ПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКАЯ НАУКА И ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ

PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

РАЗВИТИЕ ДЕТСКОЙ САМОСТОЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ

DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S AUTONOMY

Contents

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Preface to the thematic issue "Development of children's autonomy"

There is a strong emotional intensity around the topic of children's independence. The current interest of society and the media in children's development, serious requirements for the rapid adaptation of both children and adults in changing conditions, the expansion of digital tools for monitoring children, solving the task of reducing parental anxiety, reflection of micro-events within the child-parent relationship and their consequences, contribute to this fact. The layman easily gives examples of the lack of self-service skills (excessive expectation of help) and deficits of self-regulation (impulsivity, anger), lack of initiative and irresponsibility, aimlessness and unwillingness to grow up in others — both children and adolescents, and young people, and at the same time willingly joins the trend to strengthen parental control by installing video cameras and appropriate applications by acquiring a "smart watch" and in various ways narrowing the space of a child's free action, where it would be possible to train a variety of skills related to independence.

The modern educational discourse is increasingly focused on the non-objective results of education. The quality of education is increasingly evaluated from the point of view of the psychological well-being of schoolchildren and by how much independence is possible within education, to what extent there is freedom of self-expression, choice, and trial. Speaking about education, we are actually starting to talk about the psychological aspects of life in the education system, and the years of this life are getting longer. The realities of modern childhood differ significantly from those familiar and described in the works of the classics of Russian psychology. Traditionally, the child learned autonomy and responsibility in everyday situations, in unregulated communication with peers, in feasible participation in work. In preschool childhood (this is one of the most thoroughly studied and described ages), play activity provided the development of arbitrariness, i.e. "mastering one's own behavior" (L.S. Vygotsky). Today the space and amount of play of preschoolers is decreasing, which probably reduces the level of behavioral arbitrariness reached by the end of preschool age. The educational system is focused on the familiar "norms of age" that have not been discussed for decades, which are hardly achievable and adequate to social reality today; at the same time, purposeful practices of developing and supporting various forms of independence in the educational environment of both preschoolers and schoolchildren are beginning to develop.

Speaking about autonomy in modern conditions of growing up in a situation of changing educational practices, it is difficult not to notice the emergence of new zones and circumstances that enrich the space of development of a modern child or, in the opinion of the layman, deform it. This is the digitalization of education and everyday life, and the emergence of social networks; these are new collaborations of children and youth, initiative practices, for example, volunteering, and much more. Such changes in the universe of modern life traditionally provoke the desire to subordinate these innovations to control and guardianship. Is such a restriction productive, and is it possible — these are also questions that enrich the scientific field, they need to be discussed in a research way in order to have clear answers to the questions and concerns asked by society.

The new reality also raises new research questions. If traditionally for Russian psychology, the focus of attention was on the mechanisms of personal autonomy development, which were tacitly understood as universal, mediated mainly by age norms, today interest is shifting towards behavioral autonomy, i.e. to the study of those actions that a child can perform independently. The term "agency", borrowed from sociology and implying the ability to make responsible decisions and perform independent actions, is increasingly penetrating into scientific usage. According to D.A. Leontiev, it should be about overcoming determinism, external control of action, about the perception of oneself as the cause of the changes taking place.

We present a thematic selection of 10 papers. They discuss the topic of autonomy from different sides, constituting an extremely broad framework for discussing those realities that can be associated with their own decision about action, with autonomy in its broadest sense. It was also important for us to pay attention to the transformation of ideas about autonomy in modern conditions.

We put the word "autonomy" in the title of the thematic issue, not trying to limit the authors to established approaches, but rather encouraging the operationalization of intuitive, emotionally resonant questions and highlighting research issues relevant to the current social situation of the development of children, adolescents and youth. While preparing this issue for publication, we saw our task in arousing readers' interest in rethinking, reflecting on the conditions for the development of autonomy in its different understanding in modern conditions, and in providing as wide a panorama of research on autonomy in the modern realities of life and learning as possible.

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—— ПСИХОЛОГИЯ ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ | EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY ——

Is Students' Autonomy Possible at Contemporary School?

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The article shows that the modern educational discourse is shifting from discussing the conditions for achieving academic results to analyzing the conditions for the implementation of learning and, more broadly, the life of children and adolescents at school. The question is raised about the importance of analyzing and taking into account the socio-pedagogical conditions for the formation of independence in schoolchildren. Independence is considered as the most important non-objective result of education, non-specific for a traditional school. The condition for the development of independence is the possibility of a trial, a trial action. The school as a social institution is considered within the framework of E. Hoffman's theory of total institutions. It is argued that the disciplinary practices of the school make horizontal communication "teacher-student/group of children" impossible. The article reveals the insufficiency of reducing educational practices to school practices alone and outline, the processes of enriching the educational space through expanding the access to informal and non-formal education.

Keywords: autonomy, agency, trial actions, subjectivation, total institutions, new trends in education.

Возможна ли детская самостоятельность в современной школе?

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Авторами показано, что современный образовательный дискурс смещается от обсуждения условий достижения академических результатов на анализ условий реализации обучения и шире — жизни детей и подростков в школе. Ставится вопрос о важности анализа и учета социально-педагогических условий формирования самостоятельности школьников. Самостоятельность рассматривается как важнейший непредметный результат образования, неспецифичный для традиционной школы. Отмечается, что условием развития самостоятельности является возможность пробы, пробного действия. Школа как социальный институт рассматривается в рамках теории тотальных институтов Э. Гоффмана. Доказывается, что дисциплинарные практики школы делают невозможными горизонтальные коммуникации «учитель-ученик/группа детей». Выявлена недостаточность сведения образовательных практик к лишь школьным, указано на процессы расширения образовательного пространства через рост доступа к неформальному и нонформальному образованию.

Ключевые слова: *самостоятельность, агентность, пробующие действия, субъективация, тотальные институты, новые тренды в образовании.*

Introduction

Childhood is gaining more and more prominence in social studies. It has traditionally been the subject of research in developmental psychology, where the focus of scholars and practitioners is the change/development of psychological characteristics of the child in the process of growing up.

Today the research field is expanding to include the study of childhood and the child as such, the "here and now", his/her well-being and life satisfaction.

J. Qvortrup et al. express a seemingly paradoxical, but very heuristic idea, pointing out that children exist in our world not only and not so much to become adults, al-

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though, of course, we all expect and hope that they will become adults. However, this expectation has attracted so much attention and has taken on so much importance, that it has been more or less forgotten that children, too, have their own life as long as they are children [20].

M. Spieler criticized the 'adult' view of childhood as early as the mid-1970s [22]. The work of Erica Burman [18], in which she consistently deconstructs the developmental psychology, revealing its internal assumptions: adherence to the norm, the desire to impose a 'correct' view of childhood, the assumption of the child as an object of change, emanating from the adult gaze.

Thus, in today's scientific landscape we find, on the one hand, the continuation of research, both theoretical and empirical, aimed at the child's developmental changes, including those which are occurring within the framework of the educational system. On the other hand, the study of today's realities of childhood as understood not in relation to the future, but in their present condition. The second direction is presented mostly in research on the conditions of children's well-being, including the framework of school education. And another important vector within this second direction is the growing trend of studying children's autonomy.

Theoretical foundations for considering child autonomy

The influential international organization OECD has been pushing the child autonomy agenda for the past three years. The program "Student Agency 2030" [18] has been developed. Its main idea is formulated as follows: the concept of schoolchild agency is based on the belief that schoolchildren have the ability and desire to positively influence their own lives and the world around them. Student agency is defined as the ability to set goals, reflect and act responsibly in order to bring about change.

Note that today Russian and Western scientific literature employs several terms that we can, though understanding their difference, use as the synonyms: *agency* (the ability to act in relation to a structure and to change it); *initiativity* (crossing the boundary of semantic fields, according to L.I. Elkoninova); *autonomy*, *independence*, *personal autonomy* (according to D.A. Leontiev); *subjectivity* (according to V.A. Petrovsky).

All these terms, in our opinion, describe similar abilities of an individual and similar actions. All of them can be described as supersituative behavior, according to V.A. Petrovsky, or as overcoming field behavior, according to K. Lewin. The difference in many respects is largely due to the fact that initially these terms were born in different theoretical models, but by the type of observed behavior they are, we think, quite similar.

Therefore, realizing the importance of theoretical-analytic comparison and refinement of these terms in the future, within the framework of this article we will conditionally allow ourselves not to differentiate them.

The explosive growth of interest in the topic of children's independence is connected, we think, with recognition of the unpredictability of the modern world, its variability. Indeed, if the world is stable and unchanging, it is possible to convey to a child the algorithms for solving basic tasks. If everything changes, and the rate of change only increases, the algorithms stop working, and the ability to overcome the existing context, to act supra-situationally comes to the fore.,.

If today it is becoming more and more important to study children's autonomy, then two important questions arise: 1) what are the conditions for the development of autonomy? 2) to what extent is child autonomy possible within the educational system? To what extent does the school (and we are limited only to general education) provide a student with a space for performing his/her own actions, where are those gaps in the fabric

of the school context in which independence is appropriate and expected?

The answer to the first question is found in the works of B.D. Elkonin [17]: a trial action is a condition for development. In itself, the problem of the trial, the trial action is quite well developed within the framework of developmental psychology. These theoretical and empirical studies continue the line of cultural-historical theory, in particular, develop ideas about the construct of the zone of proximal development. We can say today that the interaction of a child and an adult in a zone exceeding the actual capabilities of the child, the provision of a test opportunity and the support of this test are conditions for the development of the ability to act independently. If we turn to the theory of subjectivation, then this is an interpretation of the need for a test: a new ability arises in two stages: at first, a new action itself appears, but only under special conditions, and then there is an emancipation of the ability — a test of a new skill in real situations of its application [11]. But the test requires a 'response': a reaction to the action, i.e. the condition of the test is horizontal communication.

Thus, a condition for the autonomy development is the space for free action in which the new ability is tested through the reception of feedback, and thus emancipated from the conditions of its development or directed formation. Consequently, we must answer the second question: where and in relation to what kind of school content children's trials are possible, in relation to what context these trials are performed, whether feedback is possible, i.e. to what extent the model of the zone of proximal development is realized.

To answer this question, we will look at the structure of school as it is presented in classical sociological works. This is necessary, because it is clear today, especially after the pandemic, how narrow and redundant is the idea of school as merely a place for the transmission of knowledge. The school is a highly complex social institution that addresses a wide range of tasks for the individual, society and the state, and when the lockdown forced the school to be reduced to the organization of classes, everyone — educators, families, and students themselves-felt that under ordinary conditions school is far more than just lessons.

In the late 1960s and 1970s the Marxist interpretation of the school and the ideological institution of the state were popular in Western socio-philosophical writings. M. Foucault in "Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la Prison" speaks of the school as an institution for the implementation of a power structure hidden in social relations. This power is realized via special "practices of order" or "disciplinary practices" which are typical for school.

It is possible to describe in the most detail school as an institution through the prism of those structural elements of total institutions described by E. Goffman in his book "Total Institutions" [2]. Let us immediately make a reservation: in the context of this article, we ignore the processes of adult adaptation and degradation discussed in the social sciences. In Goffman's descriptions we are looking for situations where the free action, trial, goal-setting, and achievement of one's own goals are possible. Goffman does not refer to regular schools as the total institutions, only to boarding schools, because what is important to him is the impossibility of leaving the institution. Therefore, we will first consider the school as a total institution, and then show the insufficiency of this assumption. Looking ahead, we will say that the possibility of leaving the school is important precisely as a way of overcoming the totality of the social structure.

School as a total institution

The school as an institution of mass compulsory education was formed in Europe and the USA in the middle of the 19th

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century. Russia was lagging behind, it was only after 1917 that this system emerged. Clearly, industrialization was the driving force behind the spread of education, conveyor production, and the outflow of the rural population population to the cities. The mass character of education, its accessibility to all segments of the population dictated the need for it to be relatively cheap, regardless of the sources of its funding — public, state, or private.

Massiveness and accessibility required formats in which one teacher could teach a group of children, preferably of relatively similar abilities. It is no coincidence, we think, that the same period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw the explosive growth of pedology which was developing a factual basis for mass education. It was pedology that gave age the absolute independent variable, which manifested itself in the organization of classes on the basis of age.

According to E. Goffman, the essential characteristics of a total institution are the relative small number of 'staff', i.e., pedagogical workers, and the large number of 'guests' — students. The staff carries and holds the norm. Due to its small number, it is forced to carry out its functions based on numerous rules — both verbally fixed and implicit, unarticulated ones. These rules mediate relations within the institution, making bidirectional communication impossible — from teachers to students and back again. If the ratio was 1:1, it would be possible to build personal relationships, the rules would be relaxed, the communication would be quite different.

According to Goffman, every institution provides its members with a special world, i.e. every institution is characterized by a tendency of closedness. "Their closedness or totality is symbolically expressed in the barriers for social interaction with the outside world and for going out, which often have a material form" [2; 32]. This indica-

tion of closedness is easily recognized today in, for example, the turnstiles installed at the entrances to school, guard posts, and metal detectors. Despite the fact that the child can physically leave the school building, the structure itself remains closed and connections with the outside world are difficult.

The creation of total institutions is connected to the idea of incapacity, that there are categories of people who need care, even if they themselves may not seek this care. This directly applies to schools since the task of education at all stages of its development has been defined by the need to impart to non-adult pupils the qualities of adults: to make them capable of performing the functions of adults, ensuring the reproduction of the modes of existence.

According to Hoffman's description, "each phase of the daily activities of a member of the institute is carried out by him in the direct accompaniment of a large group of other people who are treated in the same way and who are required to do the same thing together. It is also indicated that all phases of their daily activities are strictly scheduled, one occupation is replaced by another at an agreed time and the entire sequence of cases is prescribed from above by a system of explicit formal rules and a corps of officials. Finally, prescribed classes are subject to a single rational plan that ensures the achievement of the official goals of the institute" [2; 34]. This is exactly how life is arranged at school — rules, regulations, actions in chorus", in full view of a large group of classmates.

