the first level of jointness development? If we return to the example of the simplest organism, we can imagine how accidentally synchronised or joined biological structures sometimes turn out to be together more resistant to environmental influences. Surviving through this symbiotic relationship, they consolidate and strengthen their community with new randomly acquired properties. This is how bacterial films, organelles within cells and multicellular organisms originate (Archibald, 2015; Flemming, 2016).

The human, as a deeply social being, already at this, *involuntary*, level of *integrity in the flow*, is capable of *merging with the Other* as part of the rhythmic pattern of the environment, of *emotional contagion with the state of the Other*. For example, in the form of “imprinting” (Bowlby, 1969) by a

child of an adult’s “system of affective meanings” (Никольская, 2020). Synchronisation of physiological processes and attention with the Other (Tommasello, 2008; Feldman, 2007) allows it to enter the safe flow of shared perception, to assimilate the primary markup of the environment accumulated in the culture.

This preconscious transmission of physiological rhythms and behavioural reactions between people is indicated by many modern approaches: epigenetics and the theory of transgenerational trauma (Yehuda, 2009), gene-cultural co-evolution (Laland, Brown, 2002), studies of synchronisation between people (Nowak, 2017; Włodarczyk, 2020) and others. In cultural-historical psychology, such fusion is evidenced by Vygotsky’s notion *Pra-We* (пра мы) and, for example, by A. Schwarz’s notion of intentional synthesis (Fig. 1; Schwarz, 2011). *This involuntary resonance between people*, this feeling of *mutual trust and warmth*, is considered by us to be an integral basis for all subsequent levels of jointness organisation.

Let us depict this *involuntary, affective level of jointness organisation* with a dotted line, meaning resonance with the Other as an impersonal element

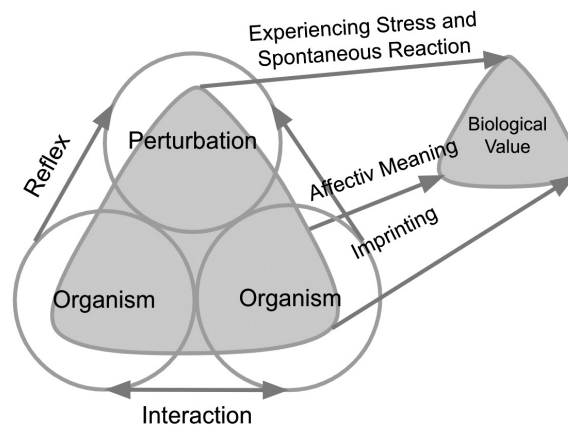


Fig. 3. Ontology of environment — biological value of survival — sensory-harmonic fabric of meaning

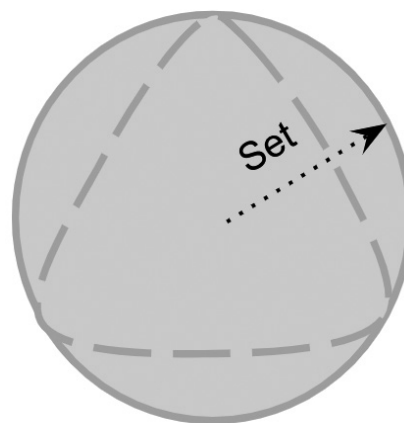


Fig. 4. Phenomenology of integrity in the flow — meaningfulness of safety

merged with the environment, in the process of formation of the *sensory-harmonic meaning fabric* of the human jointly shared lifeworld (Fig. 4).

Psyche: feeling-value meaningfulness of zest for life

After survival, the simplest organism has *the possibility of prolonging life and its reproduction*. For this purpose, it develops systems for regulating the state of the internal environment of the organism, and *needs* appear (Fig. 5). To satisfy them, systems of prediction of changes in the internal environment are formed. It is still a form of anticipatory response to environmental changes, but now it involves tracking nearby *objects* and *situational conditions* (Fig. 5), as well as recognizing and capturing those objects that hold *value* (V2.1). The rhythms of the environment also begin to be evaluated in terms of their attractiveness (N2.2). When examining the environment, the characteristics of the detected *object* become *signs* of its *value* for the organism (Fig. 5). The living being starts to make *individual passive selection* (V2.2) of objects significant for it (N2.4). This selection is regulated by the expectation of internal biological feedback – the *sensation of pleasure*, confirming the correctness of the made *choice* (V2.4). This continuous information about the state of the organism's internal environment becomes a class of sensations, *feelings*, that forming in the organism's experience this particularly valuable internal entity, the “protoself”, the ancient precursor of the *Self* (Дамасио, 2018), our subjectivity. This is where the *psyche* originates.

At this meaning level, the person discovers the distinction between the internal environment of their organism and the external world – a distinction that is continuously reproduced in sensation as the separateness of the Self's *subjectivity* from the *objective* world, from from the Thing, and the Other-in-the-World (Fig. 6). The internal environment acquires the significance of *a reliable source of positive sensations*. Body movements begin to be controlled by attention. A scheme of the body is built up – an image of its external boundaries (Bowlby, 1969). *The felt experiencing, as soon as it arises, begins to be regulated by activity* (V2.3) – it turns out that as a result of my action the state of the organism and my sensations change (Lange, 1885). This is how *voluntariness, affective stereotypes* (N2.1), coping with *felt experiencing* is born (B2.3), a *zest for life* emerges.

Let us specify that “*infantile set*” in F.E. Vasilyuk's typology (B1.1; Василюк, 2010, p. 123) is oriented to the satisfaction of needs, so it should

be considered as the affective basis of *the value* lifeworld (V2.1). Then the affective experiencing of *the first meaning level* (B1.1) should be labelled differently as “*vital*” (Василюк, 2010, p. 121). Vital and infantile experiencings are “light” and “simple” (Ibid.), but they differ in their biological values – orientation towards *survival* or *lived experience*. If a human experiences a vital threat, the stress response suppresses the body processes that interfere with survival. And a human's dissatisfaction, if not life-threatening, leads to *defining the need* (Leontiev, 1978), to its satisfaction and can be described as a critical situation of *conflict with the world* (V2.4).

Also in our comparison of approaches, *value* experiencing (V2.1), according to F.E. Vasilyuk, turns out to be more primary than *realistic* experiencing (V3.1). This is not accidental. From the point of view of the visual logic of the development of children with autism, *value* is a means of forming the connectedness and constancy of the lifeworld (N2.5), it is a means of “...linking life *relations* (V2.5) into a single integrity” (Василюк, 2010, p. 126). It is the feeling of value, in a broad sense, that marks *magically* (N2.3) emerging objects of the world in the field of perception as desirable or rejected (N2.4). The gradually arising predictability of the appearance of valuable objects and knowledge of the ways of their appropriation form a *sense of reliability of the jointly shared lifeworld* before a human becomes ready to *actively* act in it (V3.2).

The main thing that gives protein structures an opportunity to prolong their life is receiving *feedback* from the world and from the internal environment of the organism by means of *signs*, signal molecules and other signs recognised by them (Kepa Ruiz-Mirazo, Briones, Escosura, 2014). The signs recognised by an organism can be considered as nodes of their internal coherence, on the human level they are, among other things, elements of their value system and cognitive structure. *Signs expressed by a human in behaviour, including emotions and words, is a means of feedback in relationships*. Thus, relationships appear as a consistent exchange of emotional and behavioural reactions (Fig. 5). And it is always “Not I”, the Other-in-the-World, who is *active* in them (V2.2; Fig. 6), and “I” responds *anticipatively* (Fig. 4).

Signs can be understood by the Other due to the *shared context – the resonance of individuals' attention and experience* (Tomasello, 2008). The larger the circle of people who share the value denoted by the sign, the more the general features of this phenomenon come to the fore, while the private ones

are levelled out. Thus, the sign is detached from the individual “feeling-based fabric” (Василюк, 2010, p. 178; Leontiev, 1978) and *becomes a symbol* (Кулагина, 2006). The more often a sign is used by people of a certain circle, the more obvious for them the general context of the use of this sign becomes. In this way, *the understood symbolic meaning of a sign becomes an entry point to jointness* (Fig. 6).

The other human at this *feeling-value level* is still a part of the world, but a special part of it. It is something similar to me, recognisable in my own sensations, but “Not Me” (Fig. 5). The significant Other, in forming a “secure attachment” (Bowlby, 1969), is felt as the very basis of the world predictability. And *merging with the Other-in-the-World* at this stage serves the new task of *teaching the desired reliable action patterns, including the speech* (Fig. 6).

Learning cultural stereotypes takes place through *imitation* (Bandura, 1986) of the attractive behaviour of the Other, behaviour that should help to *satisfy a need – to resolve an emerging individual conflict (V2.4) with the world or with oneself*. This occurs through the *voluntary observation but involuntary appropriation of the desired behaviour of the Other, its visually observed role in transforming the*

world (Figs. 5, 6). The human imagines themselves as the Other, “reads” his skills and reproduces them in their own behaviour (Tomasello, 2008). From a neurobiological point of view, this is a “mirroring” (Rizzolatti, Craighero, 2004) “mental reflection” (Leontiev, 1978) of the Other’s behaviour with the connection of one’s own sensations to the emerging image by means of an “as-if body loop” (Дамасио, 2018). Reproducing a familiar part of an action combination in one’s own behavior and attempting to integrate newly observed elements into it enables the advancement of one’s skill within the “zone of proximal development” and the acquisition of new cultural experience (Vygotsky, 1978).