In this rigid system of rules and regulations, a 'guest' — a schoolchild — is forced to find his own ways of coping with the lack of freedom. Hoffman describes two types of adaptation: primary and secondary. Primary adaptation is the complete and accurate implementation of the rules of the institute. Those who are capable of such a following at least at the beginning of their stay at

school become "good students" favoured by teachers. By the beginning of middle school, few of them remain.Secondary adaptation is the ability to find such gaps in a strict structure where violation of the rules is possible. This is a well-known desire of children, and especially teenagers, , to hide from the eyes of their elders, to get out of their field of vision. In such «blind spots» it is possible to have their own individual life of schoolchildren, their independence.

Thus, if we admit that a modern school has the features of a total institution, it turns out that the space of independence is limited to places alien to the school: these are non-school zones in the school, for example, on the school territory outside the zone of teachers' sight, in school toilets, etc.

Horizontal communication and feedback, which are necessary for the test of autonomy, do not exist in school, and if they do, then it's rather contrary to the school laws.

School as an element of the educational space

Even if we recognize the school as a total institution, in reality it has never been fully like other institutions. For example, in fiction we find many examples of children's warm relations with teachers and with each other, although such examples speak more about the 'imperfection' of the school[1]. A huge role in softening the rigid structure and freeing up the places for free action, in addition to establishing personal informal relationships, has always been played by the various kinds of leisure and non-educational practices at school: holidays, joint trips and excursions, class hours, i.e. everything that traditionally belonged to the field of upbringing.

Unlike completely closed institutions, the school exists in society, and children are included in a wide repertoire of interactions. The first and main thing is the existence of the child in the family and the local community, which provides substantial enrichment of communications, care and acceptance. It can be assumed that initially social skills were acquired mainly outside of school, in communication with peers, with extended family, in household chores [7].

A strictly regulated institution justifies its purpose until the idea of what is due begins to change in it and outside its walls, and until these ideas penetrate into the school. Then the 'unpacking' of the school structure begins, described, in particular, by P.S. Sorokin and I.D. Frumin, although they do not exactly refer to general education [15].

The '«unpacking' of the school takes place in two main directions.

The first one is to provide students with a choice within the school: an individual curriculum, elective and additional disciplines, etc. We will also include the project activities of schoolchildren in the same row. The real implementation of these opportunities within the school requires additional research: to what extent, for example, the provided choice is limited or free, to what extent the ability to independently set goals and achieve them develops within the framework of project activities. But the emergence of 'points' for making independent decisions is really expanding. New professional positions are emerging at school, for example, the position of a tutor, a teacher who really implements horizontal communication with a child [4].

The second one is the appearance of a huge number of educational offers outside of school. In large cities, up to 80% of children are engaged in various activities related to the field of additional education. But the supply of educational services on the market is also gaining strength, both directly related to education, for example, the Skyeng service, and having educational functions — Arza-

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[1] Let's recall the story of V. Rasputin «French Lessons»..

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mas, Khan Academy, etc. These services usually offer services that do not qualify for general education. They help to find ways to solve specific problems related to education: eliminate specific knowledge gaps in preparation for exams, study the subjectmore deeply or just learn more about the topic of interest.

Ivan Illich in his classic work "Liberation from Schools" wrote that over time the school will lose its exceptional position in the field of education. Elements of the necessary skills can be searched, found and mastered not only within the school walls, but also in many other places. He wrote about the creation of educational networks, about filling a person's whole life with learning [3].

When the book was written in the 70s, and even when it appeared in Russian in 2006, it seemed that the author was very far from the reality of modernity, the school as an established institution seemed unshakable. But today the situation is changing rapidly. In the book "Education beyond the walls of school: How parents design the educational space of children" published in 2020 [13] we reveal in detail the gradual 'unpacking' of the school as the only place of education, and show how the school turns into an element of a multiple space consisting of a variety of educational services.

Also, we must not forget the emergence of alternative forms of education, for example, family education, full-time and part-time education, numerous offers on the market of online educational services, unschooling, etc. [6].

Thus, it is possible to state a significant expansion of the educational space. In particular, there are three types of education: formal, informal, and non-formal. We no longer equate the concepts of 'education' and 'school'. The expansion of general education beyond the school, the emergence of new access points that are not limited by vertical and hierarchical methods of management and dominance of formal knowledge, lead to the emergence of new spaces of interaction between the knowing and the unknowing, the skillful and the inept, the adult and the child.

There is a new discourse in education — a discussion of the possibility of projecting the ideas of the Convention on the Rights of the Child into educational practice, and, at the same time, there is a new type of communication, in which the child's voice begins to sound as the voice of an equal participant in the interaction.

Conclusion

We consider the analysis and consideration of the school as a total institution to be the first step towards understanding the school as a space that ensures or hinders development and maturation.

We believe that we have managed, albeit tentatively, to point out the important contradiction. Numerous studies in the field of developmental psychology, in particular, studies of the organization of the probing action, represent predominantly a microanalysis of the act of development, implemented in laboratory conditions. Sociology sets a different focus: macro processes occurring in society, occurring in a variety of nuances and circumstances.

The scrupulous view of psychology, the seeds of the new knowledge about development can be devalued by immersing them in the reality of social processes and circumstances, or significantly distorted. Mechanisms of the emergence of new psychological characteristics may not work in real schools because they will occur in a situation that would block them. Therefore, it is important, in our opinion, not only to raise new research questions regarding the drivers of development, but also to see the social reality in which these drivers are strengthened or weakened, or do not work at all.

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Learning Space as a Prerequisite of Agency in Learning Activity

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The rapid pace of innovation and the increased quantity of information are affecting the traditional educational routes. Schools are now facing quite a new task: how to teach children to learn. The developmental learning approach of Elkonin and Davidov provides rich experience of solving this task. The paper describes a technology of learning space polarization that promotes learning autonomy in primary school and has been successfully applied in developmental learning classes. We explore the prerequisites of individual learning action formation, the action which is self-motivated, independent and responsible. We also describe three lines of learning autonomy development in students: result, research and product. The paper concludes with a description of the evolution of learning autonomy and its social/institutional forms and relates its stages to certain age periods in the child development.

Keywords: learning autonomy, learning space, individual learning action, developmental learning, training and inquiry-based lessons, modeling, sign tools, Elkonin, Davydov, agency, activity.

Образовательное пространство учебной деятельности как условие субъектности ее участников

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Автор отмечает, что скорость инноваций и увеличивающийся поток информации изменили традиционную образовательную траекторию, и перед

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школой возникла новая задача — научить учиться. В системе развивающего обучения Д.Б. Эльконина—В.В. Давыдова накоплен большой опыт по решению этой задачи. В данной работе описана технология поляризации образовательного пространства учебной деятельности, которая способствует становлению учебной самостоятельности младших школьников и успешно применяется в классах развивающего обучения. Показано, как с помощью особой организации пространства класса — поляризации на подготовку и реализацию — учитель может поддерживать и развивать учебную самостоятельность учеников начальной школы. Рассмотрены условия становления индивидуального учебного действия как действия инициативного, самостоятельного и ответственного; описаны три линии развития учебной самостоятельности: результативная, исследовательская, продуктивная; дана характеристика открытого педагогического действия. Описана эволюция учебной самостоятельности и социально-институциональных форм, соотнесены с возрастом этапы становления учебной самостоятельности.

Ключевые слова: учебная самостоятельность, образовательное пространство учебной деятельности, индивидуальное учебное действие, развивающее обучение, тренировочное и исследовательское занятие, моделирование, знаковые средства, Д.Б. Эльконин, В.В. Давыдов, субъектность, деятельность.

Introduction

The fundamental result of developmental learning in the Elkonin—Davydov system is the student's agency. In general terms, agency is a way of life in which an individual constructs (generates) forms of his or her own behavior, in the case of schools, his or her own learning experience [2; 10; 15; 16]. Education in all stages is seen as a progression of agency [1; 11; 12; 13; 17; 19; 25; 28].

The aim of education is to create the conditions for the emergence and development of learning skills. The interpsychic form of learning independence in schoolchildren has been studied most thoroughly in G.A. Tsukerman's research. The core of this form is the exploratory activity that occurs in cooperative learning activities and is focused on discovering and trying out new ways of action [11].

Analysing the work of foreign researchers, we can note that the concept of personal initiative developed by Doris Fay and Michael Frese describes personal initiative as autonomous and proactive behaviour that aims to overcome obstacles to achieve goals. There are three aspects of personal initiative: self-starting, proactivity and perseverance. Self-starting means that a person does something without direct instructions and the aim of the initiative is to change oneself or the situation. Someone who shows personal initiative takes responsibility for an idea or project [20; 21; 23].

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We believe that decision-making initiative as a vital aspect of independent action can occur at a very young age. The adult can participate in joint action with the child so that the child has the opportunity and necessity to make choices within the boundaries available at each age. [8; 9; 19; 22; 24; 25; 26; 27].

Currently, the issue of individual aspects of learning skills learn is not sufficiently elaborated in the theory and practice of developmental learning . This article is about the ways in which a specific educational space for learning activity created by the teacher promotes the establishment and development of learning autonomy in primary students. We will also explore: what are the symptoms and dynamics of learning autonomy in primary schoolchildren? What is the teacher's agency? What resources and means do teachers have for cultivating students' learning autonomy?

The individual learning action in primary school students

Learning autonomy relates to the acceptance or rejection of "alien" tasks, to the emergence of one's own learning goals and implies that the student chooses or constructs the ways to achieve these goals. The independence is marked by the initiative to turn to another person. If any difficulties arise, the student is able to turn for help to the teacher, to a friend, to a book, etc. In learning the child can and should decide for himself or herself whether it is necessary to improve his or her learning skills. In other words, learning autonomy involves independent setting of individual learning goals, proactive search for the ways to achieve them, and responsible decision-making in a situation of choice [5; 7].

We consider the **individual learning action** as the first stage in the formation of learning autonomy as a personal development that first occurs in primary school age.

The **individual learning action** implies that the action is proactive and responsible.

The **initiative action** is an action of a child when he or she transforms the adult's task into his/her own rather than simply accepts it. In contrast to initiative in general, learning initiative is associated with the reformulation of **the task**.

The **responsible action** involves a certain amount of risk and decision-making. In order for a child to be able to make decisions meaningfully, he or she must understand when he or she is ready to do something and when he or she is not. The choice, in this sense, is a choice each time between "acting in a socially constructed way" or "not acting". If the teacher creates situations of choice for the child, then there's a space for children's initiative in making a decision.

The **learning action** is an action which is not about improving a person, his or her abilities, but rather about improving the very way of doing some activity.

Earlier in our works we have shown that the main way of constructing the individual learning action as an action of initiative, independent and responsible decision-making involves **dividing the children's actions into preparatory and executive.** If the teacher helps children to distinguish and switch between orientation and implementation from the very start, then the individual learning action emerges and develops as an action of initiative, autonomy and responsibility [1; 6].

The learning space as a factor for the development of learning autonomy

In order to put children's search, trial and preparation at the center of the teacher's attention, the learning space needs to be organized in a special way.

S. Zaitsev in his research also indicates the need to create a varied educational environment that should stimulate students to perform learning activities independently and provide a choice of means and ways of accomplishing them [3].

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In our case, the main method of teaching is the polarization of the learning space towards the preparation and implementation:
• the introduction of the draft and its construction as a particular place for preparation,
• special organization of the subject/space environment,
• the introducing of lesson, class and polarized lesson as different forms for the organisation of learning time and learning activities.

When a teacher focuses on the development of learning autonomy in primary students, the object and subject of the teacher's work change. **The object of teaching action** is the structure of children's action in terms of the two functions existing in one action and often merged: preparation (orientation) and implementation (execution). The teacher arranges the learning space in a way that enables the student to prepare for any action in a given class, in other words, to construct a way of solving a group of tasks. From the beginning, this task space should act as a preparation space where the child builds his or her own experience of the activity.

The central position in the developmental learning system is the nature of a scientific concept. As V. Davydov pointed out, mastering a concept means knowing how to construct this concept, and tools and signs form the main content of the orientational basis of an action [2].

The teacher's action is more related to the initiation of the students' orienting and, more broadly, preparatory actions. Learning to make drafts does not involve handing over ready-made tools, but is linked to the organization of students' reflective attitude towards their work — their understanding of the relevance of their preparation.

To understand means to learn — according to D.B. Elkonin, it does not necessarily mean to understand, but to train and to improve yourself in what you are not good at, to work with yourself on some task [16].

Rethinking becomes the focus of communication between the child and adult in the work with the draft . First, the teacher starts to see the child's work as a "draft", giving significance to the child's action as a trial, and then the child rethinks his or her own work in this way [5,6,7]. For example, a first-grader takes a dictation in Russian at the end of first grade. The student writes the whole dictation, then checks the work, finds the misspelled word and circles it. The observer: *"Why did you highlight that word?"* Student: *"It's a dictation. I'll practice with the wrong words at home".* In this example you can see how the girl plans her future work in advance. Self-work is seen both as performance (writing dictation) and as preparation for future action (highlighting words with mistakes).

In our view, when a child gives meaning to his work as the one which can be continued, s/he builds a coherence of preparation and implementation, i.e. an individual learning action.

The distinctions and transitions between the two functional parts of an action — between orientation, preparation in the broad sense and realization — become **the subject of the teacher's observation and work.** The teacher considers not only how the child has mastered the content of the lesson, but also how he or she organises the preparation, whether he or she is proactive in using the resources, how he or she acts in a situation of difficulty, at what point he or she decides to end the preparation. Teachers' action becomes transparent when it turns into *children's action*, which is independent rather than imitating an adult's model [14].

Here we are talking about constructing teaching activities that reveal to the child the meaning of his or her action and provide, an understanding of how to transform his or her way of doing things. This transformation has a proactive and responsible form of behavior. Initiative, responsibility and learning are

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generated as an educational outcome and cannot be shaped directly.

The individual features in the forms of training can already be observed by the middle of the first grade, which is one of *the symptoms of the occurrence of the individual learning action* [7].

Another symptom of the distinction between preparation and implementation actually taking place is the appearance of children's words reflecting the meaning of the action. The child's emphasis on the special validity of the draft, when the pupil circles a part of the work in his or her notebook and signs it "do not evaluate", is an indicator of how the child distinguishes and connects the two parts of the work.