A human’s relations with the world are built largely as a result of independent activity. However, the acquisition of new behavioral forms through observation of the Other and participation in “cumulative action” according B.D. Elkonin considerably extends our possibilities (Fig. 5; Эльконин, 2014).

In general, the activity of *lived experience* (Fig. 6) allows a human to experience *pleasure from the practical visibility of the world structure* (Piaget, 1954), from the *order (N2.5)* in the process of needs

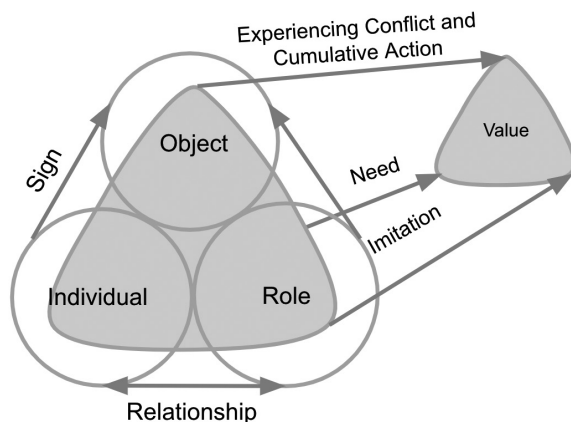


Fig. 5. Ontology of situation – biological value of lived experience – sensuous-value fabric of meaning

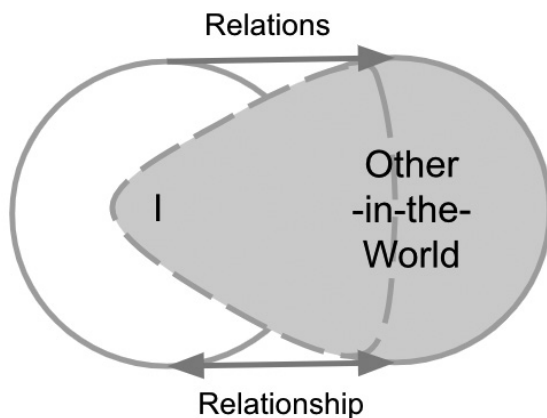


Fig. 6. Phenomenology of pleasure predictability – meaningfulness of zest for life

fulfilment. Thus, *as a result of the process of learning from one's own experience and the example of the Other, the system of signified values and skills of their acquisition generates a phenomenology of predictable pleasure and weaving an individual meaning fabric of zest for life.*

Society: realistic-narrative meaningfulness of accomplishment

At some point in evolution, the ability of living things to move in a directional manner moves to a new level. It is no longer just a generalised motor reaction to danger or a specialised reaction on a desired object, but the ability to *actively* physically move (V3.2) in its direction, to *expand* the availability of resources, *expansion* (N3.1). Thus the probability of meeting an object in the world is increased by the ability to plan one's own behaviour. In the structure of the situation, the *subject area* of directed activity stands out, and the image of the desired object becomes its *goal* and *value* (N3.1; Fig. 7). Such expansion inevitably entails *active* influence on neighbouring organisms. And communities of organisms capable of *coordinating* such directed activity often find themselves at the top of the food chain (West, Griffin, Gardner, 2007). This is where *social life* originates.

At the human level, this ability to *coordinate* with the Other is reinforced by the ability to flexibly *customize joint activities through a system of signs* (Fig. 7). A *sign* is no longer just a tool for expressing reciprocal attitudes; it is now the main means of grasping the meaning of the community to which I want to belong. Special behavioural skills, language and a certain appearance are the signs of the subculture, which mark a human as their own, adjust the state and ways of *cooperation* of the participants, the discourse of the community.

Whether it is a backyard company or a corporation, everywhere the transmission of meaning by

symbolic means allows the community to *prolong its story* for almost any length of time, to keep the participants active until *the ideal goal* is reached, *the realisation* of a common *idea* expressed by a concrete result (Fig. 7). In this process, the symbol is filled with concreteness, and becomes an *object-related abstract concept*. For this purpose, “our” story is told (N3.3). How it is understood is crucial to the participants’ sense of community. Therefore, *the conscious awareness* (V3.3) of the story becomes the most important process of the community, forming the motivational system of its *subject activity* (V3.5), the fabric of meaning – *Our World* (Fig. 8).

The presence of *Our world*, “We”, logically implies its opposition to the world of *Others*, “Not We”. This neighbourhood is the group’s unifying factor. Clarifying the details of our commonality in relations with the Other allows us to form the outer boundaries of the community through negation, to formalise its integrity, especially when there is *a lack of unifying peace-loving ideas*.

Here, *social selection* of participants with the necessary qualities for the necessary role positions becomes a strong *motivator* for the individual to develop (Fig. 8; Islam, 2014). A person can expand the availability of valuable resources for himself through *conquering* the community by demonstrating his *achievements* (N3.2; N3.4). He becomes a *social actor*, a *persona* (Fig. 8) seeking recognition, striving for leadership. Motivated by the chance for personal success (Козунова, 2016) and supported in every possible way by community members in the process of overcoming *frustration* (V3.4) on the way to the goal, the human learns to maintain their own independent activity *indefinitely*. They become able to achieve the results they personally desire, to fulfil their own *achievements* (Fig. 8).

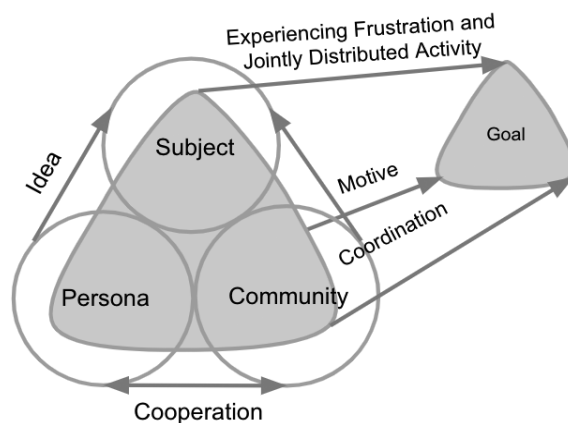


Fig. 7. Ontology of subject area – biological value of expansion – realistic-narrative fabric of meaning

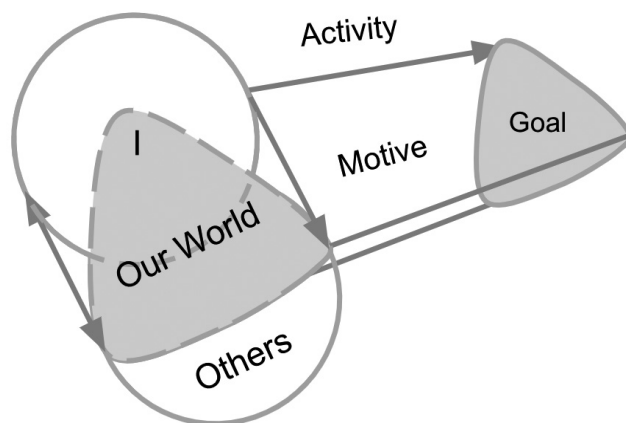


Fig. 8. Phenomenology of conquest by achievement — meaningfulness of accomplishment

Culture: creative-existential meaningfulness of service

If we imagine the emergence of a multicellular organism in the process of evolution, we can imagine the gradual re-subordination of individual organisms and their groups to the tasks of a *suprapersonal community*. The more developed this community is, the more clearly it defines the parameters of functioning of individual cells, tissues and organs necessary to maintain the homeostasis of their *coexistence* (Fig. 9).

At the level of the human, such *coherence* is born gradually, in the process of dialogue (V4.5) of multiple voices, in the process of *reflection* (V4.3) of the path they have travelled, in the process of searching for criteria for assessing *what is ultimately serves the common good and what is unacceptable*. In this search, it is important that the common good is not substituted for the private good, nor is the unity of experiencing and opinion imitated, as happens in autocracies. It is only *in a genuinely broad, trusting dialogue* between the participants that agreement is born on the unshakable and flexible rules of this new community, on its *cultural* values and ethical

principles. Such broad agreement gives rise, for example, to rules of politeness, biblical commandments, or the principle of the priority of the spirit over the letter of the law. Such internal coherence of a person forms their personal system of worldview, interpersonal understanding — friendship, and long-term reproduction of coordinated activity of many people gives rise to an institution.

The increasing complexity of a human’s external and internal sociality, its *polyphony* (Бахтин, 2003), leads to the need to increase the coherence of the systems of jointnesses to which they belong. The more integrated a human’s individual needs and the motivational systems of their communities are, the more satisfied and fully self-actualised he feels. And the many stories a person tells about experiencing joy and pleasure, about overcoming critical situations, as well as the responses they receive from an attentive and valuing listener, all merge into their inner image of their own personality. These *dialogues* give meaning to the personal *narrative* (N3.3; Зайцева, 2016), weave together perceptions of oneself as a significant member of society and, ultimately, allow one to feel oneself as an *Author of culture*.