We differentiate between two types of child behavior. One is the construction of the "draft" itself, when the child's action is built up within the limits of using the means suggested by the teacher. And the second is the child's own work in constructing the tool.

The psychological sense of this work is that the child is trying to determine the functional meaning. By contrasting *the tool and the task* in object terms (the table with "helpers" and the "assessment table"), we have observed that for the child a distinction between the tool and the task is not given. In the first grade it is confusing for the child: when he or she takes a "helper", the latter is treated not as a tool, but as a task. In the second grade, when children actually engage in making "helpers", the student is confused on another level: by saying that he or she is making someone a tool, he or she is in fact writing a task. By the end of the second grade, the child is able to differentiate the task from the tool. In the third grade, we encounter cases where the child takes the initiative to continue his or her action. For example, in the third grade, after a lesson on creating "helpers", Yulia Z. asked the teacher: "*Let me give Katya my helper, whether it can help her or not*," and then watched Katya use her helper while she worked.

Searching for one's place of action is the initiative that in some children appears at the end of the second grade, but for the most part it appears in the third grade as the teacher unfolds the work of creating children's helpers.

Thus, **the evolution of children's learning autonomy** is reflected in the ability of students to determine the extent, place and content of their own training, which means that individual forms of training appear. The majority of children begin to construct an action to improve their work by addressing the table with helpers, differentiate the two parts of the work in content and scope, and proactively explore and comprehend the function of the tool, which are **important indicators of the cultivation of an individual learning action.**

In order to highlight preparation as a special work space, the teacher sets up two semantic centers in the classroom, preparation and implementation. which differ not only in content, but also in **the object-space form in which they are organized.** Each child has their own small whiteboard, there are also several small boards in the classroom which represent practice and test areas, and the large board acts as a place for presenting the results. The class has a helper table, a practice table with tasks of different levels of difficulty and a separate table with quizzes.

The emphasis on special 'places' in the classroom reinforces the opposition between the preparation and the result. Blackboards, tables with different functional meanings act as a support for students' organization of their own action, which is constructed as a transition from one type of work to another (from preparation to realization and vice versa). The visually presented tools (objects, diagrams, models) on the table with "helpers" create a situation of choice for the child. The child can choose any tool from the variety and test it, which reinforces the content of the preparation itself.

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The transition from preparation to implementation is accompanied by another polarization of socio-institutional forms of organization. The teaching time in primary school is divided into "lessons" and "classes", differing in the type of communication between the teacher and students, in the form of completion, and in the content of the subject material.

The type of cooperation between the teacher and the children changes in the class. The teacher in a consultant position observes the individual learning action of the child: how does he or she prepare the action, does he or she turn to helpers, does he or she check the completed cards, how does he or she decide to move on to assessment. The teacher helps to focus the child's attention by asking: "How did you know that this particular card should be done?" or "How did you know that you have had enough practice and it is time to move on to assessment work?"

Thus, by dividing the child's actions into preparation and implementation, the teacher assigns a specific meaning to the tool as an orientation tool right from the beginning. The teacher is engaged in constructing situations of choice so that the child can make meaningful decisions, knowing when he or she is ready to do something and when he or she is not.

Three lines of development of learning autonomy can be pointed out in learning activities: effective, exploratory, and productive (as the creation of tools for theoretical thinking). These lines are based on the theory of learning activity, where there are two emphases in the learning task:

1) Discovering and modelling a general method;

2) Applying the general method to solve a class of practical problems.

Essentially, these two accents in the theory of learning activity and in its practice do not follow naturally from one another. As B. Elkonin writes: *"The learning task implies a transition from direct trial and error in achieving a result to a special construction (together with the teacher and other children) of a scaffolding of a possible action (its orientational framework). Only in this transition-overcoming does the possible action itself, not just the required result, become an object of consideration, i.e. the action is re-evaluated, re-conceptualised. This is the intrigue of the learning task, and to the extent that this intrigue engages the student and is felt by him or her, the student transforms his or her own experience, i.e. proceeds to actually work with his or her own experience-that is, to learn"* [15, p. 30].

The two accents of the learning task were the basis for dividing the lessons into **training** and **inquiry-based** ones.

If the training lesson is aimed at teaching children how to evaluate their work, how to choose the means of overcoming deficiencies and how to work on the operational structure of the ways of action, the inquiry-based lessons unfold a child's trial of signification as a tool for understanding mathematical and linguistic relations. The result is the creation of a model for analyzing and describing significant relationships.

On the transition from the individual learning activity of solving concrete practical tasks to the individual learning-research activity as a trial-and-error activity, another subject of the teacher's work appears: proactive mediation by the child. The act of mediation is subjected to a test, for example, by playing with the mathematical relations constructor, children explore limits in composing word problems (e.g. how many tasks can be compiled without extra data).

During lessons students analyze and understand essential relationships by testing, inventing model tools — diagrams, devices, dynamic models, etc. The importance of using different signs at the same time — drawings, diagrams, tables — provides new opportunities for students to explore how transforming a mathematical relationship

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in one action plan (the diagram) leads to a change in another action plan (the text of the problem). In contrast to a productive activity, the learning and inquiry-based activity may not be completed, because the children are involved in playing with the sign language ("what if I put the arrows in the construction set like this?").

The main point about the trial action is **the recurrence** of the child's own, original action, where the child thinks up a task scheme, addresses it to someone else and, after trying it out, comes back and reconstructs it. This recurrence is an indicator of overcoming the executive action in the trial.

Thus, an individual learning action on the result line is represented as a relationship between orientation and realization, where the orientation is built by the child to overcome his or her own deficits, the operational structure of the way of action is practiced, and the realization is a solution to a problem.

In an individual learning activity on the theoretical line, the orientation takes on a completely different characteristic and unfolds in the trial of signification as a tool for understanding the structure of the task. The result is the creation of a model in which the student describes the essential connections and relationships he or she has identified. Learning and research activities are developed along the lines of modelling, which develops intensively in the third and fourth grades on the basis of textual tasks.

Dynamics of the individual learning action

We suggested that the second phase of primary school age is characterized by significant changes in the development of learning autonomy, with students in third grade progressing to high levels of individual learning activities (hereafter referred to as ILE). The theoretical basis for this assumption was D. Elkonin's idea about the two phases of primary school age, when from the first to the second phase there is a transition from collaborative to individual learning activities [16]. To explore the dynamics of ILE formation on the result line of learning independence, we conducted a diagnostic procedure "Preparing for test" [5; 6]. The procedure was carried out over the period of four years with students from three experimental developmental classes in which the technology of polarization of learning space was implemented.

The purpose of the observation was to determine how the child links preparation to implementation in his or her work. The following **observation criteria** were chosen to assess the student's individual learning action: 1) choice of the type of work, reasons for choice; 2) adequacy of preparation (consistency between preparation and evaluation); 3) performance of work; 4) content of preparation: choice of practice cards in relation to own difficulties (or just easy, interesting, not difficult), independently or with help; 5) turning to the teacher; 6) turning to the tools; 7) transitions from preparation to performance and from evaluation to preparation.

The first, second, third and fourth criteria are related to goal-setting, focusing the goal of the action and achieving the result (independent action). The fifth and sixth reflect children's initiative as a search for tools. The seventh criterion is related to putting the action on hold and deciding whether to switch to assessment or to practice again (responsibility).

During the lesson the teacher announced the option of either doing the quiz straight away or practising beforehand. The students were able to decide for themselves where to start work, at what point to move from the practice to the quiz, and what tools to use in preparation.

On the basis of the given observation criteria, five levels of individual learning action in students have been identified. A child with a high level of Individual Learn-

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ing Action is able to assess him or herself in relation to the skills to be tested in the quiz. On this basis the student decides whether or not he or she will be able to cope with the quiz. And then, either proceeds to the assessment work or chooses preparation. When choosing preparation, the students demonstrate ways of overcoming their own difficulties: they ask the teacher and their classmates meaningful questions; they turn to the keys or to the teacher to check the practice tasks; use "help cards" which allow them to achieve higher performance levels in their quizzes. During the lesson, the student independently decides when to finish his or her preparation and move on to the quiz.

The table presents data on the dynamics of the individual learning activities in primary school children from the first to the fourth grade.

The table shows that the transition from the first to the second grade is characterized by a decrease in the number of students in the low- and below-average groups; from the second to the third grade there is a different trend: the number of students in the high-level group increases (by 16%). From the third to the fourth grade, the group of children with above-average levels increases significantly (by 18%).

Here's a brief description of the qualitative changes in ILE that were observed in the experimental classes.

Firstly, the content of the training has changed significantly: the students were already able to justify their choice of work in detail and link it to the self-assessment of the skills, highlighting their own difficulties. At the beginning of the second grade, only four students associated their choice of work with the tested skills, whereas at the end of the third grade 87% (73 students) could do so, and at the end of the fourth grade 99% (75 students).

Secondly, we noticed a proactive approach of the students to checking their own work. Self-checking became internally necessary in the organisation of their own preparation and was done without the request of the teacher. By the end of the third and fourth grades, checking practice cards against the keys had become the norm in preparation for quizzes;

Thirdly, by the end of third grade, there was a group of students who had a work plan to guide their preparation for the quiz (14 out of 84 students).

Thus, quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data from a four-year experimental study showed that from the second to the third grade there was an increase in the number of students with high and above average levels of individual learning action, which supports our assumption about the dynamics of students' individual learning action in the transition from the first to the second phase of primary school age.

Table

Dynamics of the individual learning action of primary students

ILE level	1 grade 64 students — 100%	2nd grade 84 students — 100%	3d grade students — 100%	4th grade 76 students — 100%
Low	11	6	1	1
Below average	9	5	6	7
Average	69	74	62	46
Above average	9	6	*6*	*24**
High	2	*9*	*25**	22

Differences between classes were statistically significant using the $\chi 2$ test: * at $P < 0.05$.

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Conclusion

The presented experimental data have shown that the polarization of the learning space is a prerequisite for the creation and development of learning autonomy in primary school students. It is important to emphasize that the dynamics of learning autonomy only occurs if **several subject areas evolve.** *Firstly,* the evolution of the subject tools and their spatial organization. *Secondly*, the evolution of the tool application situations: learning/theoretical and learning/productive, practical. *Thirdly*, the evolution of the socio-institutional forms.

Thus, the evolution of the activity/lesson relationship is characterized not only by the appearance of first practice lessons in the first grade and then of productive and inquiry-based lessons in the second grade, but also by the appearance of the polarized lesson in the third grade, when children engage in different activities within the polarized lesson according to their interests: some make abaci — (tools for theoretical thinking), some transform different models, others practice their skills. Inside the lesson, there is a situation of choice and a free learning space within the work, where children finish with one thing and then move on to another place to do another. And in the third grade, there is a competition of investigative and productive ways for the students themselves.

Evolution proceeds in two directions:
• change of the leading form specific to each stage of training,
• the emergence of new auxiliary tools(constructors, flashcards), which, on the one hand, is the separation of the teacher with his/her theoretical thinking from the child, on the other hand, the separation of the child from the teacher and the appearance of the child's action as initiative, independent and responsible.

The emergence of varied forms of work: a training session — work on mistakes and skills; an inquiry-based lesson connected with constructing things, models; individual homework which the child makes for himself; independent study of a new topic indicates that the variety of forms and their evolution quantitatively and qualitatively changes the lives of the children and the teacher.

The child's achievements in learning independence is a signal for the teacher to "remove" himself from what the child has mastered and can do now on his own. If the child can organize his/her training to overcome his/her deficits, the teacher creates the zone of proximal development for his or her learning autonomy (individual homework, independent study of a new topic, etc.). Only in this case does **the history** of the child-adult actions as *forms of agency of the child and the teacher* appear.

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Student Autonomy in Secondary Schools: The Potential for Development

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This article explores the potential for the development of student autonomy in a modern Russian comprehensive school. Despite extensive evidence of the importance of teachers' support for school autonomy in foreign studies and the global trend towards the development of an initiative and conscious position of schoolchildren in relation to learning, for the Russian psychology of education, the question of the value and practices of such support from teachers is currently insufficiently reflected. Studies on the adaptation of schoolchildren during the transition to distance learning in the context of the pandemic also confirm the relevance of self-learning skills, self-organization and autonomous learning motivation for successful learning in conditions of uncertainty. However, there is a significant shortage of research in the field of the content and prevalence of autonomy support practices in Russian schools. Experts representing twelve Russian general education schools located in various regions of Russia and positioning themselves as developing the autonomy of adolescents or interested in its development were invited to participate in the presented search study. 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted, the thematic analysis of which made it possible to identify the main ways of interpreting the concept of autonomy in the educational process, the benefits of supporting autonomy in learning, a list of key barriers preventing its support, as well as to describe a set of psychological and pedagogical practices to support the autonomy of schoolchildren implemented by school specialists. The necessity of transformation of the educational discourse in the direction of increasing the autonomy of schoolchildren and the dissemination of relevant ideas and practices in the pedagogical community is substantiated.

Keywords: autonomy, agency, adolescents, educational practices.

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В центре внимания автора находится вопрос потенциала развития автономии учащихся в современной российской общеобразовательной школе. Обращается внимание на то, что, несмотря на обширные подтверждения значимости поддержки автономии школьников со стороны педагогов в зарубежных исследованиях и существование общемирового тренда на развитие инициативной и осознанной позиции школьников в отношении обучения, для российской психологии образования вопрос о ценности и практиках такой поддержки со стороны педагогов в настоящее время недостаточно отрефлексирован. В то же время исследования, посвященные адаптации школьников при переходе на дистанционное обучение в условиях пандемии, подтверждают актуальность навыков самостоятельного обучения, самоорганизации и автономной учебной мотивации для успешного результата в условиях неопределенности, однако наблюдается значительный дефицит исследований в области содержания и распространенности практик поддержки автономии в российских школах. Для участия в представленном поисковом исследовании были приглашены эксперты, которые представляют двенадцать российских общеобразовательных школ, расположенных в различных регионах России и позиционирующих себя как развивающих автономию подростков или заинтересованных в ее развитии. Были проведены 12 полуструктурированных интервью, тематический анализ которых позволил выявить основные способы интерпретации понятия автономии в образовательном процессе, выигрыши от поддержки автономии в обучении, перечень ключевых барьеров, препятствующих ее поддержке, а также описать набор психолого-педагогических практик поддержки автономии школьников, реализуемых специалистами школ. Обосновывается необходимость трансформации образовательного дискурса в направлении повышения автономии школьников и распространения соответствующих представлений и практик в педагогическом сообществе.

Ключевые слова: автономия, агентность, самостоятельность, субъектность, подростки, образовательные практики.

Introduction

The issues of free will and responsibility, dependence and independence, self-sufficiency and the need for care, etc., have long been problematised by philosophers [3; 4], but in education they have long been discussed rather intuitively, through the use of notions of independence, subjectivity, autonomy, initiative, self-regulation and self-control, even activity, and in the Western tradition also the concept of agency (sometimes translated into Russian as agencyness). In recent decades, the topic of autonomy, understood primarily as the ability to act on the basis of inner motives/values, self-determination, as well as questions related to the ways to support it in different environments, have been actively discussed in developmental and educational psychology. These have become particularly acute in the period of pandemic distance learning. We will therefore focus here on the interpretation of the concept of autonomy in relation to secondary school students and the repertoire of psychological and pedagogical tools available to edu-

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cators to support the autonomy of secondary school students.

In today's world of high uncertainty and variability, educational requirements do not remain constant either. Society has a new demand for education; the federal state educational standard (FSES) requires that adolescents develop not only subject knowledge, but also meta-disciplinary competencies [7]. One of the world's well-known competency models is the DeSeCo framework proposed by the OECD, which includes three competency categories, one of which is the ability to act independently, i.e. the ability to take responsibility for managing one's life, to act independently in different social contexts [1]. The OECD Education Compass 2030 identifies "student agency" as one of the central reference points in the development of education until 2030, defining it as the ability to set goals, reflect and act responsibly to achieve change and justifying this choice with the belief that students are able and willing to influence their lives and the world around them in a positive way.

The COVID-19 pandemic and self-isolation have exacerbated the need to shift the focus of school education from subject outcomes to the development of other, meta-disciplinary knowledge and skills, in particular, initiative and active autonomy [6; 8]. The familiar institutional framework of the school context has changed, making it more difficult for students to complete educational tasks, organize time and allocate resources for study and homework. The physical inaccessibility of the classroom system, bells, classrooms and other familiar attributes of school life has demonstrated the need for intrinsic motivation and planning, goal-setting and self-regulation skills for successful learning.

The practices used to develop autonomy in the educational process abroad reflect the development of meta-disciplinary competences. For example, F. Candy has identified six aspects of autonomy in learning. They

are that a learner: has freedom of choice; can develop goals and plans independently of pressure from others; has the ability to reflect; has the will and ability to "fearlessly and decisively put into practice and bring plans of action to completion... without depending on others for encouragement and reassurance"; can exercise self-control; has a personal conception of autonomy [12]. Schools such as Aarohi in Bangalore or the Democratic School in Hadera in Israel use the principle of autonomy, giving children the freedom to decide what and how they will study within the school curriculum. Students make choices based on their likes and dislikes and learn to justify and discuss their choices. In these schools, the idea of school self-governance is practised and disseminated. Another model, similar to the route-sheet logic, is used in Big Picture Learning schools in India: students set individual goals based on their passions and interests, and then they are given autonomy to determine how and when to achieve these goals. They must regulate their own time and timetable and look for the necessary resources. Independent learning goes hand in hand with the implementation of a set curriculum. Research on autonomy support in school, as well as students' perceived autonomy, has noted the importance of these indicators and their association with academic achievement, self-efficacy, autonomous learning motivation and positive behavior [13—15; 17; 20; 21].

The exploratory study presented here sought to clarify the meaning of the construct of adolescent autonomy in the perceptions of the leadership of Russian secondary schools that position themselves as developing adolescent autonomy, and the practices of supporting/restricting it that are prevalent in these schools. It was hoped that the catalog of pedagogical or psycho-pedagogical practices that support autonomy and show its effectiveness could be useful for specialists in other schools who do not

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officially focus their activities on developing adolescent autonomy, but who see this as a promising area for development of their organizations and educational programmes.

Research programme

The aim of this qualitative research is to establish the potential for the development of student autonomy in contemporary Russian general education schools and to describe the psychological and pedagogical practices that support it.

The key *research questions* are formulated as follows: 1) How does the idea of autonomy function in different schools? 2) How does it translate into concrete educational practices? In order to answer these questions a qualitative research including expert search and interviews was carried out.

Procedure. The criteria for selecting participants for the in-depth interview were as follows: 1) Work in a state school, as we were prospectively interested in the possibility of extending the practices found to other schools; moreover, state schools have a number of limitations compared to private education (less freedom in curriculum development, more control over students), making the development of autonomy within the state school a particularly interesting object of research. 2) Positioning the school where the potential expert works as developing autonomy or interested in developing student autonomy: such schools were sought through participation in conferences on education, analysis of information on websites and social networks of educational organizations and the 'snowball' method. 3) Leading or at least non-ranking pedagogical position of expert, work experience of at least 3 years, personal interest in the topic of student autonomy development and willingness to cooperate with the researcher.

Selection. Twelve experts from different schools from the following regions took part in the study: Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, St. Petersburg, Tomsk, Perm, Moscow, Moscow region, Bolshoye Isakovo (Kaliningrad region). Due to the fact that the experts who took part in this study live in different cities and the contexts of the schools they presented differ significantly, the answers turned out to be more diverse and multifaceted. The interviewees included four principals, four deputy principals, three administrators and one tutor working in 12 public schools, four men and eight women between the ages of 30 and 55.

Interviews. The preparatory phase included getting to know the experts in person, describing the research and concluding an agreement on a follow-up interview with a discussion of the topics and format. All experts gave informed consent to participate in the interview and to be audio-recorded and to publish the results in a summarised and anonymised form. Semi-structured interviews were then conducted with the experts according to the developed guide, relying on research questions. The interviews were conducted online and lasted between one and two and a half hours. The experts shared their understanding of the idea itself, the significance of autonomy for their educational spaces and what concrete practices these ideas translated into. Audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed and the text was around 200,000 characters long. The expert search and interviewing was stopped once the categories under study were saturated and repetitions appeared.

The interview transcripts were processed by means of a thematic analysis [11] in which we identified, firstly, a number of approaches to understanding autonomy, secondly, the main problems related to autonomy support in education, thirdly, the effects that autonomy support brings to the educational process, and finally, fourthly, a number of specific practices of autonomy support, which included assessment, homework, self-study system, tutoring, class and extra-curricular activities.

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Results

Understanding autonomy in schools

Eleven informants indicated that the development of autonomy in their schools was a value rather than a hindrance to the learning process. In one case, autonomy was seen as a hindrance as the emphasis in the school was on academic outcomes which, in the respondent's view, could only be achieved through controlling the students. At the same time, the school presented actively used practices to develop the autonomy of adolescents, including school self-governance.

The idea of what autonomy means was not uniform among the interviewees. Having analyzed the interviewees' answers to the question: "What does your school understand by autonomy?", we identified three types of understanding.

1. Autonomy as subjectivity (purposefulness, decision-making, reflexivity).

"We have not previously described our practices in terms of autonomy and autonomy; the concept of subjectivity is more familiar. By this we mean the student's ability to set an educational goal, determine how to achieve it, plan activities, communicate about problem solving and achieving the goal, and reflect on his or her educational experience. To be subjective means to choose and take responsibility for one's choices" (N., tutor).

"Certainly subjectivity. Every learner should feel like a decision maker and not someone who is manipulated. We have been cultivating this practice in the school since 5th grade" (T., deputy principal).

2. Autonomy as activity, independence, ability and need to make responsible choices.

"Every word is important here. Once in a situation of uncertainty, in a situation where there are several options for action, a teenager understands how to gather information, how to feel which choice is right for him, to be able to highlight the criteria of choice, not to avoid the situation of choice, to be responsible for his choice to himself and those who are clearly connected with him" (A., principal).

"It is responsibility for one's choices and the ability to admit mistakes. Not to retreat in case of understanding the wrong position, but simply to adjust to changes" (A., deputy principal).

"It is the skill of the pupil to make decisions independently, without reliance on adults, the ability to make informed choices and to take responsibility for them" (D., principal).

"Pupil autonomy is the willingness to make a choice in the given circumstances, not only academic, but also life choices, and to take responsibility for this choice" (G., Principal).

3. Autonomy as the ability to design an educational route independently.

"In adolescence, we develop autonomy in education. What does it mean to be autonomous in education? It is the ability to design your own educational route, to choose the subjects, the level of study, the tools, the pace of the material. The development of independence is based on the environment, including the teacher and the people who appear in the classroom. Consciously being able to make suggestions is important during adolescence" (I., administrative officer).

"Autonomy for a teenager in education is very important. It is the ability to interact with classmates and teachers, to set educational goals, to search for information, including on the Internet, to be able to conduct reflection on their learning activities, as well as to understand why school is needed and to be able to build their educational route" (G., principal).

The differences in the schools' understanding of the phenomenon of autonomy are conditional. During the interviews we found out that regardless of the name, the schools represented develop the same thing, teaching children: to make decisions; to choose

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and be responsible for their choices; to assert their position; to plan learning activities; to achieve goals; to reflect on their educational experience; to be independent in education.

Difficulties in supporting autonomy

All informants talk about the difficulties that schools face in developing autonomy for adolescents. Firstly, these can be problems due to the characteristics of adolescence.

"It is important not to forget that grades 5-7 are not about learning, not about education, so it becomes difficult for everyone at this point, no matter how strong students they are, no matter how masterful they may be in self-education techniques. So many kids who were successful in primary school suddenly start failing" (I., administrative officer).

"We are typical representatives of the modern Russian school which is on the way to transition from unconditional directiveness on the part of teachers and administrators to an ideal children's world, where children shape the curriculum themselves. Naturally, we have attempts through student self-governance to motivate children to be independent, but this does not always work out because of the age specifics of teenagers. They need a support, a guiding person at this age" (G., principal).

Secondly, problems related to parental misunderstanding.

"There is also a part of children who are afraid to be independent because of particularly strict parents who control the whole process. Children from such families are not independent" (A., deputy director for education).

"Some parents interfere in the learning process, they do not like that the child stays after school for SSPS (school self-government) meetings instead of going home to do his/her homework. Such parents believe that the school should work for academic results" (K., administrative officer).

Third, organizational, financial, regulatory constraints.

"In the last school (private) we had the opportunity to send groups of children abroad, where with educational field trips the degree of autonomy of teenagers was increased. The children conducted excursions on their own. Here (in state school) it is more difficult" (T., deputy principal).

"We are not a private, expensive school, we cannot afford much. For example, a child suggests a project with a budget of 200,000 roubles, but the school budget doesn't provide for this kind of spending. It happens that investors are attracted to particularly interesting projects, but sometimes children get rejected, unfortunately" (A., principal).

Benefits of developing student autonomy

Despite the difficulties, informants are unanimous that the development of autonomy — the ability to choose and be responsible for their choices, to make independent decisions, to set goals and achieve them — is necessary for the modern pupil in the current process, and that the skills acquired will help pupils to become successful members of society in the future.

"Pupils take more initiative, gaining freedom and independence. For example, my pupil, who has implemented his own commercial projects, offered to share his experience with other pupils to help them build goals for the future" (A., headmaster).

"Children become motivated to learn when they make their own decisions. Choosing a topic for research, a team for a project, the opportunity to organise and conduct a lesson themselves for the younger classes — this motivates learning. After projects like this, students ask for more. Many graduates come to work for us to pass on their experience to other children" (N., tutor).

"Graduates, first and foremost, are confident about themselves and their choices. They are not afraid to make mistakes and know how to build an educational route for the future. Many now work in Europe, in international

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companies, where autonomy is an important component" (I., administrative worker).

Tools for developing autonomy — educational practices

Schools which declare to work for autonomy do so, on the one hand, by giving teenagers freedom and, on the other hand, by organizing this freedom with the help of special tools they have developed. Among the tools presented by respondents to develop and support autonomy, we selected the practices that showed the greatest effect from their application by experts. The application of these practices will help school managers to organize the learning process in accordance with the age specifics of adolescents as well as with the demands of contemporary society.

1. School student government

"*You give students the freedom to make decisions and influence, and they give you new ideas for development*" (K., deputy principal).

School self-governance in the schools we presented is not a scenario where students play according to the rules prescribed by adults in advance: it is participation in the development of these rules, making adjustments in the educational process, making project proposals, i.e. a real opportunity to show initiative.

"*Students make suggestions for changes, and the administration has to be prepared for these changes, otherwise you create the illusion of freedom of choice*" (G., headmaster).

The organisation of self-governance in the school gives students the opportunity to influence the educational process, to show organisational and managerial skills, to negotiate, to stand up for their own opinions, to resolve conflicts. It is an opportunity for adolescents to prove themselves, to develop their leadership skills, to feel themselves an important part of the educational process, but most importantly, it gives endless space for the development of autonomy skills in the school environment.

2. Assessment

"*When we thought about how to develop autonomy, we immediately thought about assessment. Plans to develop student autonomy shaped our own autonomy*" (T., deputy principal).

Assessment in respondents' schools differs from the five-point system we are used to, primarily in terms of range. Rating, cumulative, criterion-based assessment, the options that respondents named, come down to one thing: in order to develop independence and awareness of teenagers, pupils need to understand how a particular subject, type of lesson, and form of lesson are assessed, transparency is needed. The main difference of other approaches to evaluation is that they let students choose the type, form, and number of tasks; students may not show up for tests or homework and get points in a different way that suits them; they get the opportunity to reflect on their growth in education. Moreover, the design of the assessment is discussed with the children and their wishes and suggestions are taken into account. Thus students become the subjects of their own assessments and there is room for action.

3. Project and research activities

"*Research is not only a lot of points, it is interesting. When you get something done, you become interested. In the teenage stage it is the law*" (N., tutor).

Finding an approach to developing autonomy in the compulsory parts of the learning process, giving the child choices while complying with the requirements of the FSES is not an easy task.

"*We all hold in our minds that if we give teenagers a big, extensive choice, it is likely that this type of work (research) will not be chosen*" (I., administrative worker).