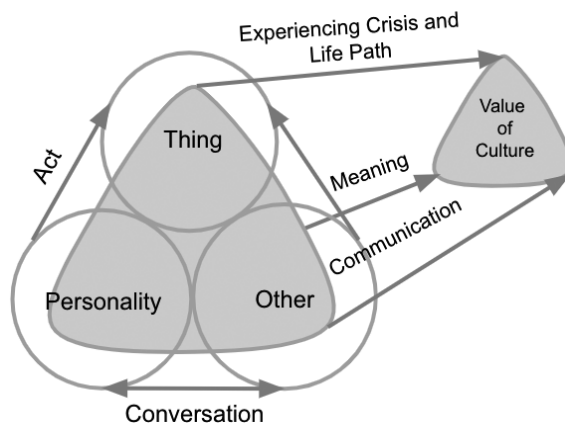


Fig. 9. Ontology of co-being — biological value of coexistence — creative-existential fabric of meaning

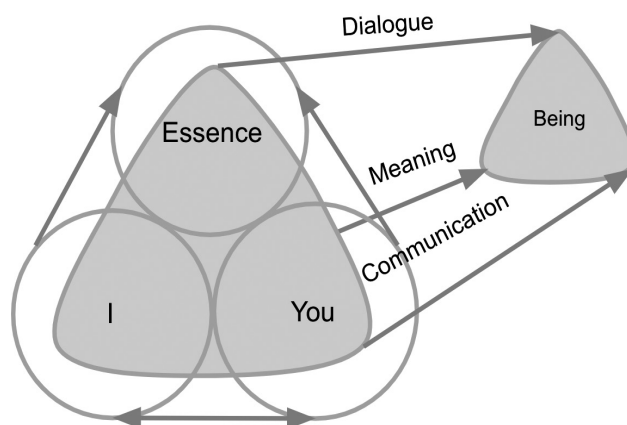


Fig. 10. Phenomenology of being co-experiencing – meaningful of service

A broad dialogue of I and You (Fig. 9) inevitably entails the restructuring of relationships and the destruction of established strategies of activity. Such a joint experiencing of crisis (V4.4; Fig. 9) can lead to interpersonal harmony only if there is mutual trust, recognition of the inalienable significance of each participant's individual experiencing, and coordination of their judgments. All this opens up the possibility of being vulnerable to the Other. Such an active and mutually open experiencing allows finding creative (V4.1) joint solutions to the most complex, subtle and sensitive, including existential, issues. This co-experiencing (Никольская, 2020, p. 115) calls for the participants' ability to comprehend their emerging community itself, to rethink their life in it (Fig. 10). Appealing to the broad agreement that emerges in this process becomes a new common norm and value, a way of regulating co-existence (Fig. 9; Бахтин, 2003).

As a result, previously personal self-regulation begins to be subordinated to the consciousness of general necessity (N4.1; N4.3). Individual affective immediacy is lost (N4.2), but a special cultural spontaneity is born – a value-motivational-meaning system coordinated with the Other – service. Thus, “Man” becomes the “measure of things” (Fig. 9; Protagoras, 2025), given the trusted right to assess whether something is “good” or “bad” for our co-existence (N4.2; N4.4), implement cultural selection.

Whether it is an internal dialogue of an individual or a conversation in the family, in the community, at the level of the state or humanity, in any case the discussion enters the realm of philosophy, ethics and morality (Fig. 9, 10). Now the concern for jointness with the Other competes weightily with personal interests and priority can be given to one or the other decision only as a result of careful weighing of factors and arguments (Никольская, 2020, p. 113; Василюк, 2010). Thus, “Act” (Бахтин,

2003) becomes an expressor of this jointly shared, creative-existential meaning and forms the life path of a personality (Fig. 9).

Discussion of results

Our assumption about the connection between the domains of jointness, levels of affective organisation and types of critical situations has found a broad enough substantiation. However, significant clarifications were made: the functional domain “I” is phenomenologically distinguished in opposition to and simultaneously with the domain “Thing”; F.E. Vasilyuk's infantile lifeworld serves as the affective foundation for the value lifeworld, and in the model of jointness development, it is replaced by the vital lifeworld

Conclusion

Thus, we proposed a hypothesis about the human meaning development through the successive singling out of functional domains within their lifeworld, which constitute the phenomenon of jointness. To substantiate it, we compared two cultural-historical theories of human meaning development and used them to describe four jointly shared lifeworlds. As a result, we obtained the bio-psycho-socio-cultural evolutionary model of the jointness development, of the four degrees of meaningfulness in human life (Tab. 2).

Thus, a rather slender general psychological picture of human development, one could say, a general anthropological vector, emerged.

The model with this level of detail can already be used as a rather convenient thinking tool in psychological practice. In addition, the work outlines

Table 2

Levels of jointness development and degrees of human life's meaningfulness

Layer of Being / Type of Selection	Type of Biological Values	Ontology of Jointness	Fabric of Meaning	Phenomenology of Jointness	Degree of Meaningfulness
Biology/ Natural	Survival	Environment	Sensory-harmonic	Integrity in the flow	Safety
Psyche/ Individual	Lived experience	Situation	Feeling-value	Pleasure predictability	Zest for life
Society/ Social	Expansion	Subject area	Realistic-narrative	Conquest by achievement	Accomplishment
Culture/ Cultural	Coexistence	Co-being	Creative-existential	Being co-experiencing	Service

a space for a potential dialogue between different approaches to understanding the human being.

In general, saying that a *jointly shared fabric of meaning, a feeling of jointness is the essence of the human in the person* (Новичкова, 2024), it is worth specifying that the origins of the phenomenon of jointness lie in the general ability of living systems to form communities with different

degrees and ways of integration. However, the special ability of humans for subtle and flexible tuning *meaning communities*, including through language, gives us the ability to carry out *complex jointly distributed activities*. And, ultimately, it allows us to feel jointness – to be guided by cultural meanings, overcoming the time constraints of our own lives.

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Information about the authors

Alena V. Novichkova, Independent Researcher, Moscow, Russia, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-1222-5404>, e-mail: alena.novichkova@gmail.com, сайт: <https://jointness.co>

Информация об авторах

Новичкова Алёна Владиславовна, независимый исследователь, Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-1222-5404>, e-mail: alena.novichkova@gmail.com, сайт: <https://jointness.co>

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K.K. Platonov and the system of concepts of Soviet psychology

N.A. Vlasov¹ ✉, V.A. Mazilov²

¹ Russian State Social University, Moscow, Russian Federation

² Yaroslavl State Pedagogical University named after K.D. Ushinsky, Yaroslavl, Russian Federation

✉ VlasovNA@rgsu.net

Abstract

Context and relevance. In recent years, there has been an increased interest among members of the scientific community in the problem of the conceptual space of psychological science, which makes the analysis of past research experiences of this kind especially relevant. **Objective** of the study was to identify the ideas of the scientist K.K. Platonov about the system of concepts of psychological science in connection with the philosophical and methodological context of its development in the 70s–80s of the last century. Hypothesis. K.K. Platonov developed the problem of the conceptual space of Soviet psychology and proposed a system of concepts, taking into account the philosophical and methodological features of its development at that time.

Methods and materials. Comparative historical and bibliographic methods, categorical analysis were applied in the course of the research; the monographic publications of K.K. Platonov devoted to the problem of concepts of psychological science formed the source base of the research. **Results.** In the course of the research, comparative historical and bibliographic methods and categorical analysis were applied. The research examines the scientist's views on the general state of the conceptual space of psychology in the Soviet Union and shows the reasons why he decided to address this topic – the lack of proper attention from specialists to the problem of concepts, the uncertainty of the meanings of even basic concepts, and the lack of attempts to build a system of them. In the course of the study, K.K. Platonov's system of concepts in psychology was analyzed, revealing its constituent general philosophical, general psychological, and private psychological categories and the links between them. The direct influence of reflection theory and systems theory on the scientist's conceptual constructions is shown; explanations for this phenomenon are provided. The systems of psychological concepts of K.K. Platonov and B.F. Lomov are compared; their similarities and differences are highlighted and explained.

Conclusion. K.K. Platonov became one of the first Soviet scientists to pose the problem of the concepts of psychological science. He carried out its in-depth methodological analysis and proposed a related and internally consistent categorical system, the fundamental importance of which remains to this day.

Keywords: K.K. Platonov, history of psychology, history of concepts, conceptual history, system of psychology

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К.К. Платонов и система понятий советской психологии

Н.А. Власов¹ ✉, В.А. Мазилев²

¹ Российский государственный социальный университет, Москва, Российская Федерация

² Ярославский государственный педагогический университет имени К.Д. Ушинского, Ярославль, Российская Федерация

✉ VlasovNA@rgsu.net

Резюме

Контекст и актуальность. В последние годы отмечается рост интереса представителей научного сообщества к проблеме понятийного пространства психологической науки, в силу чего особенно актуальным становится анализ прошлого опыта исследований такого рода.

Цель исследования заключалась в выявлении представлений К.К. Платонова о системе понятий психологической науки в связи с философско-методологическим контекстом ее развития в 70–80 гг. прошлого века.

Гипотеза. К.К. Платоновым была проведена разработка проблемы понятийного пространства советской психологии и предложена система понятий с учетом философских и методологических особенностей ее развития на тот момент.

Методы и материалы. В ходе исследования были применены сравнительно-исторический и библиографические методы, категориальный анализ; источниковую базу исследования составили монографические публикации К.К. Платонова, посвященные проблеме понятий психологической науки.

Результаты. В ходе исследования были рассмотрены взгляды ученого на общее состояние концептуального пространства психологии в Советском Союзе, показаны причины, по которым он решил обратиться к этой теме — отсутствие должного внимания специалистов к проблеме понятий, неопределенность значений даже основных концептов, отсутствие попыток построить их систему. Была проанализирована предложенная К.К. Платоновым система понятий психологии, выявлены составляющие ее общепсихологические, общепсихологические и частнопсихологические категории и связи между ними. Показано непосредственное влияние теории отражения и теории систем на концептуальные построения ученого, даны объяснения этому явлению. Проведено сравнение систем психологических понятий К.К. Платонова и Б.Ф. Ломова, показаны и объяснены сходства и различия между ними.

Заключение. К.К. Платонов стал одним из первых советских ученых, поставивших проблему понятий психологической науки. Им был проведен ее глубокий методологический анализ и предложена связанная и внутренне непротиворечивая категориальная система, фундаментальное значение которой сохраняется и по сей день.

Ключевые слова: К.К. Платонов, история психологии, история понятий, концептуальная история, система психологии

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Introduction

The increasing interest of scientists in the concepts of psychological science in recent years (Guseltseva, 2023; Zhuravlev, Sergienko, 2021; Mazilov, Vlasov, 2024a; Mazilov, Slepko, 2023; Rubtsov, Kudryavtsev, 2021) has inevitably been reflected in the attention paid to the history of this issue. In contrast to M.S. Rogovin (Mazilov and Vlasov, 2024b), the activities of B.F. Lomov and K.K. Platonov devoted to studying the conceptual space of psychological science are reflected in relevant literature (Artemyeva, 2016; Zvereva and Noskova, 2016; Zhuravlev and Sergienko, 2021; Kornienko, 2016; Shingarov, 2007).

It is known that Konstantin Konstantinovich Platonov (1906-1984) was a prominent scientist who made significant contributions to various branches of psychology (general, aviation, medical, personality psychology, etc.). It is also known that he was a major methodologist of this science, striving, following the testament of V.M. Bekhterev, to restore order in it instead of the “Dolinean chaos” (Platonov, 2005, p. 219). He solved this problem in two main ways — by developing a system of branches (sections) and by developing a system of concepts (categories) of psychology.

As mentioned above, modern researchers have given attention to the second aspect of K.K. Platonov’s work, which is the development of concepts. At the same time, it should be acknowledged that, without

detracting from the significance of such works for science, the features of the general scientific and psychological contexts in which K.K. Platonov conducted his research on the subject under discussion are not sufficiently reflected in the literature on the history of psychology.

The most significant works of K.K. Platonov that address the problem of psychological concepts include *On the System of Psychology* (Platonov, 1972), *The System of Psychology and the Theory of Reflection* (Platonov, 1982), and *A Short Dictionary of the System of Psychological Concepts* (Platonov, 1984), all created since the 1970s. By this time, psychology in the USSR was experiencing a period of prosperity both from a socio-organizational point of view—such as reducing ideological pressure, the productive functioning of established scientific institutions specializing in psychology and the creation of new ones, organizing congresses and conferences, increasing publication activity, improving training systems, strengthening cooperation with foreign colleagues—and from a philosophical and methodological standpoint—such as developing the philosophical foundations of Soviet psychology, creating and empirically testing basic theories, and actively developing various problems within psychological science. All these factors likely influenced the results of K.K. Platonov's methodological work.

The purpose of this research is to examine K.K. Platonov's ideas on the system of concepts in Soviet psychology in relation to its philosophical and methodological background during the 1970s and 1980s. Comparative historical, bibliographic, and categorical analysis methods were employed in this study.

The theory of reflection as a philosophical and methodological basis of Soviet psychology

In Soviet philosophy and psychology, one of the leading theories with both ontological (reflection as an inherent quality of matter) and epistemological (reflection as a process of cognition) status was the theory of reflection, often called “Leninist” or, synonymously, “Lenin’s theory of knowledge” (Vislobokov, 1971; Rosenthal, 1966). The main provisions of this theory were outlined in V.I. Lenin’s book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (Lenin, 2021). Published in 1909, it was directed against the Russian Machists (A.A. Bogdanov, P.S. Yushkevich et al.) and had a pronounced polemical character. Although it was later claimed that this work by the Bolshevik leader made a significant contribution to philosophy, this statement seems far-fetched. This is partly because many of Lenin’s ideas were not original—French materialist Diderot and German idealist G.W.F. Hegel had written about reflection—and partly because Lenin did not consider himself a philosopher and hardly

believed he had created any kind of “Leninist” theory of reflection.

After Lenin’s death, the texts he wrote were canonized. Strictly speaking, he had only one philosophical work, the above-mentioned “*Materialism and Empirio-criticism*”, since the “*Philosophical Notebooks*” (Lenin, 2022) are summaries of the works of other philosophers (albeit with important comments) and were not intended by the author for publication. Therefore, starting from the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, when, after the defeat of the mechanists and the Deborin group, it was decided to strengthen the development of Lenin’s legacy, quotations from this monograph began to appear more and more often in philosophical and psychological literature: “There is nothing in the world but moving matter, and moving matter cannot move except in space and time” (Lenin, 2021, p. 171), “Our sensations, our consciousness is only an image of the external world, and it goes without saying that a representation cannot exist without the displayed, but the displayed exists independently of the reflecting” (Lenin, 2021, p. 67), “Matter is an objective reality given to us in sensation” (Lenin, 2021, p. 142), “Matter is a philosophical category for denoting objective reality, which is given to a person in his sensations, which is copied, photographed, displayed by our sensations, existing independently of them” (Lenin, 2021, p. 125), etc.

In the pre-war period, the largest work on this topic was the monograph of the Bulgarian Marxist T. Pavlov “*Theory of Reflection*” (Pavlov, 1936). Since the 1950s, the development of the theory of reflection has been intensified largely due to research in special sciences, among which physiology and psychology should be especially noted, as well as for ideological reasons – in the course of the struggle against the cult of personality of I.V. Stalin proclaimed a return to Leninist norms in various areas of public life in the USSR, including in science (and thus the “theory of reflection” officially became known as the “Leninist theory of reflection”). As a result, by the end of the 1970s, the following were added to the basic statement about the reflex nature of matter: reflection is an active, not a passive process; reflection is mediated by the characteristics of the reflecting body; during the reflection process, changes occur in the reflecting body, in which a “trace” of the reflected is formed (Shingarov, 1974); reflection is the process of mutual reflection of two systems, at each “turn” of which changes in another object and changes in oneself caused by this object are reflected (Ukrainsev, Platonov, 1966); reflection can be understood as the process of information transfer (Tyukhtin, 1972).

The reception of Lenin’s theory of reflection by the Soviet psychological community was expected from both ideological and theoretical and methodological points of view. One of the leaders of Russian psychology, A.A. Smirnov, wrote: “Lenin’s ideas about cogni-

tion as a reflection of reality are extremely important for all branches of scientific knowledge, including psychological science” (Smirnov, 1987, p. 26). And further: “For Soviet psychologists, Lenin’s theory of reflection is an unshakable philosophical foundation, an indestructible theoretical foundation of psychological science” (Smirnov, 1987, p. 33). Similar assessments of the role of Lenin’s theory of reflection can also be found by other major Soviet psychologists — A.N. Leontiev (Leontiev, 1983), B.F. Lomov (Lomov, 1999), G.S. Kostyuk (Kostyuk, 1988), K.K. Platonov (Platonov, 1972; Platonov, 1982) and others.

Given the style in which this assessment is conducted, one might get the impression that such praise of Lenin’s theory of reflection is exclusively “political” in nature, as a kind of “ritual of loyalty” of psychologists towards the Soviet government, and nothing more. However, this is not the case. The theory of reflection had a profound impact on Soviet psychology, not only ideologically or philosophically, but also logically.

Thus, the psyche, being the basic concept of Russian psychology and its subject since the mid-1930s, was understood as a property of highly organized matter, consisting in reflecting objective reality; this definition was approved in Soviet psychology by S.L. Rubinstein (Rubinstein, 1940; Rubinstein, 1997) and then repeatedly repeated in the works of such major scientists such as A.N. Leontiev (Leontiev, 1983), B.G. Ananyev (Ananyev, 2007), K.N. Kornilov (Kornilov, 1946), B.M. Teplov (Teplov, 2019), A.V. Zaporozhets (Zaporozhets, 1959) and a number of others. Consciousness in Soviet psychology was also interpreted as the highest form of reflection of reality, as written by S.L. Rubinstein (Rubinstein, 1997), A.N. Leontiev (Leontiev, 1983), E.V. Shorokhova, V.M. Kaganov (Shorokhova, Kaganov, 1963) and other scientists. B.F. Lomov put the concept of reflection in the first place in his system of categories (Lomov, 1999), and E.V. Shorokhova (Shorokhova, 1961) and B.V. Zeigarnik (Zeigarnik, 2021) argued that reflection is the subject of psychology, that is, psychology is the science of reflection. Thus, these facts speak not only about the ideological or philosophical, but also about the substantive, logical, scientific influence of the “Leninist” theory of knowledge on psychology in the strict sense of the word.