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The key in project activities, according to the respondents, is not to impose, but to interest. Mixed learning works well here: senior pupils make projects for junior pupils, and they, in turn, take the initiative to repeat the experience. Another option is group projects in interdisciplinary subjects, where each teenager has an opportunity to prove himself or herself. The initiative should be shown at each stage of the project: setting goals, processing results, reflection — what was accomplished, what was lacking, where improvements could be made.

4. The educational route
"If you are thinking about where to start developing autonomy in your school — start with the route sheets" (I., administrative officer).

The practice of developing route sheets for each pupil in a teenage school is a unique opportunity to develop autonomy throughout the learning process. The child independently chooses the trajectory (subjects to study), the extent of knowledge (depth of immersion in the subject), the level (easier or harder level of tasks within the subject) and the pace of passing (together with classmates, faster or slower). The individual educational trajectory is built by the students themselves, but the whole school is involved in this process. Curricula drawn up by the administration should be flexible; teachers should be prepared to change lesson content according to students' requests; and the tutoring service should be ready to support students in building the unique educational path needed by a particular child in a particular situation.

5. Educational field trips
"An educational field trip is a unique opportunity for students to prove themselves" (T., deputy principal).

Field trips are an extension of the itinerary with one key difference — it is a change of environment. The experience of learning in a new environment, orientation and adaptation, setting goals in a new environment make students more confident and independent, and form a subjective stance on education, which they then bring to their everyday, in-school educational route.

The respondents gave examples of what they considered to be the most effective educational field trips: the itinerary, the places to visit and the programme, which had been planned by the young people themselves. From the planning of the trip to the reflection at the end of the field trip, the trainees were involved in every stage. As a result, project groups of enthusiastic students have formed, making educational field trips a school tradition, and this experience is passed on to new students year after year, allowing more and more young people to develop their autonomy.

6. Tutor support
This form of autonomy support exists in only four of the schools represented, but has an undeniable effect on building processes for the development of adolescents' autonomy.

The tutor's tasks are mainly reflective. They are assistance in constructing an educational route, parental consultations, individual and group tutorials with students. Such work makes it possible to define a universal goal for the child's education according to his or her age, to adjust this goal for each pupil, to communicate with families about how to observe and support the child's self-improvement work at home.

"We believe that teenagers desperately need a tutor. We want them to become independent, but to do this they need to feel supported and know that they are safe, that there is someone to help and guide them" (A., deputy principal).

The above practices show how the idea of autonomy functions in the schools represented, they work together as well as individually. The application of these practices in school puts the child at the head of his/her educational process, makes him/her an autonomous subject of education and

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positively influences the development of the adolescent as an individual.

Thus, autonomy is not just about providing choices in learning situations or giving pupils responsibility for the activities they engage in. It is also about prompting, supporting and encouraging students through specially organized processes to express themselves, express their intentions, take initiative, set goals, plan, reflect and identify their interests [18; 19].

Conclusions

The analysis revealed that the topic of autonomy development in general education school is insufficiently represented in domestic scientific publications. Despite the high social and psychological relevance of this topic, the scientific ideas about the formation of autonomous behavior in modern schoolchildren, as well as the factors of its development in the educational environment are ambiguous and fragmented. At the same time, autonomy

support plays a critical role in supporting optimal development of adolescents and their social adaptation [6]. In an empirical study of how the topic of schoolchildren's autonomy is represented in psychological and pedagogical work, a number of practices were found that demonstrate their significance in terms of autonomy support, according to experts, and are available for replication in secondary schools. The description of these practices seems to contribute to the expansion of the traditional school psychological and pedagogical toolkit, as the working methods typical of the traditional teaching system are aimed at school control rather than at the development of students' freedom and autonomy, which does not correspond to the age specifics of adolescents and the demands of modern society. We hope that this study will draw attention to the need for changes in the educational discourse of the modern school and the development of autonomy of students, as well as other skills necessary for a child living in the 21st century.

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Changes in the Beliefs and Practices of School Teachers as the Basis for Independent Action of Adolescents. Institutional Approach

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Independence is one of the key results of modern school education, which is recorded in documents and reports at various levels. Research directly on independence is difficult, since there is no single approach to the operationalization of this phenomenon. The article attempts to fix the trend of destructuring and describe the features of its course in the beliefs and practices of school teachers of one general education school. As conceived by the author, this approach opens up prospects for theoretical and empirical understanding of the independent and initiative action of the student in the institute of school. For this, three elements of the institutional structure of the school were identified: rituals, disciplinary practices, the type of relationship between the teacher and the student, and the ways of destructuring in each element were described: refusal, mitigation, creation of new practices. The basis of the qualitative study was interviews with fifteen teachers from a primary and secondary school in a residential area of Moscow. The author comes to the conclusion that the process of destructuring is slower compared to other spheres of public life due to the limitations outlined in the article. The results of an empirical study can be useful for studying the independent and proactive behavior of an adolescent in the space of the school by teachers with varying degrees of rigidity in their practices, by teachers who use practices that are not typical for the institute of the school.

Keywords: school, destructuring, independence, adolescents, teacher beliefs.

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Изменения в представлениях и практиках школьных учителей как основа для самостоятельного действия подростка. Институциональный подход

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Предпринята попытка зафиксировать тренд деструктурации и описать особенности ее протекания в представлениях и практиках школьных учителей. По замыслу автора, такой подход открывает перспективы теоретического и эмпирического осмысления самостоятельного и инициативного действия подростка в институте школы. Обращается внимание на то, что самостоятельность — один из ключевых результатов современного школьного образования, который зафиксирован в документах и докладах разных уровней. Исследования непосредственно самостоятельности затруднены, поскольку нет единого подхода к операционализации этого феномена. Выделены три элемента институциональной структуры школы: ритуалы, дисциплинарные практики, тип отношений между учителем и учеником и описаны пути деструктурации в каждом элементе: отказ, смягчение, создание новых практик. Базой качественного исследования послужили интервью с пятнадцатью педагогами основной и средней общеобразовательной школы спального района Москвы. Делается вывод о том, что процесс деструктурации протекает медленнее по сравнению с другими сферами общественной жизни ввиду обозначенных в статье ограничений. Результаты эмпирического исследования могут быть полезны для изучения самостоятельного и инициативного поведения подростка в пространстве школы у педагогов с разной степенью жесткости их практик, у педагогов, использующих не характерные для института школы практики.

Ключевые слова: школа, деструктурация, самостоятельность, подростки, представления учителей.

Introduction

In modern studies of education, there is an interest in the topic of children's independence [10]. A number of works are focused on the study of independence (and related constructs) as a means of successfully mas-tering the educational program. For example, within the framework of the theory of self-determination of personality E.L. Daisy and R.M. Ryan (SDT) solves the problems of insufficient internal learning motivation, interest, and engagement of students [13; 15; 16; 22;

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24]. The constructs of self-regulated learning [21] and the analogue of "learning independence" [5] are also "responsible" for the academic result. Both constructs imply in general terms the student's ability to plan, control, and evaluate the learning process. On the other hand, international reports and educational standards postulate the need to develop non-cognitive skills and personal characteristics, including the ability to take proactive action, initiative and agency [8; 12; 20]. With all the variety of constructs that describe the phenomenon of children's independence in the field of successful learning, there is a lack of theoretical attempts to comprehend and operationalize it in the field of achieving personal and non-cognitive outcomes.

The role of institutions, including schools, in the development of certain qualities of an individual is evaluated ambiguously. Classical institutional theories postulate the crucial role of institutions in shaping and regulating behavior [11]. In the traditional sense, the institution of a school is a strict regulatory system. E. Goffman, describing such structures, uses the term "total institutions". He believes that they block the ability to control their behavior, lack the right to choose roles and the possibility of free expression of will [3]. Current practices at school prescribe to the child his place (desk), his way of communicating with teachers (from the position of a subordinate), his time to speak (raised hand), his opportunities to act (when allowed by the teacher), his ways to learn (didactics). On the one hand, according to this approach, there are no spaces for free action of the child in the school, which significantly limits the opportunities for developing independence. On the other hand, today there is an empirical trend of destructuring or reducing the stability of structures [6; 11]. In his article «Annual Review of Sociology», American sociologist Lars Udehn argues that at the present stage of development of institutions, the individual's action becomes less structured and less regulated [25]. The process of "destructuration"(reducing the stability, rigidity of structures and their bind-

ing force in relation to action) also occurs in the field of education [11]. A review of the literature allowed us to identify the features of this process in key public institutions [11; 17; 25]:

• there is a decrease in the stability of the structure, increased volatility;
• the binding force of the structure in relation to individual action is reduced.

In search of a space for independent action at school, we decided to compare the classical and modern sociological view of the institution of school. It seems to us that the analysis of existing school practices and teachers ' perceptions through the prism of the process of destructuration will allow us to detect and describe the nature of changes in the school institution and, if they are fixed, it will open up the future the opportunity to study independent behavior of students, understood as initiative, transformative, individual behavior. To narrow down the search, we have identified three key elements of the school structure as the most institutionalized, with established strict rules and scenarios: rituals, disciplinary practices, and the type of teacher-student relationship. Udehn metaphorically described destructuring process as a transition from a logic scenario to a game with flexible rules [25]. We will use this metaphor as a basis for analyzing existing practices and views.

Organization of the research

The purpose of the study is to fix and describe the process of destructuring in the institute of school as one of the conditions for the development of independent behavior of the students. To achieve it, several tasks were solved:

— highlight elements for analysis in the views and described practices of teachers;
— highlight the signs of destructuring in each element through the scenario approach;
— typology of practices and ideas for each selected element.

The work was carried out within the framework of a qualitative methodology.

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The analysis was based on semi-structured interviews. As part of a pilot empirical study, we studied the views of 15 teachers of mathematics, Russian, history, computer science, English, and biology in the main and secondary general education schools of the residential district of a large Russian metropolis with at least 3 years of work experience. The sample was formed randomly. The principal sent letters to the internal mail of the school with an offer to participate in the interview. 20 people responded. The sample size was determined based on the criterion of maximizing the information received: when we began to receive responses from informants similar to those already available, it was decided to stop data collection. The age of teachers varies from 25 to 60 years.

Interview process

Interviews were conducted from November 2021 to January 2022 using the zoom service. The informants agreed to use the audio recording and transcript of the interview for research purposes. To ensure the confidentiality of the collected data, we do not disclose the names of teachers and the school number. Interviews lasted up to 2 hours, with an average of about 1.5 hours. The interviews were organized as free ones, based on an approximate list of questions from the guide, which is shown in Table 1. The questions in the table are divided into three groups corresponding to each element of the structure.

In the process of analyzing the data, the following methods were used: condensation of meaning and interpretation [1; 4].

1. Condensation of meaning. When transcribing, we got a large amount of material (about 200 sheets of printed text), which had to be shortened without losing meaning.

2. Interpretation. Each category-element required additional interpretation, as the data needed to be placed in a broader institutional context and described from the point of view of the destructuring process.

Results

Element 1: Rituals

The course of the lesson, its beginning, and end are traditionally filled with ritual practices. Most rituals demonstrate the teacher's power over children. There are two ways to implement ritual practices. Either teachers keep them, or there is a refusal of ritual actions. Let's divide the teachers ' responses

Table 1

Elements of the school's institutional structure

Element	Planned question for discussion
Rituals	• How is your routine lesson going? • Are there any established rituals of greeting, finishing the lesson? • Where do you stay during the lesson? • How do children sit in your class? • How does your child signal to you that they want to leave the classroom?
Disciplinary practices	• What can a student do in class? What is forbidden? • Who and how makes these rules? • Is it possible to make changes to the rules? • How does a disciplined child behave? • What is the maximum penalty for violating the rules? • How do you work with the category of «difficult» children?
Type of teacher-student relationship	• Which type of relationship is closer to you: partner or parent-child? How does it manifest itself? • Do you consult with your children? • How do you call your children and how do the call you??

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into two groups. The first group adhered to a strict scenario, put it differently, they used the rituals of the lesson that were traditional in the institute of the school. The other group chose not to use them (Table 2).

Element 2: Disciplinary practices and rules

Disciplinary practices and the rules of conduct that have developed over time at the institute of school have the greatest binding force in relation to the child.

Teachers' responses to discipline and rules can be arranged on a continuum from the harder scenarios to the soft ones. The results of classification of teachers ' responses are shown in Table 3.

In the responses of teachers, describing their practices, there is a softening of the forms of disciplinary action. Teachers use

Table 2

Groups of teachers ' responses depending on the way of implementing ritual Practices

The ritual	Preserving rituals	Refusing to use them
Teacher's greeting Ritual with standing	«I start the lesson with standing up from my place to switch my attention and get ready for work. I explain to them that it is necessary for our body to assume a working state and the brain to turn on».	«I don't require children to stand up at the beginning of the lesson. Sometimes a few people will get up out of habit, but I don't pay attention to it».
Teacher's walk through the rows	«In high school, I go through the rows and check their HW».	«I never rise above a child. If I need to approach, I lean towards the student to avoid this terrible position of dominance».
Raised hand if you want to come out or answer	«If you need to go out, the child raises his hand and asks permission».	«The kids just stand up and go out. We are fine about it».
Seating arrangements for children	«I say half-jocosely, half-sternly "« You will sit where I told you. I'm the hostess in class. You came to visit me. You'll thank me later».	«Children sit down as they prefer or as the teacher decided».

Table 3

Discipline scenario is located on the soft-hard practice continuum

The Scenarios	Hard ones	Soft ones
Rules	«It is inappropriate to put your foot on the desk in class and have drinks. If you're late, you should apologize and take your seat».	«We have a rule not to interrupt each other. I use Jeff's exercise to express my point of view freely so that no one feels uncomfortable. They come out whenever they want.» «Once every few months, we gather with our children for a reflexive circle and discuss the rules. Children can criticize the rules, justify them, and suggest their own.» «On a co-working space (this is what the teacher calls extracurricular activities, applicable by the author) you can do anything. There is a free atmosphere there. They can put their feet on the desk, drink coffee in class.»

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The Scenarios	Hard ones	Soft ones
Punishment	«The most terrible punishment? So you can't hear me, and I may not be able to hear you when you need my help».	«I can say: "I will be very grateful if you, Matthew, will use the phone outside the office." But this is rare, it happens when protest behavior occurs. If nothing helps at all, I back out. Let him use the phone».
Forms of attracting attention	«There are two ill-mannered guys in the same class. I can't find the right words. They are sitting side by side. So I spent the entire lesson standing next to them. Then I'll touch their shoulder, then I'll look in their notebook. After that they start behaving well».	«I come up with some signal gestures and words for fifth-graders every week. Through activity, discussion, we have a lot of arguments, and I give them a choice». «Modern children have problems with attention. They can't cram or do routine work. I spend the whole lesson in stress, constantly changing the forms of activity».
Practice of working with the category of «difficult» teenagers	«You should be more rigor and discipline with difficult children. I spent two years in one class working on discipline up to the point of collective standing».	«I select tasks for them, explain it to them, persuade them, and talk as equals».

such methods of discipline as explanation, after-school conversations, additional tasks, make attempts to interest, involve through a discussion, a problem situation, explaining meaning, goal setting. Such practices are characterized by a more complex, detailed system of influence, which requires time and effort on the part of teachers, in contrast to more concise and simple forms such as, for example, raising voice. More rigid methods of discipline were used in the weaker classes. For such "weak", "difficult" classes, soft ways of disciplining are rather a privilege.

Most of the contradictions were found in the answers about the measure of freedom in the classroom, the situation of choice. On the one hand, there is a certain degree of making it easier. Teachers try to increase the number of situations where the child can choose: the type of tasks (difficult or not, from the list), the method of deciding whether to do homework or not. But on the other hand, the choice was often implemented according to the scheme of no alternative. Teachers admit that the lesson is not a place for freedom of expression.

Element 3. Type of teacher-student relationship

We were able to identify two types of relationships between children and teachers: vertical and horizontal relationships (Figure 1).

Vertical relationships. This type of relationship is characterized by authoritarianism and emphasized authority in interaction practices. These relations have been institutionalized and consolidated. Teachers consider themselves charismatic leaders who set the limits of what is acceptable and unacceptable in their relationships with children.

P4 "I like to lead the class and keep everyone on their toes."

Teachers justify the need for hierarchical relationships with children because the system is closed.

P11: " I don't want a horizontal relationship in a public school. The school is a closed system. There is no rotation of personnel, no change of practices. This is a system that is not being updated. Therefore, this may not turn out to be very good things. Like pedophilia and such nasty stuff. I don't want to be friends with children."

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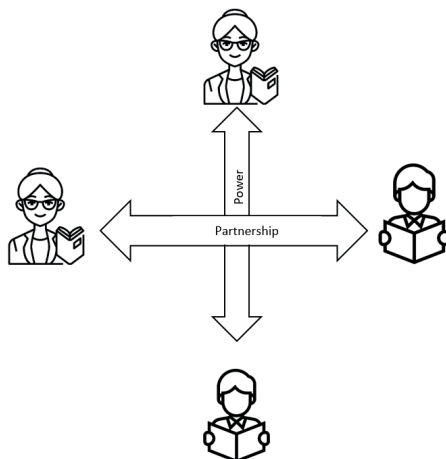
Fig. 1. Diagram of the types of relationships between teachers and students based on the results
of qualitative data analysis: horizontal (partnership) and vertical (power)

Within this type of relationship, there is also a softening in the form of shortening the distance, appearing of rapprochement in the relationship, they are emotionally filled, without losing their power properties.

P5: "What about older students, the distance is minimal. We often move into the informal space of social media communication." Often they are more like a parent-child relationship than a partnership. The metaphor of maternal / paternal care most fully describes this type of relationship.

P7: "I'm attentive, caring, and sometimes overprotective."

P3: "Sometimes I get so carried away myself that I'm dangerously close to making the distance go down. I am afraid when the hierarchy is broken. I like the "good father " attitude. But this is the kind of perfection." The statements contain concerns about reducing the distance, but if there is a softening of the scenario in this element, it is either along the path of transformation into a child-parent relationship, or the relationship is imitated as a partnership, while maintaining clear signs of a power relationship. *P7: "I am in partnership with my students, but I protect them like mother."*

Horizontal relationships. They are characterized as more partnering, built on a mutual respect. Teachers avoid a dominance, consciously avoid the child-parent type of relationship, and emotional rapprochement.

P10: "They tell me when I turn on the strict mode, they say I don't like them when I'm strict. I tell them, I don't have to be kind with you, you have a family for it."

R14: "I follow the chain of command with my students. My pedagogical position: a teacher should not become a significant adult for a child. In such a situation, you start to strongly influence the child, and I would not like it to be so. I would like to create an environment where children would develop as individuals, and not listen to me. It contradicts the idea of developing critical thinking. The school is the place where it is formed. And the teacher can contribute to this by reducing authority, increasing the space for the student."

Small changes can be recorded in situations where children assume the traditional role of an adult as a knowledgeable and capable person. There are many similar situations when working with gadgets, technologies, and information. Teachers ask their children for help to fix or adjust something.

R2: "Teachers can learn something new from students as well. They open up new

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sources of information for me. They may know some details better than I do".

Conclusion

The described research allowed us to consider the ideas and practices of teachers regarding their organization of the lesson and interaction with students through the prism of an empirically fixed process of destructuration. We found small changes in the three elements identified: rituals, disciplinary practices, and relationship type. Of course, these elements do not cover the full range of institutional characteristics, but they were sufficient. The process of destructuring took place in the form of:
- refusal
- softening
- the emergence of new practices.

Let's list the results for each element. Such practices as greeting the teacher, walking the teacher in rows, and raising hands are usual and still form part of the lesson routine of some teachers, but either their use is justified from the point of view of increasing the productivity of learning, or there is a gradual abandonment of their use. The persistence of some teachers' attachment to ritual practices is consistent with the dominance of conservative views of teachers recorded in studies [14].

In terms of discipline and rules, we observe a dispersion of practices on a continuum of soft and hard scenarios. On the one hand, there is a simplification and stereotyping of practices characteristic of institutions. Raising your voice, commanding communication, and making points are the easiest ways to achieve obedience, especially in such "difficult classes." Increasing the importance of the discipline when working with "difficult teenagers" is consistent with the world practice recorded in research [19]. The lesson space is strictly regulated, and teachers ' attempts to soften the requirements a little are limited to the subject result evaluated on the OGE and EGE. The presence of a choice situation in the classroom "reduces the binding force of the structure", but in reality it does not create

gaps in the lesson that are free from formal requirements, and the choice options are always made so that the final subject goal is achieved. This conclusion is consistent with studies on insufficient support for students ' autonomy on the part of teachers [18; 23].

At the same time, we found the participation of children in creating rules, the appearance of more flexible rules, and the desire of teachers to build a lesson depending on the request of children. Teachers actively fight for the attention and interest of children through goal setting, communicating the meaning of learning, and the value of knowledge.

The relationship between teacher and student in the classroom continues to retain the features of classical power relations. Despite the appearance in the lexicon of teachers of the words «partnership», «equality», «democracy», relations continue to be built as vertically hierarchical. This picture is consistent with studies confirming the dominant role of the Russian teacher in relations with students [26]. However, mitigation of hard scenarios occurs here as well. Elements of the partnership type of relations with children were recorded, when the teacher deliberately refused to take the position of a significant adult and "friendship" with the child, pushing the students to a more equal relationship.

The softening of practices, the appearance of more flexible rules, and the change of roles are associated with extracurricular activities. The emergence of such practices as informal communication in social networks, "co-working", "reflective circle", in turn, allows you to respond more flexibly to the interests and requests of children, create conditions for the manifestation of children's independence and initiative. Despite all the attempts of many teachers to reduce the pressure of the program, the lesson is still a highly normative space. This, in turn, contradicts the modern scientific discourse, which justifies the need to implement the model of adolescent school as a space for children to try and experiment [2; 7; 9].

In general, the school has the potential to move to the softer practices due to the will-

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ingness of some teachers to circumvent institutional requirements, their openness to experimentation, and the use of extracurricular space on the initiative and design of children. It can be assumed that the process of destructuration in the school system is much slower than in other areas of public relations due to:

• the dominance of the subject result in teachers ' perceptions;

• lack of tools and tools to implement the seemingly contradictory requirements to make the child " knowledgeable", and at the same time expand the space of the lesson for free action of the child;

the necessity to prepare for certification and the Unified State Exam, which deprives the teacher of the opportunity to act more flexibly, to provide the child with more choices and opportunities in the classroom.

The results of the study should be extrapolated with caution to the entire educational institution due to the small sample size and limited representativeness. Of course, the process of destructuring, as a global phenomenon, should be recorded and described on large samples within the framework of large sociological theories, but the specifics of its course are divided into many special cases, which allows supplementing the trend with new details obtained in the course of small qualitative studies. The institutional approach in describing the practices and teacher beliefs, used in this study, is quite capable of capturing the ongoing changes in the institution of the school in different sociocultural fields, which, in turn, allows us to begin studying the directly independent behavior of students in different sociocultural environments, including lessons of teachers with varying degrees of rigidity of implemented practices.

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Formation of Independence in an Early Age Child: Cross-Cultural Aspects

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The article points out the need to record new childhood phenomena as well as to study the influence of parents and significant adults, their communication with the child in the process of interaction on the development of children's independence in modern reality. Cross-cultural aspects of the formation of child independence in Russia and Vietnam are considered. Also presented are the main results of one assessment from the study on the dynamics of the formation of child independence at the age of 2 years in the process of interaction with the subject and in communication with an adult. Forty-three dyads (mother and child) from Russia and Vietnam took part in the study. The purpose of the study was as follows: to determine the stage of child independence formation by the age of 2 in the process of interaction with the subject and in communication with an adult; to determine the level of social, emotional and adaptive development of children in Russia and Vietnam. The methodological basis of the study is the approach of M.I. Lisina. The study of the child's communicative signals was carried out in the process of a fifteen-minute parent-child interaction (spontaneous play) using video recording, followed by analysis in the program "The Observer XT-16". Research methods: 1) assessment of child-parent interaction on the scale "Communicative signals of the child" of the technique "Evaluation of child-parent interaction" [ECPI-II]; 2) assessment of the social and emotional development of the child was carried out according to the Bayley Development Scales-III (BSID-III). The results showed that the level of independence in children from the Russian sample is generally higher than that from the Vietnamese sample. Statistically significant differences were revealed on the scales: "Functions of the pre-learning period" and "Self-care" of the Bailey scale (BSID-III). Children from the Russian sample are in the middle of transition between the second and third stages of the dynamics of child independence development in the process of interaction with the subject and the adult, whereas children from the Vietnamese sample demonstrated a more pronounced repertoire of indicators related to stage 2. Also, in the Russian sample the duration of manifestation of the following indicators significantly dominates: "Sensitivity to the influence of an adult '+'" and "Sensitivity to the influence of an adult '-'".

Keywords: toddlerhood, communication, mother-child relations, research activity, parent-child interaction, stages of development of independence, video analysis, The Observer XT-16, parenting.

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Становление самостоятельности ребенка раннего возраста: кросс-культурные аспекты

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Авторы фокусируют внимание на необходимости фиксировать новые феномены детства, а также изучать влияние родителей и значимых взрослых, их общения с ребенком в процессе взаимодействия на становление детской самостоятельности в условиях современной реальности. Рассматриваются кросс-культурные аспекты становления самостоятельности детей в России и Вьетнаме. Также представлены основные результаты одного среза исследования динамики становления самостоятельности ребенка в возрасте 2-х лет в процессе взаимодействия с предметом и в общении со взрослым. Выборку составили 43 диады (мама и ребенок) из России и Вьетнама. Цель исследования: определение стадии становления самостоятельности ребенка к 2-летнему возрасту в процессе взаимодействия с предметом и в общении со взрослым, определение уровня социально-эмоционального и адаптивного развития детей в России и Вьетнаме. Методологическую основу исследования составил подход М.И. Лисиной. Изучение коммуникативных сигналов ребенка проводилось в процессе пятнадцатиминутного детско-родительского взаимодействия (спонтанной игры) с использованием видеосъемки с последующим анализом в программе «The Observer XT-16». Методы исследования: 1) оценка детско-родительского взаимодействия по шкале «Коммуникативные сигналы ребенка» методики «Evaluation of child-parent interaction» [ECPI-II]; 2) оценка социально-эмоционального развития ребенка проводилась по Шкалам развития Bayley-III (BSID-III). Результаты показали, что уровень самостоятельности у детей из российской выборки в целом выше, чем

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из вьетнамской. Выявлены статистически значимые различия по шкалам «Функции доучебного периода» и «Уход за собой» шкалы Бейли (BSID-III). Дети из российской выборки находятся в процессе перехода между второй и третьей стадиями динамики становления самостоятельности ребенка в процессе взаимодействия с предметом и взрослым, дети из вьетнамской выборки продемонстрировали более выраженный репертуар индикаторов, относящихся ко 2 стадии. Также в российской выборке значительно преобладает длительность проявления индикаторов: «Чувствительность к воздействию взрослого «+» и «Чувствительность к воздействию взрослого «—».

Ключевые слова: ранний возраст, общение, отношения матери и ребенка, исследовательская активность, воспитание, родительство, стадии становления самостоятельности, видеоанализ, The Observer XT-16.