Systems theory as a philosophical and methodological foundation of Soviet psychology

In the Soviet Union, there were prerequisites for the creation of a general theory of systems, since system ideas were contained in the famous book by A.A. Bogdanov “Tectology: A Universal Organizational Science” (Bogdanov, 2021); however, it, like other works by this scientist, were criticized and then for-

gotten, and not so much for purely scientific reasons, how much is known for ideological reasons (the political and then philosophical confrontation between the author of “Tectology” and V.I. Lenin in the pre-revolutionary years is quite well known (Steila, 2013)). The persecution of cybernetics in the late Stalinist period did not add to the popularity of the systematic approach in scientific circles (Yurtaeva, 2008). However, when the Soviet leadership finally realized that due to the neglect of this topic, the USSR risked falling behind the West, in whose countries this approach was used in almost all sciences from mathematics to sociology, the accelerated and large-scale development of systems theory and the purposeful implementation of its results in various fields of the national economy began. Since 1969, the profile journal “System Research” began to be published, in 1976 the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for System Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences was established, developments in this field were carried out in a number of other institutions, such as the Institute of the History of Natural Sciences and Technology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Cybernetics of the Georgian SSR, etc. (Blauberg, Sadovsky, Yudin, 1969).

During the “systemic turn” in Soviet science in the 60s and 70s of the last century, the basic principles of this approach (integrity, functional and structural organization, development, etc.) were formulated and a number of theories were developed in various fields of knowledge — the theory of functional systems (P.K. Anokhin), parametric general theory of systems (A.I. Uemov), general Urmantsev’s theory of systems (Yu.A. Urmantsev), the concept of general theory of systems (A.I. Kukhtenko), the theory of highly organized systems (F.E. Temnikov) (Volkova, 2024), etc. An important role in the formation and development of a systematic approach in the Soviet Union and the convergence of ideology and general scientific philosophy and methodology was played by V.P. Kuzmin, a consultant to the Science Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, who showed in his works the presence of the principle of consistency in the works of Karl Marx (doctoral thesis on philosophy 1974 “The principle of consistency in the theory and methodology of Karl Marx”).

E.G. Yudin rightly notes that Russian psychologists, for example, L.S. Vygotsky, S.L. Rubinstein, A.N. Leontiev, expressed ideas consonant with the systemic approach before the corresponding “turn” took place (Yudin, 2016). However, B.F. Lomov became the recognized leader of a new trend in Soviet psychology, who wrote: “It seems to us that the nature of the psychic can be understood only on the basis of a systematic approach, i.e., considering the psychic in the multitude of external and internal relations in which it exists as an integral system. Numerous fields of psychological science can be combined only on the

basis of a systematic approach” (Lomov, 1999, p. 67). He also formulated the principles of a systematic approach in relation to psychological science: (1) mental phenomena must be considered in the system of their relations with other internal and external phenomena; (2) in the course of planning and conducting psychological research, it is necessary to take into account that consideration of mental phenomena in one coordinate system leads to the identification of some of their properties while ignoring others; (3) consideration of the system of mental phenomena should be carried out taking into account their level and hierarchical organization; (4) when describing a person’s mental properties, it is necessary to take into account the multiplicity of relationships in which he exists; (5) a systematic consideration of the psyche requires the rejection of linear causal determinism; (6) mental phenomena should be considered in their development (Lomov, 1999).

As in the case of reflection theory, systems theory has both an ontological (“systems everywhere,” as L. von Bertalanffy argued) and an epistemological (a method of system analysis as a way of studying reality) status.

General characteristics of the problem of concepts of psychological science

Having identified two philosophical and methodological theories that had a strong influence on Soviet science in the 60s and 80s of the last century, let us turn to the consideration of K.K. Platonov’s ideas about the features of the conceptual space of psychology as a whole.

K.K. Platonov, following the “logic of clarification”, begins by defining the concept. According to him, the concept is the reflection of the essential in objects or phenomena fixed in the word; accordingly, understanding something is a process of thinking, during which the essential properties of objects or phenomena are revealed (Platonov, 1972).

Concepts, according to the scientist’s point of view, form the basis of science, since science is a system of theories, and theory is a system of concepts (this thesis shows the influence of a systematic approach). In addition to scientific concepts, there are also everyday concepts that anyone inevitably uses. One of the problems of psychology is that for some of its scientific concepts, words are used (which, like a “hammer”, forge concepts (Rubtsov, 2024)), which are also everyday words, which can cause some confusion (naturally, a scientist-psychologist and a layman in the field of psychology will interpret differently personality category).

The specificity of the conceptual space of psychology is that the same concepts can be interpreted by scientists in the framework of this science in different

ways, due to their different theoretical and methodological orientation (a polyphony of opinions rarely found in other fields of knowledge). And it’s not even that domestic and foreign psychologists have different points of view on concepts named in the same way, but that there may be differences in such views even among scientists who formally belong to the same field (for example, to Soviet psychology).

Scientific concepts, like everyday concepts, can be modern or outdated. Thus, in Soviet psychology, the concept of the psyche replaced the concept of the soul, which retained its use in everyday, artistic and religious fields. Thus, the “life” of scientific concepts can proceed in different ways: some of them, having become operational scientific concepts for a short time, soon become obsolete and become scientific archaisms; others, on the contrary, become so entrenched in the conceptual space that they become the principle of science (Platonov, 1972). These include the principles of determinism, the unity of consciousness, personality and activity, development and historicism, and the system-structural principle (Platonov, 1982).

Describing the situation in the field under consideration as a whole, K.K. Platonov notes that “the reason for the still lingering discord lies in the uncertainty of psychological concepts and terms expressing them, in the lack of proper attention to them and, most importantly, in the absence of even attempts to build a system of psychological concepts” (Platonov, 1972, p. 10). Moreover, K.K. Platonov believed that representatives of this particular science, in comparison with others, are particularly careless of their own concepts. M.S. Rogovin had made a similar “diagnosis” of the state of psychology concepts three years earlier (Rogovin, 1969).

The system of concepts of the Soviet psychological science

K.K. Platonov points out the connection between basic psychological concepts and philosophical categories: “Psychology uses philosophical categories because they apply to all sciences and collectively reflect the most general forms of being, types of connections, and laws of movement and development of the objective world. These are matter, motion, space and time, quantity and quality, contradictions, causality, phenomena and essence, necessity and chance, form and content, possibility and reality, internal and external, etc.” (Platonov, 1982, p. 24). These philosophical categories are generally recognized, but within the framework of dialectical materialism they are given special importance (Rosenthal and Shtrax, 1957; Andreev, 1959). Thus, K.K. Platonov, like B.F. Lomov (Lomov, 1999), demonstrates loyalty to Marxist ideology and the “rules of the game” in force in Soviet science.

In the process of analyzing the conceptual apparatus of psychological science, the scientist divided its main concepts into general psychological (whose volume coincides with the volume of all psychology) and specific psychological (whose total volume is the volume of the corresponding general psychological category). General psychological and specific psychological categories according to K.K. Platonov: mental reflection (sensations, perception, memory, thinking, emotions, feelings and will), mental phenomenon (mental processes, states and personality traits), consciousness (experience, cognition and attitude), personality (orientation, experience, features of mental processes, temperament, character and abilities), activity (action, purpose, motive, mental act) and mental development (maturation and formation, phylogeny, anthropogenesis, socio-historical development, ontogenesis of the psyche) (Platonov, 1984). Specific psychological categories, in turn, form subsystems of “their” concepts, for example, memory – long-term, short-term and operational, mechanical and semantic; sensations – visual, gustatory, tactile, etc.

Some branches (sections) of psychology operate with concepts that “belong” to related sciences. Thus, social psychology uses concepts of sociology (group, social role, social status, communication, etc.), and medical psychology “borrows” concepts from medicine (health, disease, prevention, rehabilitation, etc.) (Platonov, 1982).

Platonov’s ideas about the conceptual space of psychology bear a pronounced imprint of a systematic approach. The categories proposed by him form a system characterized by integrity, hierarchy, and specific relationships between its components. Due to the fact that the meanings of the concepts of psychological science have changed, as well as the connections between them, we can say that the principle of development is applicable to a system of this kind, when viewed historically; in this case, we can talk about the history of the concepts of psychology (Vlasov, Mazilov, 2023).

It is also necessary to focus on the influence of reflection theory on K.K. Platonov’s ideas about the conceptual space of psychology. Like B.F. Lomov (Lomov, 1999), the central place in the system of concepts of psychology is occupied by the category of reflection, which he defines as follows: “So, summarizing the modern understanding of various types of reflection and relying on the understanding of V.I. Lenin, reflection as a universal property of matter can be defined in the first approximation as a form of interaction of phenomena in which one of them, the reflected one, while maintaining its qualitative certainty, creates a specific product in the second reflecting one: the reflected one” (Platonov, 1982, p. 58). This definition is quite consistent with the results of the development of the theory of reflection in the USSR and the socialist countries.

Conclusion

The research examined K.K. Platonov’s ideas about the system of concepts of Soviet psychology in connection with the philosophical and methodological context of its development in the 1970s and 1980s.

It was found that the theory of reflection had a significant impact on the leading role that the concept of reflection played in K.K. Platonov’s methodological constructions. It seems that there are several explanations for this. First, and it would be strange to deny it, the theory of reflection, called “Leninist” in Soviet philosophy, was a good ideological defense for Russian psychologists. Secondly, she partially solved the psychophysical problem (in its psychophysiological concretization) in the spirit of materialistic monism. Thirdly, the theory of reflection provided an answer to the question of the evolutionary meaning of the psyche, explaining it as a mechanism of adaptation of the organism to the environment. Fourth, it brought psychology closer to physiology (Sechenov-Pavlov reflex theory), giving it a more natural-scientific appearance. Fifth, if a number of mental processes (cognitive and emotional-volitional) are understood as reflections, then a significant part of general psychology is “tied” to this category. Finally, sixth, concepts can be understood as a reflection in thinking of the essential properties of objects and phenomena of reality, which means that the theory of reflection has not only ontological, but also epistemological significance. Taking into account all the above considerations, it becomes clear why K.K. Platonov considered the category of reflection to be central in his system of concepts of Soviet psychological science.