Introduction

The transformation of modern childhood is currently being studied by psychologists, neuroscientists, sociologists, anthropologists, teachers and the researchers of children's subculture. The need to registrate new childhood phenomena and to study the influence of parents and the significant adults on the formation of children's independence in the conditions of modern reality is growing [31]. In the field of developmental psychology [2; 13; 32], research focuses on the search for predictors of formation of independence, self-control, self-esteem, as well as on the early identification of the risks of problems in child's mental development [17; 22; 28; 33; 35]. Focus on the early childhood determines the research boundaries and tools for assessing independence level and research activity of the child, the formation of which occurs in the interaction with a significant adult. In this regard, the issue of improvement of the quality of interaction in the dyad "signifi-cant adult — child" in the early age becomes important [26]. "Interaction in the broadest sense means the process of organizing joint activities between the child and the parent. It is a precisely defined behavior or a set of behavioral habits that can be observed and measured" [9, p. 39]. Participation in social interaction requires from a child a certain level of analysis of sensorimotor behavior in a complex dynamic system, where social partners constantly adapt to each other and influence each other with their actions [13; 36; 38]. The quality of communicative signals (gestures, physiological manifestations of emotions, verbal accompaniment) of an adult when interacting with a child during early childhood determines the development of a certain emotional phenotype of a child, which can persist a lifetime [6; 7; 8]. It is noted that the behavioral manifestations of an adult when interacting with a child, affect the development of prefrontal cortex, as well as formation of a certain type of interaction between emotional

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and cognitive processes [19; 27]. According to transactional and bioecological models of development, the child him- herself also plays an active and significant role in his or her own development [18; 32; 37]: not only parents influence the development of children, but also the characteristics of children influence the behavior of parents [20; 25]. Thus, studies of the development of communication between a child and an adult have shown that not only direct care from an adult is important for a child, but also a partnership in communication. In this regard, an important direction of research is designing a model of qualitative characteristics of the process of interaction between a young child and a significant adult, the standardization of behavioral indicators of the child to "decipher" his communicative signals with access to the construction of an "independence profile" [5; 14; 15].

Cross-cultural environment of interaction

In the context of studying the factors affecting the development of the child's independence, the research of the characteristics of the child's interaction with a significant adult (parent, educator) in the socio-cultural context of the child's mental development, including socio-demographic characteristics, are of particular interest [4; 24; 29; 34].

Comparing the Western and Russian approaches to the communication of a significant adult with a child, it can be noted that Russian culture is characterized by establishing subject-object relations with children of the early age. Subject-subject relations affect the activity of the child and the appeal to his or her sense of personal responsibility for the consequences of his or her actions are typical for Western culture [1]. At the same time, in the Russian cultural tradition, parents establish a subject-subject relationship with the child later than in the West: of in Russia they talk about the crisis of three years, in the West they describe the phenomenon of the crisis of two-year age.

For Vietnam, as well as for other countries of the East Asian region, several features that characterize the interaction of parents with children in early childhood can be identified [39]. Vietnam, like Russia, is characterized by a patriarchal family, but mother plays a fundamental role in the upbringing of the child [4; 23; 30]. During infancy, mother, as a rule, provides a fairly liberal (permissive) approach to upbringing: the child is allowed a lot, but as the child is growing up, a more authoritarian style of upbringing compared to the Western countries is being established in the family [16]. Often, mothers use non-physical disciplinary techniques to cultivate a sense of responsibility and duty to the family: psychological manipulations such as inducing feelings of guilt and shame are widely used, especially when the child's behavior does not meet the expectations of the parent [4; 23]. If a child commits a significant misdemeanor, the father is included in the educational process [23].

Approaches to the study of child-parent interaction

The social situation of early childhood development includes a system of significant relationships of the child with the environment and determines the direction, content and nature of further mental development [23]. Adults plan and direct the child's actions to master the objective world, culture, values and norms [10]. Nowadays there is a growing interest in "microanalytical" studies of what happens in the direct interaction in the child-adult dyad [21]. This new approach relies on the study of the dynamics of the behavior of interacting social partners in real time: eye movements, head turns, hand gestures, the nature of the coordination of partner interaction.

For five years (2016—2022), we have been conducting video studies based on this approach and have been developing a coding system that allows us to record communicative signals in the process of interaction

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between a child and an adult [5; 6; 7; 15]. When coding, initiative acts and responses of the child to the object and to the adult are being noted. Fig. 1 shows an example of a graphic profile of the child's communicative signals "Research Independence-Sensitivity" encoded in the computer program "The Observer XT-16". Using such a profile, the dynamics of the behavior of interacting social partners is being recorded.

The system of fixing the child's communicative signals is based on the periodization of the ontogenesis of communication introduced by M.I. Lisina and her followers [9; 11; 12]. It allows us to consider specific forms of communication between the child and the adult. We rely on two main lines of behavior of a toddler, due to age characteristics: communicative and substantive activities. The first is aimed at communicating with an adult, the second — at studying the subject. Each indicator has a positive and negative value. The indicator coding system "Child — Object" ("O") includes ten indicators, of which five are positive: O1. The focus of attention on the object "+"; O2. Initiative towards the object "+"; O3. Objective activity "+"; O4. Communication means (verbal) "+"; O5. Emotional experience (non-verbal) "+" and five are negative: O6. The focus of attention on the object "—" object; O7. Initiative towards the object "—"; O8. Objective activity "—"; O9. Communication means (verbal) "—"; O10. Emotional experience (non-verbal) "—". The Child-Adult indicator coding system ("A") includes ten indicators, of which five are positive: A1. The focus of attention on the adult "+"; A2. Initiative towards the adult "+"; A3. Sensitivity to the adult's influence "+"; A4. Communication means "+"; A5. Emotional experience "+" and five are negative: A6. The focus of attention on the adult "—"; A7. Initiative towards the adult "—"; A8. Sensitivity to the adult's influence "-"; A9. Communication means "—"; A10. Emotional experience of "—". A detailed description of the coding system, indica-
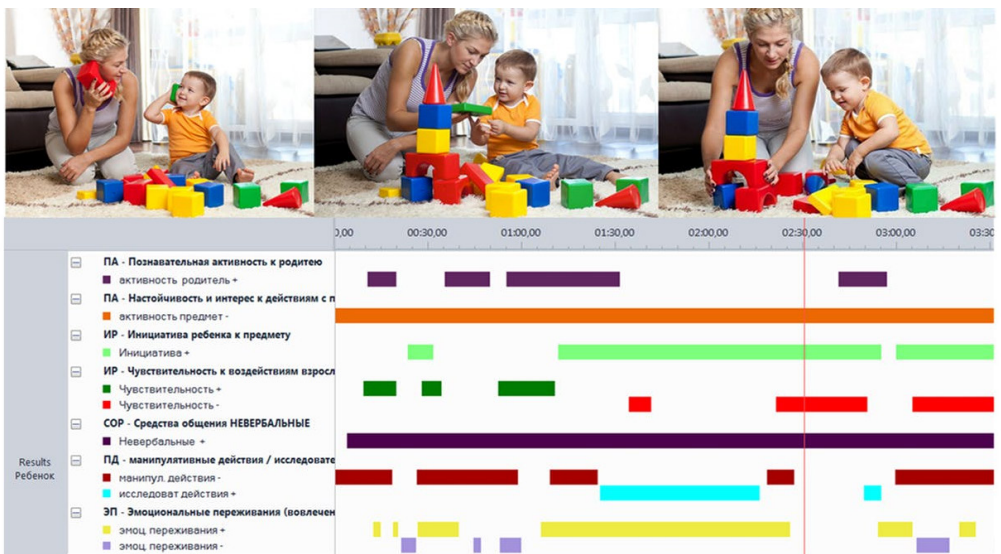
Fig. 1. Graphic profile of the child's communicative signals "Research Independence-Sensitivity" encoded in the program "The Observer XT-16" (the interface of the program is in Russian)

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tors and characteristics is presented in the article by T.V. Shinina and O.V. Mitina [15, pp. 20—21].

As a part of our research we analyzed the real contact between the child and the parent and tried to identify the strategies for development of child's personality, taking into account his or her needs. In this cross-cultural study, the main focus of our attention was on indicators of communicative signals that allowed us to register the "independence — dependence" of a twenty-four-month child in the process of game interaction with a parent. Based on the objectives of the study, we used a new combination of communicative indicators (8 indicators out of 20) leading to the new fixation model in two dimensions: (1) independent manifestation of signals to the object and (2) interaction with adults. The encoding model is presented in Fig. 2.

In our opinion, the scale of dynamics of development of child's independence in the process of interaction with the object and the adult, presented in Fig. 3, includes 3 stages: Stage 1. "Child dependence" (indicators:

O7; O8; A3; A7); Stage 2. "Becoming an independent child through an adult and an object" (indicators: A2; A3; O2; O3); Stage 3. "Independence of the child" (indicators: O2; O3; A8; A7). At the Stage 1. "Child's dependence" the child shows an object position: he or she does not show research interest in the object, manipulates with different objects, waits for initiative and support from an adult and shows increased sensitivity to any proposals of an adult. In stage 2. "The formation of the child's independence through an adult and an object" the child begins to actively explore the object, shows initiative to the adult, involves him or her in joint activities and demonstrates sensitivity to what the adult introduces to the child in the process of game interaction. At stage 3. "Independence of the child" the child has his or her own point of view. He or she understands exactly what he or she wants, takes the initiative while interacting with an object, explores it and actively interacts with it. At the same time, in the case of adult interference in the game activity, the child defends his or her boundaries.
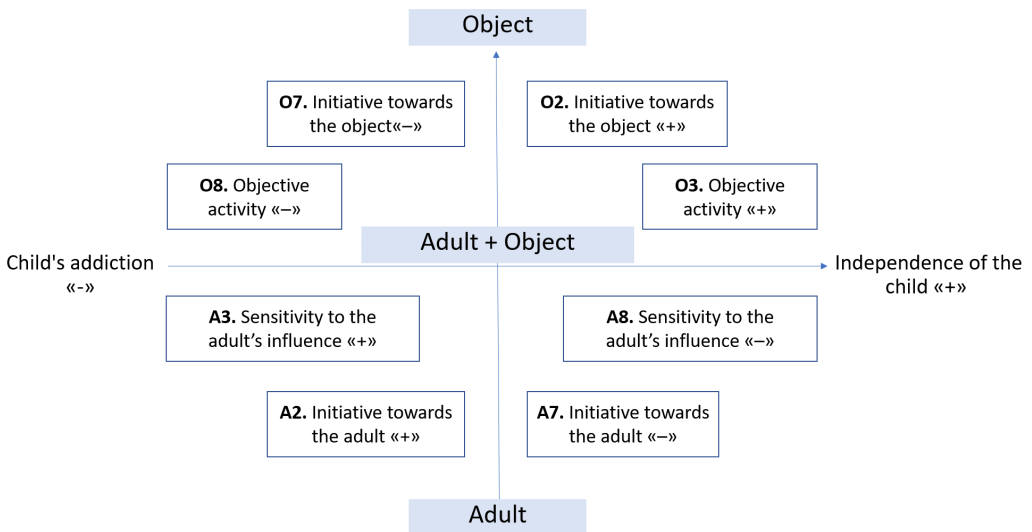
Fig. 2. Model of coding of communicative signals of the child "Research independence-sensitivity"

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Adult	Adult + Object	Object
A3. Sensitivity to the adult's influence «+»	**A2.** Initiative towards the adult «+»	**O2.** Initiative towards the object «+»
A7. Initiative towards the adult «+»	**A3.** Sensitivity to the adult's influence «+»	**O3.** Objective activity «+»
O7. Initiative towards the object «−»	**O2.** Initiative towards the object «+»	**A8.** Sensitivity to the adult's influence «−»
O8. Objective activity «−»	**O3.** Objective activity «+»	**A7.** Initiative towards the adult «−»

Child's addiction «-»   —   The process of game interaction of the child with the adult and the object   →   Independence of the child «+»

Stage 1   →   Stage 2   →   Stage 3

Fig. 3. Scale of dynamics of the formation of the child's independence in the process of interaction with the subject and the adult

Research program, sample characteristics and applied methods

As a part of the longitudinal study of the interaction of parents and children from Russia and Vietnam, the relationship between the child's behavior in the process of game interaction with a significant adult (in this case, with the mother) and the level of social and emotional development of toddlers has been studied. The article presents the main results of a part of the research of dynamics of child's independence development in the process of interaction with the subject and in communication with an adult at the age of two years. The aim of the research is to determine the stage of formation of a child's independence by the age of twenty-four months, in the process of interaction with the subject and in communication with an adult and to determine the level of social, emotional and adaptive development of children in Russia and Vietnam.

The study involved 43 dyads (mother + child): 22 dyads from Russia and 21 dyads from Vietnam, Nha Trang. In total, the study involved 43 typically developing babies aged 22 to 26 months (mean value M = 23.35, standard deviation SD = 1.35), of which 19 boys (44.2%) and 24 girls (54.8%).

The project involved families who met the following criteria: (1) a complete family with biological parents, (2) the absence of malformations of the brain, heart and other internal organs, (3) the absence of prematurity, perinatal and postnatal injuries, (4) the Russian-speaking environment in which the child develops in Russia and (5) the Vietnamese environment in which the child develops in Vietnam.

In the study, we used the following techniques:

1) Method for studying the social and emotional development of the child — Bayley Scales of Infant and Toddler Development (BSID-III)). The study procedure included a survey of a significant adult on all blocks of the methodology with the introduction of data into the answer form.

2) Method of assessing child-parent interaction "Evaluation of child-parent interaction" (ECPI-2 ed.) — Scale "Communicative signals of the child", including a combination of indicators that allow to record the independent research activity of the child in relation to the subject and a significant adult in the process of spontaneous play [4; 15; 36].

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Studies were conducted in a multifunctional environment: significant objects of the child with which he or she likes to interact in his or her free time and towards which he or she could show an active position, have been chosen by the parents. We did not standardize the set of items and took into account the individual characteristics and preferences of the child. The study procedure included instructions for the parent: "Play with the child the way you play at home." Fifteen minutes of child-parent interaction were recorded. Then the video case was analyzed, the micro-actions of the child were noted. Next, the child's signals were encoded using the computer program "Observer XT-16". The analysis of the video recordings was carried out by two behavioral analysts who underwent special training and achieved, with an independent analysis of the same records, the coefficients of consistency of expert assessments of indicators for a child of an 87% level of coincidence of results [5].

Statistical processing of the data obtained was carried out in the program IBM SPSS Statistics 26.0. The following methods of mathematical processing of empirical data were used: correlation and factor analysis, determination of the statistical significance of the differences in paired measurements based on the U-criterion of Mann-Whitney.

Outcomes

To identify the differences in communicative signals manifested by children in the process of interaction with an adult in Russia and Vietnam, the values of the Mann-Whitney U-criterion were calculated (table 1).