It was also found that the theory of systems had a significant impact on K.K. Platonov’s ideas about the conceptual space of psychology (here we will put aside his views on the systemic nature of the psyche itself, as this requires a separate study). If the antithesis of chaos is order, then, figuratively speaking, the “Dolinean chaos” that V.M. Bekhterev spoke about at the time was replaced by the “Platonov’s order”: the scientist managed to create a consistent, holistic, coherent, fairly clear (as far as the very nature of our science allows) system of psychological concepts. In addition, it is worth noting the enormous work that K.K. Platonov carried out in the course of clarifying the meanings of the basic concepts of psychological science, including by “fishing” their definitions from the works of classics of Soviet science, and the results of which were reflected in the dictionaries he prepared (Petrov, Platonov, 1974; Platonov, 1984).

These two trends, the increased reliance on reflection theory and a systematic approach, are particularly clear when comparing two fundamental

works on the stated topic — “On the system of Psychology” (1972) and “The System of Psychology and the theory of Reflection” (1982). Describing the second version of his categorical system of psychological science, he, for example, talks about the two-level structure of mental phenomena. He focuses on the problem of the systemic interrelation of the subject of psychology, its methods, conceptual and categorical apparatus, problems being developed, methodological principles, history and main sections (Mazilov, 2021).

At the end of this article, it makes sense to compare the systems of concepts of psychology by K.K. Platonov and B.F. Lomov. Recall that the first identified six main categories (basic concepts) (mental reflection, mental phenomenon, consciousness, personality, activity and mental development), while the second identified four: reflection (includes psyche and consciousness), activity, personality, communication (Lomov, 1999).

A comparison of the systems of concepts by K.K. Platonov and B.F. Lomov as the closest in time of creation (70–80 years of the last century) allows us to see their noticeable similarity. Two categories (personality and activity) are directly present in both systems; mental reflection, mental phenomena and consciousness in K.K. Platonov correspond to the category of reflection in B.F. Lomov. With this similarity, however, it should be noted that the first system lacks the concept of communication, while the second lacks development.

Regarding the concept of communication, it should be noted that B.F. Lomov wrote about the lack of elaboration of this topic in psychology. This may indicate that this concept had not yet become a generally accepted category at the time of K.K. Platonov’s creation of his system.

The fact that Lomov did not classify “development” as a basic concept may seem difficult to explain—especially from the perspective of materialistic dialectics, which was understood as a doctrine concerning the development of nature, society, and thought—and particularly considering Lomov’s ideological stance. However, attention should be paid to the collective monograph published in 1978 ti-

tled “The Principle of Development in Psychology” (Antsyferova, 1978), approved for publication by the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, where B.F. Lomov was director at that time. The explanation for his exclusion of the concept of development from the list of basic concepts for psychology may be as follows: for B.F. Lomov, “development” is primarily a principle of Soviet psychology and is used as an operational concept, while for K.K. Platonov it is both a principle and a meaningful concept, as we wrote above; therefore, the latter and he included it in his system of basic concepts.

To summarize, the following should be said. Productive philosophical and methodological activity in the field of any science requires the skill of a double focus of attention: it requires focusing on both empiricism and theory. Unfortunately, it often happens that a scientist either concentrates on specific research (and then he has difficulty generalizing their results at the theoretical level and creating a theory in principle), or, overly abstracting, loses the “ground under his feet” (and then his theoretical constructions break away from empiricism). A true philosopher and methodologist of science, including psychology, must combine both qualities; such were the great Soviet psychologists — L.S. Vygotsky, S.L. Rubinstein, A.N. Leontiev, B.G. Ananyev, B.F. Lomov. The hero of our study, K.K. Platonov, can be attributed to this category — after all, he was both a researcher, as they say, “on earth”, and a major methodologist of psychology, whose crowning activity was the development of a system of concepts of psychology. As you know, the creation of a system of knowledge is a large-scale and difficult work in terms of intensity (for example, many works have been written about how G.W.F. Hegel tortured his system). Therefore, it must be assumed that in Russian psychology, for more than a hundred years of its existence, only three full-fledged category systems have been developed — K.K. Platonov, B.F. Lomov, A.V. Petrovsky and M.G. Yaroshevsky. Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to say that Konstantin Konstantinovich Platonov, solving the problem of the concepts of Soviet psychological science, accomplished a methodological feat, the significance of which remains in our time.

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Information about the authors

Nikita A. Vlasov, PhD in Psychology, Associate Professor of Department of Psychology, Conflictology and Behavioral Sciences, Russian University of State for Social, Moscow, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6459-570X>, e-mail: VlasovNA@rgsu.net

Vladimir A. Mazilov, Doctor of Psychological Sciences, Professor, Head of the Department of General and Social Psychology, Yaroslavl State Pedagogical University named after K.D. Ushinsky, Yaroslavl, Russian Federation, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0646-6461>, e-mail: v.mazilov@yspu.org

Информация об авторах

Никита Анатольевич Власов, кандидат психологических наук, доцент кафедры психологии, конфликтологии и бихевиористики, Российский государственный социальный университет (ФГБОУ ВО РГСУ), г. Москва, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6459-570X>, e-mail: VlasovNA@rgsu.net

Владимир Александрович Мазиллов, доктор психологических наук, профессор, заведующий кафедрой общей и социальной психологии, Ярославский государственный педагогический университет имени К.Д. Ушинского (ФГБОУ ВО «ЯГПУ им. К.Д. Ушинского»), г. Ярославль, Российская Федерация, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0646-6461>, e-mail: v.mazilov@yspu.org

Contribution of the authors

Nikita A. Vlasov – formation of the source base; conducting research; annotation, writing and registration of the manuscript.

Vladimir A. Mazilov – research ideas; research planning; monitoring of research.

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

Вклад авторов

Власов Н.А. – формирование источниковой базы; проведение исследования; аннотирование, написание и оформление рукописи.

Мазиллов В.А. – идеи исследования; планирование исследования; контроль за проведением исследования.

Все авторы приняли участие в обсуждении результатов и согласовали окончательный текст рукописи.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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ПАМЯТНЫЕ ДАТЫ MEMORABLE DATES

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9 мая 2025 г., в День 80-летия Великой Победы исполнилось 100 лет со дня рождения Гиты Львовны Выгодской (1925–2010), дочери Льва Семеновича Выготского. Мы бы не узнали наследия Выготского, если бы его не сохранила с любовью для нас Гита Львовна. 20 лет он был под запретом, его книги сжигали, как в известном романе Брэдбери. Но «рукописи не горят», потому что не горят чувства, мысли, поступки. И студентка психологического отделения философского факультета МГУ Гита Выгодская тайком приносила его труды сокурсникам.

Спасенный, сохраненный Выготский — подарок Гиты Львовны всему международному научному и образовательному сообществу (не только науке, но и практике), без всякого преувеличения! Да, многое сделали великие ученики, блистательные ученые школы Выготского. Но чтобы они делали без этого наследия, хранильницей которого до конца своих дней оставалась Г.Л. Выгодская. Без нее, а значит, без Выготского, психология была бы другой. Вся последующая жизнь Выготского в истории, жизнь, которая кипит и поныне во всем мире, была бы невозможной без этого.

Предлагаем вниманию наших читателей текст выступления на IY Международных чтениях памяти Л.С. Выготского (Москва, Институт психологии имени Л.С. Выготского РГГУ, ноябрь 2003 г.), ранее опубликованный в журнале «Вестник РГГУ. Серия «Психология»» (2007. № 1).

В.Т. Кудрявцев,
заместитель главного редактора журнала
«Культурно-историческая психология»

On May 9, 2025, during the 80th anniversary of the Great Victory, it will be a one hundred years since the birth of Gita Lvovna Vygotskaya (1925–2010), daughter of Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky. Without Gita Lvovna's dedicated preservation, we might not have known the legacy of Vygotsky. For twenty years, his works were banned; his books were burned, as depicted in the well-known novel by Ray Bradbury. However, "manuscripts do not burn," because feelings, thoughts, and actions are indestructible. Gita Vygotskaya, a student of the Department of Psychology at Moscow State University's Faculty of Philosophy, clandestinely shared his writings with her classmates.

The preserved and safeguarded legacy of Vygotsky represents a significant contribution from Gita Lvovna to the entire international scientific and educational community—both to the field of science and its practical applications—without any exaggeration! While many distinguished students and eminent scholars of Vygotsky's school have made substantial contributions, their achievements would have been inconceivable without this inheritance, of which Gita Lvovna remained the dedicated guardian until the end of her life. Without her, and consequently without Vygotsky himself, the development of psychology would have taken a different course. The entire subsequent history of Vygotsky's life—a history that continues to flourish worldwide—would have been impossible without this invaluable legacy.

We present to our readers the text of the speech delivered at the IY International Readings in Memory of L.S. Vygotsky (Moscow, L.S. Vygotsky Institute of Psychology, RSUH, November 2003), which was previously published in the journal "Vestnik RSUH. Series 'Psychology'" (2007, No. 1). V.T.

V. T. Kudryavtsev,
Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the journal
"Cultural-Historical Psychology"

Л.С. Выготский: «Экспериментатор должен быть сыщиком, изобретателем, комбинатором, хитрецом, создателем ловушек»

Г.Л. Выгодская

L.S. Vygotsky: "An experimenter must be a detective, an inventor, a constructor, a sly, and a trap-maker"

G.L. Vygotskaya



Уважаемые коллеги! Дорогие друзья!

В институте сложилась добрая традиция — каждый год 17 ноября, в день рождения Л.С. Выготского, открывать конференцию, посвященную его памяти и деятельности и отмечать день рождения института. И этот год не стал исключением — 17 ноября были открыты четвертые чтения памяти Л.С. Выготского и была отмечена восьмая годовщина института, носящего его имя.

Нет нужды специально говорить о том, как я рада видеть всех вас здесь и очень благодарна всем вам, кто счел возможным приехать, прилететь, прийти сюда, чтобы вместе почтить память Льва Семеновича и обсудить некоторые аспекты его деятельности. Спасибо вам.

Хочу с радостью отметить, что вот уже третий год вместе с нами в работе конференции участвуют психологи Гомельского государственного университета имени Ф. Скорины, земляки Льва Семеновича. Мы рады их приветствовать здесь.

Организаторы конференции попросили меня рассказать вам о Льве Семеновиче.

Моя судьба так счастливо сложилась, что мне довелось коротко знать почти всех (кроме Л.С. Сахарова) самых близких его учеников и общаться с ними на протяжении долгих лет. Многие из них работали с ним со студенческой скамьи и до самой его смерти. Все они рассказывали мне о нем, писали, выступали с воспоминаниями. Таким образом, я располагаю материалом, в котором отражены их воспоминания, и мне представляется интересным выслушать их и познакомиться с тем, что они воспринимали непосредственно, с теми фактами, которые сохранила их память на протяжении всей их жизни.

Но все мы отлично знаем, что память не всегда бывает вполне надежным свидетелем. В памяти бывают провалы, что-то запечатлевается ярче, что-то менее отчетливо, некоторые события смещаются во времени, и при воспроизведении неизбежны неточности и погрешности. А мне хочется рассказать вам *только правду, исключительно правду.*

Выход есть только один — прислушаться к тому, что говорится в Священном Писании. А там, в Евангелии от Иоанна сказано: «А и в законе вашем написано, что двух человек свидетельство истинно». В Евангелии от Матфея — немного по-иному: «...дабы двух или трех свидетелей подтвердилось всякое слово». И в одном из Посланий Святого Апостола Павла мы находим: «При устах двух или трех свидетелей будет твердо всякое слово».

Я буду рассказывать *только то, исключительно то*, что слышала, по крайней мере, от 2 или 3 человек. Просто при рассказе я ссылаюсь на одного, чтобы не перегружать рассказ именами.

Лев Семенович занимался наукой, он был ученый. Менялись формы этих занятий — это могла быть работа над теоретическими или методологическими вопросами, когда он обдумывал и писал свои труды. Это могла быть экспериментальная работа, когда он сам, своими руками собирал и обрабатывал материал в школе, клинике, лаборатории, наконец, дома. Это могли быть научные беседы с коллегами, учениками, когда обсуждались полученные в экспериментальных исследованиях результаты или текущая работа, планировались будущие исследования. Это могло быть чтение лекций, в которые непременно включался материал, добытый как теоретическим, так и экспериментальным путем. Это могло быть чтение научной литературы... Но всегда, всякий час своей жизни, он думал о науке, служил ей преданно и верно, не беря у нее ни выходных, ни отпуска. Он занимался наукой всегда — и в праздничные дни и во время летних отпусков. Как вспоминают его товарищи, его «редкостная работоспособность граничила с полным забвением дня и ночи, пренебрежением собой и своим здоровьем».

Он занимался наукой в любой обстановке, в любых обстоятельствах. Вот как говорит А.Р. Лурия о создании «Исторического смысла психологического кризиса», послушаем его: «Я не знаю ничего, что отличалось бы такой удивительной ясностью мысли, такой логической красотой как эта работа... Л.С. Выготский написал эту работу в трагической ситуации: он был болен туберкулезом, врачи говорили, что ему осталось 3–4 месяца жизни, его поместили в санаторий... И тут он начал судорожно писать, чтобы оставить после себя какой-то основной труд». А.Р. Лурия называет эту работу «основополагающим трудом будущей советской психологии».

«Если спросить, — вспоминает А.В. Запорожец, — какое качество доминировало у Выготского как ученого, которое производило наибольшее впечатление на окружающих, то можно ответить, что это качество заключалось в чрезвычайно развитой творческой способности, способности к продуктивному синтезу, способности научного созидания. Надо сказать, что это творчество в жизни Выготского не было каким-то чрезвычайным эпизодом, это было в крови, это был постоянный модус его повседневной научной жизни и деятельности. Находясь рядом с ним, я все время находился под впечатлением того, что это огнедыша-

щий горн, который непрерывно выбрасывал новые идеи, новые представления, новые гипотезы, новые оригинальные экспериментальные замыслы».

Надо заметить, что такое творческое видение окружающего было свойственно ему с самого начала его сознательной деятельности.

При решении любой задачи, какой бы сложности она ни была, Лев Семенович никогда не искал легких и проторенных путей, не шел по чьим-то следам. Он всегда старался найти свой путь, фактически часто бывая «первооткрывателем», не боялся идти против сложившихся, устоявшихся мнений большинства, зачастую шел против течения (как отмечает А.Р. Лурия).

Приведу несколько фактов.

1. В своей дипломной работе Л.С. дал оригинальный и своеобразный анализ произведения о Гамлете, отличный от всей многочисленной литературы, посвященной разбору этой классической трагедии. Известный шекспировед А.А. Аникст сказал: «Последние 60 лет своей жизни я занимаюсь Шекспиром. Когда я впервые взял в руки работу Выготского о Гамлете, я понял, что написавший ее 19-летний юноша — гений». Аникст подчеркивал, что работа Л.С. выделяется среди многочисленных произведений тем, что она не повторяет или не уточняет их, отличается оригинальностью и свежестью суждений, совершенно самостоятельным подходом к рассмотрению и анализу шекспировской трагедии.

2. Впервые психологический мир увидел и услышал Л.С. Выготского 6 января 1924 года в Петрограде на втором психоневрологическом съезде. Лурия многократно писал и рассказывал о его выступлении, но в своей последней лекции о Л.С. он говорил, что его поразила сама манера изложения, убедительность стиля, «...еще большее впечатление произвело на меня содержание доклада, вместо того, чтобы обсуждать какой-либо второстепенный вопрос, как подобало бы молодому человеку..., впервые выступавшему перед столь почетным собранием (а участниками съезда были многие известные ученые, такие как В.М. Бехтерев, Г.И. Россолимо, Н.М. Щелованов, Г.И. Челпанов, А.А. Ухтомский, Г.Г. Шпет, В.А. Вагнер и др.), Выготский выбрал трудную тему — о взаимоотношениях условных рефлексов и сознательного поведения человека». «Доклад был удивительным и по содержанию, и по форме. По содержанию доклад был явно «против течения». Система изложения идей, которую мы тогда слышали от Л.С. Выготского отличалась просто фантастическим блеском, совершенно фантастической ясностью мысли. Этот доклад был удивительным не только по содержанию, но и по форме».

Лев Семенович не боялся идти «против течения» и в других случаях.

3. 15 июля 1924 года Л.С. был назначен заведующим отделом воспитания физически дефективных и умственно отсталых в отделе Социально-правовой охраны несовершеннолетних (СПОН). С этого началась его деятельность в области дефектологии. В ноябре 1924 года, чтобы по-новому перестроить всю государственную систему воспитания детей с от-

клонениями в физическом и психическом развитии детей, было решено провести съезд СПОН.

Как вспоминает участник съезда проф. Д.И. Азбукин, главным событием съезда был доклад Выготского «О современном состоянии и задачах в области воспитания физически дефективных и умственно отсталых детей». Этот доклад, вспоминает Д.И. Азбукин, «был громом среди ясного неба», «перевернул всю дефектологию». Сначала выступление Л.С. встретили с недоумением. Но глубокая убежденность его сыграла свою роль, переменяла настроение присутствующих — от недоумения они перешли к тому, что стали слушать его с глубоким интересом и вниманием. С этого съезда они уехали обновленными. Это заседание было огненной линией, проведенной между старой и новой дефектологией.

4. Так было и в 1930 году на Всероссийской конференции глухих в Москве. Вот как об этом вспоминает проф. Р.М. Боскис: «1930 год... большая аудитория, в которой сидят люди, отдавшие немалые годы своей жизни обучению глухонемых, совершенно уверенные в том, что единственным определяющим эффективным обучением глухонемых средством является использование чистого устного метода, не допускающего применения каких бы то ни было средств обучения, кроме устной речи. Многие из сидевших в зале фактически убеждены в этом... И перед этой аудиторией Л.С. читал доклад о полиглоссии. Утверждая положительную роль полиглоссии в развитии нормального ребенка, Л.С. показал, что и в школе глухонемых полиглоссия (использование устной, письменной и мимической речи) может оказаться весьма продуктивной. Аудитория слушала его как зачарованная, не слышно было в зале ни малейшего шороха. Доклад завершился громом аплодисментов. Лица слушателей были освещены каким-то необычайным вдохновением... И в это время председательствующий, известный проф. Д.В. Фельдберг, приступил к заключительному слову. Он начал свое выступление словами: «Товарищи, над вами разорвалась бомба...» В ответ на это аудитория зашумела и Фельдбергу пришлось прекратить свое выступление. Слушатели тянулись к Л.С. Ему было в это время только 33 года, рядом с ним стояли люди, убежденные седидами, пересматривающие свои давние убеждения. Своей ясной мыслью Л.С. сумел их убедить».

Но, говоря о творчестве Выготского, отмечает А.В. Запорожец, «...не нужно представлять дело так, что он увлекался игрой воображения ценой логики. Он был изобретательным экспериментатором и ценил экспериментальные факты. Я помню, как при обсуждении в лаборатории одного исследования кто-то из присутствующих сказал, что это плохое исследование, плохие факты. Выготский резко повернулся и бросил реплику, которая запомнилась мне на всю жизнь. Он сказал: "не бывает плохих фактов, есть плохие теории, которые не соответствуют найденным фактам, и не в состоянии их объяснить"».

Будучи прекрасным экспериментатором, он придавал огромное значение экспериментам, фактам,

полученным в ходе опытов. Так, в одном из писем к А.Р. Лурии он пишет: «Пиши об опытах и ведай их со всей уверенностью в объективном их большом значении и в особом значении для нас». И в другом письме: «**Очень многого** (подчеркнуто Л.С.) (как бы вслепую не шли опыты) жду от тебя — думать экспериментируя — значит более плодотворно думать, даже ошибаясь. А ты на верном пути».

В письме из больницы Л.С. Сахарову Л.С. советует (а не настаивает — он так и пишет, между нами), с чего начать эксперимент. И в конце он говорит, каким должен быть экспериментатор: «Экспериментатор должен быть сыщиком, изобретателем, комбинатором, хитрецом, создателем ловушек, бесконечно гибким и смелым».

Его ученики называли его талантливым и изобретательным экспериментатором.

Он никогда не навязывал ученикам методики исследования, а лишь указывал направление ее поиска. Сам он иногда повторял методики других авторов (например, Келера, Левина, Штерна), широко внедрял новые. «Многие из этих методик и гипотез, — пишет А.Н. Леонтьев, — блестяще подтвердились и получили дальнейшее развитие в работах современных психологов. Методики, разработанные Выготским, факты, найденные им, считаются классическими. Они вошли как важнейшие составные части в фундамент психологической науки».

Он много и хорошо работал с детьми, знал и понимал их. Кому и судить об этом, как не мне — его постоянной испытуемой. Нам с братом очень нравилось, когда Л.С. привлекал нас к своим опытам.

Хорошо помню: я сижу за столом, рядом с Л.С. или напротив него, а передо мной на столе — экспериментальный материал. Л.С. спокойно и вместе с тем весело предлагает мне различные задания и записывает на маленьких листочках все, что я делаю и говорю при этом. Это он проверяет на мне методику Л.С. Сахарова.

Или вот еще. На полу комнаты выложен лабиринт. Стенки его образуют различные предметы, в том числе и низкие узкие ящики с библиографическими карточками. В центре лабиринта — мандарин, который нам достанется, если мы сумеем «провести» его по лабиринту. Нам очень хочется получить мандарин, и мы очень стараемся. Это Л.С. на нас повторяет опыты Келера. Он делает это так весело, непринужденно, что мы уверены, что это просто такая игра. В случае нашего успеха он радуется ничуть не меньше нас.

Нам было так хорошо с ним в это время, что мы оба — и брат, и я сохранили память об этих днях на всю свою жизнь. Много лет спустя в своих письмах с фронта Леонид писал мне, что вспоминает об этих часах как о самых счастливых в его жизни.

Но Л.С. делал предметом научного анализа не только специально проведенные с нами эксперименты, но и наблюдения за нашим поведением, наши спонтанные высказывания. Заметки с отдельными записями такого рода содержались в его записных книжках.

Если же ему хотелось что-то уточнить или проверить, он создавал специальные ситуации, задавал специально поставленные «хитрые» вопросы. Моя

сестра очень не любила, когда он, как она тогда говорила, «приставал» к ней с вопросами разного рода. Однажды даже в ответ на какой-то его вопрос она заявила: «Вот мама никогда не задает таких глупых вопросов, она сама все знает».

Как-то несколько дней кряду лил дождь. Когда к вечеру он наконец утих, нас повели гулять. Мы шли по набережной, и почему-то именно в этот вечер мое внимание привлек мост, он вдруг поразил меня. Он показался чем-то незыблемым, вечным, река же под ним виделась просто беспомощной. Я была поражена увиденным, и мне хотелось поскорее поделиться своими переживаниями с отцом. Когда мы вернулись с прогулки, он был уже дома и пил чай в бабушкиной комнате. Очень возбужденная, я влетела в комнату и выпалила: «Папа, а я знаю, откуда реки берутся!». Все примолкли, ожидая моего сообщения, и я сказала: «их роют возле мостов!».

Л.С. весело отреагировал на мое открытие. А много лет спустя, уже взрослой, я нашла эти слова в одной из его работ. Им предшествовала такая фраза: «Одна, наблюдаемая мною девочка сказала...». Я-то хорошо знала, что это была за девочка.

Многие работы Л.С. рождались из его предварительных записей, которые он делал и во время обследования детей или взрослых, и во время экспериментов, и, конечно, во время чтения огромного количества литературы.

Он превосходно знал литературу — и отечественную, и зарубежную. Его ученики называли его «талантливым читателем». Читая, он делал записи на малюсеньких листках бумаги или отмечал какие-то места в самой книге. Анализируемые им источники говорят об огромном объеме прочитанного.

Запорожец говорил, что Л.С. умел вычитать даже больше, чем было у автора, что даже из вполне заурядной книги он умел извлечь что-то, что заслуживало внимания, что давало ему повод к размышлениям.

«Большой творческий порыв Выготский сочетал с критическим мышлением. Он критически всегда относился к собственным достижениям... а также критиковал работы других исследователей... Но наряду с... беспощадностью в критике Выготский мог улавливать все положительное, что есть в работе даже, казалось бы, не очень хорошей <...> Выготский... мог видеть в шлаке что-то ценное, нужное...». «Вот анекдотический случай: Выготский приходит в лабораторию в приподнятом настроении и говорит, что он прочитал книгу, которая имеет много интересных фактов, хотя она не лишена некоторых недостатков, что в этой книге есть идея развития, что развитие есть само фактор, что в нем есть логика самодвижения.

Что это за книга?

Это книга Гезелла "Умственное развитие".

Мы читали эту книгу и пришли в полное изумление — мы ничего такого, что говорил Выготский, там не нашли. Мы сидели и читали потом эту книгу целый день, и где-то в 4-й главе нашли несколько фраз, которые отдаленно напоминали о том, что говорил Выготский. Мы были удивлены, как мог Выготский в банальном Гезелле усмотреть такие нужные мысли».

Очень важным для Л.С. было знание научной литературы — и отечественной, и зарубежной. Здесь большую роль играло знание им иностранных языков.

Когда издавали 6-томник, редактор его С.Д. Крекова многократно жаловалась мне на небрежность Л.С. при работе с иностранными цитатами: «...то меняет порядок слов, то заменяет слово близким по значению, синонимом». Наконец, я не выдержала и сказала ей: «А с чем ему было сверять? В те годы многих этих книг, переведенных на русский язык, просто не существовало и все переводы он делал самостоятельно — он просто читал оригиналы, а места, которые хотел цитировать переводил на русский».

— Сколько же языков он знал? — удивилась она.

В анкете его рукой написано —четыре.

Кое-что я помню и могу добавить:

1. Когда приезжал в Москву К. Левин, он бывал у нас несколько раз и, хорошо помню, всякий раз они говорили только по-немецки.

2. В 1933 году к нему приехала учиться дама из Америки (мисс Лайлин), и, как это ни покажется диким, сначала ее поселили у нас (она прожила у нас несколько месяцев). У них была договоренность — *она говорила только по-русски, а Л.С. только по-английски.*

3. Выступая на заседании, посвященном Л.С. Выготскому проф. А.А. Смирнов вспоминал: «Нужно сказать, что Л.С. был... мастером переводов. Я помню, как в этой аудитории он поразил всех тогда, когда, если память мне не изменяет, Коффка делал доклад, а Л.С. литературным языком абсолютно точно перевел все то, что говорил Коффка».

Нет, не подвела память Анатолия Александровича Смирнова. Рене ван дер Веер (из Лейдена) прислал мне копию письма Коффки, написанного им из Москвы, в котором он рассказывает о своем докладе.

Привожу это письмо с сокращением: «Вчера вечером было самое длинное из всех представлений — моя лекция в Государственном Институте Психологии... в зале собралось более 300 человек... большинство из присутствующих понимало по-немецки, но поскольку некоторые не понимали, проф. Выготский (русский психолог, создатель теории формирования понятий), необыкновенно обаятельный человек, выступил в качестве переводчика. Я говорил в течение приблизительно 5–10 минут, а затем он очень легко и свободно, как только можно себе представить, делал перевод сказанного. Он говорил гораздо более свободно, чем я и, мне казалось, что гораздо дольше».