Statistically significant differences depending on the country of residence were identified by the following communicative indicators of the child: O8. Objective activity "—" (U=4, p<0.001), A3. Sensitivity to the adult's influence "+" (U = 1, p<0.001) and A8. Sensitivity to the adult's influence "—" (U =7, p<0.002). The manifestations of

Table 1

Descriptive statistics and values of the Mann-Whitney U-test on the child's communicative signals for two independent samples (N = 43)

Research variables	Descriptive statistics*				Values of the Mann-Whitney U-test	p-level Importance
	Russia (N=22)		Vietnam (N=21)			
	M (SD) (сек.)	Me (сек.)	M (SD) (сек.)	Me (сек.)		
O2. Initiative towards the object «+»	252 (133)	247.5	328 (134)	328	58.5	0.30
O7. Initiative towards the object «-»	43 (36)	36	29 (82)	4	21.5	0.07
O3. Objective activity «+»	418 (90)	471.5	442 (117)	462	53	0.57
O8. Objective activity «-»	60 (48)	42	6 (10)	0	4	0.001
A2. Initiative towards the adult «+»	41 (40)	34	54 (26)	45	57.5	0.34
A3. Sensitivity to the adult's influence «+»	258 (87)	254	61 (33)	58	1	0.001
A8. Sensitivity to the adult's influence «-»	80 (53)	65	14 (19)	7	7	0.002

*Symbol: * — duration of manifestation of the indicator for 15 minutes, averaged by dyads.*

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the Indicator A3. Sensitivity to the adult's influence "+" in the Russian sample lasted longer (M = 258; SD=61) than in the Vietnamese one (M=61; SD=33). The manifestations of the Indicator A8. Sensitivity to the adult's influence "-" in the Russian sample lasted longer (M = 80; SD=53) than in the Vietnamese one (M=14; SD=19). The data obtained allowed us to talk about the dominance and strengthening of the behavioral pattern of sensitivity over initiative in the process of child-parent interaction. It was important for the child to be responsive to the parent's signals and meet his expectations, which was especially evident in the sample from Russia.

To identify differences in the level of socio-emotional development and the formation of skills necessary in ordinary everyday life, the values of the U-criterion of Mann-Whitney were calculated between samples from Russia and Vietnam (table 2).

Statistically significant differences depending on the country of residence are identified on the following scales: "Functions

of the pre-school period" (U = 140.5, p<0.03) and "Self-care" (U = 125, p<0.01).

Discussion of the results

The fundamental role of the interaction of a child of the early age with a significant adult acquires today a new meaning from the point of view of the formation of research activity and independence of the child. Despite the high and constant interest to the topic of early development, child-parent interaction at the initial stage of ontogenesis has not been studied fully enough; it is often presented descriptively, through the enumeration of development standards. This study presents the way of identification of significant behavioral indicators of children's independence and of stages of the child's independence development in the process of interaction with an object and in communication with an adult, as well as determination of the levels of social, emotional and adaptive development of young children from Russia and Vietnam.

The obtained results show that children from the Russian sample are in the

Table 2

Descriptive statistics and values of the Mann-Whitney U-test on the BSID-III scales for two independent samples (N=43)

Scale BSID-III	Descriptive statistics				Values of the Mann-Whitney U-test	p-level Importance
	Russia (N=22)		Vietnam (N=21)			
	M (SD)	Me	M (SD)	Me		
Socio-emotional	107.6 (7.9)	108	105.1 (13.7)	109	213.5	0.67
Communication	46.0 (11.9)	41.5	44.95 (13.51)	44	219	0.77
Living in the community	22.8 (9.3)	22	26.2 (16.4)	28	250.5	0.64
Functions of the pre-school period	18.1 (10.4)	14	12.2 (8.3)	10	140.5	0.03
Life at home	45.5 (10.1)	44.5	41.9 (15.7)	46	213.5	0.67
Health & Safety	40.5 (8.5)	40	36.1 (12.6)	35	186	0.27
Leisure	44.7 (7.9)	43.5	44.1 (8.8)	44	229	0.96
Self-care	50.8 (7.6)	50	44.0 (9.4)	45	125	0.01
Self-regulation	47.1 (8.0)	47.5	45.2 (13.2)	44	215	0.69
Social environment	44.3 (8.7)	41.5	41.5 (10.6)	40	189.5	0.31
Motor skills	62.7 (4.1)	63.5	63.2 (7.9)	62	228.5	0.95

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process of transition between the second and third stages of the scale of the child's independence development in the process of interaction with the object and the adult. Children from Russia show initiative to the object, explore the object, show initiative to the adult, involving him or her in joint activities and demonstrating sensitivity to what the adult introduces in the process of game interaction, which is typical for the second stage. At the same time, the Sensitivity to adult "-" indicator in the Russian sample manifests itself much longer than in the Vietnamese one, and that allows to register the transition to the third stage. In their turn, the children from Vietnam demonstrate a more pronounced repertoire of indicators related to the second stage of the scale of formation of child's independence in the process of interaction with the subject and the adult: O2. Initiative to the subject "+"; O3. Subject activity "+"; A2. Initiative to the adult "+"; A3. Sensitivity to the effects of an adult "+".

Manifestations of indicator A7. The initiative to the adult "-" has not been registered in any of the samples. This indicator is characterized by the exclusion of the parent from the game and the manifestation of autonomy in the process of interaction with the object. Such a result may indicate an unformed need to play independently, due to age or increased activity and directiveness of the parent in the process of interaction. Previously, we have found that Russian mothers use didactic and spontaneous play strategies independently of each other, and Vietnamese mothers are more likely to use both strategies simultaneously. Indicators on the frequency of using educational toys in relation to traditional ones in the Russian sample are higher than in the Vietnamese one. No significant differences have been revealed in the sets of presented toys [4].

It should me mentioned separately that a high level of sensitivity to an adult "+" involves switching the child's attention from an object to an adult and reducing, up to the cessation, of the child's objective (research) activity. The objective activity "-" characterizes the moments when the parent interrupts the child's initiative act and offers another type of activity; this difference is observed in the Russian sample, and it is possible to registrate low values for this indicator in the Vietnamese sample. That has been confirmed by the statistical data.

The results on the Bailey scales (BSID-III) confirm the results obtained by the ECPI, i.e. the level of independence in children from the Russian sample is generally higher than in children from the Vietnamese sample. Statistically significant differences of the following scales have been revealed: "Functions of the pre-school period" and "Self-care", which reflects the development of skills and allow us to talk about formation of the operational and technical block of independence. In general, according to the Bailey scales (BSID-III), in both samples there is a fairly high (above average) level of formation of socio-emotional skills and behaviors in ten skill areas.

It should be noted that according to our previous research, the toys and games of Vietnamese children are associated with orientation to everyday life and are aimed at the formation of social and household skills. This is confirmed by the data obtained on the Bailey's "Life in the Community" scale (BSID-III): the indicators of the Vietnamese sample are generally higher than of the Russian one. Toys and games of Russian children are mainly developmental in nature, which is confirmed by high scores on the scale "Functions of the pre-school period" Bailey (BSID-III).

Main results of the study

1. Children from the Russian sample are in the process of transition between the second and third stages of the scale of child's independence development in the process of interaction with an object and the adult. It should be noted that the duration of the

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manifestation of the indicators A3. Sensitivity to the effects of adult "+" and A8. Sensitivity to the effects of the adult "-" significantly prevails in the Russian sample.

2. Children from the Vietnamese sample show a more pronounced repertoire of indicators related to the second stage of the scale of child's independence development in the process of interaction with the subject and the adult.

3. No manifestations of the indicator A7. The initiative to the adult "-" have been registered. It indicates that such need has not been formed yet and none of the respondents has reached the third stage of the scale of child's independence development in the process of interaction with the object and the adult. We can explain this fact by the early age of the participants (from 22 to 26 months) and suggest that it emerges later. So, we hope to find it at the next stage of the longitudinal study (at the age of 36 months).

4. The level of independence in children from the Russian sample is generally higher than in children from the Vietnamese sample. Statistically significant differences of the following scales have been revealed: "Functions of the pre-school period" and "Self-care" according to the Bailey scales (BSID-III), which allows us to talk about the formation of the operational and technical block of independence. The data obtained may be explained, among other things, to differences in the children's play arsenal. Toys and games of the Vietnamese children are associated with orientation to everyday life and are aimed at the formation of social and household skills, which could affect the indicators on the scale "Life in the community", whereas toys and games of the Russian children are mainly developmental in nature, which could give high scores on the scale "Functions of the pre-school period" Bailey (BSID-III).

5. To study the dynamics of development of the child's independence in the process of interaction with the subject and the adult at the third stage of the longitudinal study (at 36 months) further work is required. It will help us to detail the main neoplasms of the ontogenesis of the child's personal development in the process of interaction with a significant adult, to identify the dominant types of behavior of young children and to study the influence of a significant adult on the development of cognitive activity and independence of children.

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Suicidality and Agency: The Reasons for Living Inventory by M. Linehan

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Agency, or subjectivity is an important concept in personality psychology, but this phenomenon is less studied in suicidology. During the adaptation of the M. Linehan inventory Reasons for Living we proposed to look at the inventory through the lens of this construct. The study had two samples: students, N=490 (341 females, aged 17—28 (19.3±1.2)), and suicidal patients N=146 (105 females, aged 16—48 (23.1±5.9)). The structure of the Russian version of the inventory was studied with the IRT-model, which showed that all items of the inventory agree acceptably with the model. But three items were excluded, as they didn't satisfy the criterion of measured invariance. The indices of reliability ranged from .74 to .93 according to Cronbach's α, and from .73 to .92 according to IRT-reliability. The analysis of construct validity showed that the most benign factors are the scales Survival and Coping Beliefs and Child-Related Concerns, which meet the criteria of inner motivation and regulation to the greatest extent, while the factor Fear of Suicide didn't prove itself as a protective factor, as it correlated positively with the factors of suicidal risk. Factors Responsibility to Family and Moral Objections pertain to internal motivation, while Fear of Social Disapproval corresponds more to external regulation. Thus, the Reasons for Living inventory passed a successful adaptation and can be used for research purposes and in clinical practice it indirectly allows the researcher to assess the agency of a respondent.

Keywords: suicide, reasons for living, agency, subjectivity, self-determination.

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Авторами отмечается, что чувство авторства собственной жизни, или субъектность, — важное понятие в психологии личности, однако этот феномен мало исследуется в суицидологии. При адаптации опросника М. Линехан «Причины для жизни» предложено рассмотреть эту методику через призму данного конструкта. В исследовании участвовали 490 студентов (341 женщина, возраст — 17—28 лет (19.3±1.2)) и 146 суицидальных пациентов (105 женщин, возраст — 16—48 лет (23.1±5.9)). Структура русскоязычной версии опросника изучалась с помощью модели современной теории тестирования, которая показала, что все утверждения инструмента имеют приемлемое согласие с моделью. Однако были исключены три пункта опросника как не удовлетворяющие критерию измерительной инвариативности. Разброс показателей надежности составил от .74 до .93 по α Кронбаха и от .73 до .92 по IRT-надежности. Анализ конструктной валидности показал, что наиболее благоприятными факторами являются шкалы «убежденность в совладании и выживании» и «забота о детях», которые в наибольшей степени отвечают критериям внутренней мотивации и регуляции, а фактор «страх суицида» не проявил себя как защитный фактор, поскольку положительно коррелировал с факторами негативного самоотношения. Факторы

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«ответственность перед семьей», «моральные запреты» можно отнести к внутренней мотивации, а «страх социального осуждения» — к внешней. Таким образом, опросник «Причины для жизни» прошел успешную адаптацию и может использоваться в исследовательских задачах и в клинической практике, косвенно позволяет оценить чувство авторства респондента.

Ключевые слова: суицид, причины для жизни, авторство, субъектность, самодетерминация.

Introduction

There is a discrepancy in understanding agency, or subjectivity, of suicidal behavior in suicidology. From the one hand, scientists state that suicide is always a goal-directed action [53], but on the other hand, the reasons for a suicidal act are sought out in social and psychological predispositions, which influence the volition of a suicidal person and in that sense, deprive them of their agency. However, agency can be defined not only through goal-directedness, control, responsibility, ability to choose, it can also be described as a value and a feeling that one is able to act out of their own incentives, and not out of necessity, that with their actions one strengthens their own well-being and build relationships with others [6; 23].

A large qualitative study on experience of agency and feeling suicidal (124 narrative interviews) showed that suicidal people suffer a loss of consistency and coherence in their sense of self, a disruption in the reciprocal action between the self and the world, serious depletion of mental resources, and a disturbance of embodiment [25]. All these lead to a disruption in experience of self as an agent, and this note of estrangement with an overtone of derealization/depersonalization is discernible in all the cited interviews.

The concept of self-determination is also close to the phenomenon of agency and subjectivity [6]. According to Richard Ryan and Edward Deci's definition, self-determination is "an approval of one's actions at the highest level of reflection", and a self-determined person feels free to do what is interesting and important for them, what inspires them [33; 60]. A study of self-determination in young people showed that this variable works as a moderator, weakening the link between negative life events, hopelessness and suicidal ideation, and is a protective factor from suicidal tendencies [30]. Also a suggestion was made that self-harm can be viewed as an attempt for self-control, which compensates the frustrated basic psychological needs (defined in the framework of self-determination theory as needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence); it was shown that teenagers who practice self-harm also demonstrate lower levels of satisfaction of these needs [34]. Moreover, a study in the framework of self-determination theory and interpersonal theory of suicide [44; 45; 59] found out that a frustrated need for autonomy, when mediated by thwarted belonging-

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ness (which corresponds to the frustrated need for relatedness) and perceived burdensomeness (which corresponds to the frustrated need for competence), is linked to suicidal ideation [39].

Contemporary therapeutic models of suicidal behavior [4; 42; 43; 53] strive to take into account the need for autonomy of a suicidal patient/client, as they consider it the fundamental factor for a positive outcome of psychotherapy. Besides, there is a recommendation to use the components of motivational interview in sessions with acute suicidal patients, in order to strengthen their experience of autonomy and control in treatment situation [28]. In particular, motivational interview is proposed to complement cognitive-behavioral therapy of suicidal patients [27]. The objective for narrative conversations is a step-by-step entering into the preferred life story, which creates in a person the feeling of authenticity and gives rise to their sense of agency [12].

An overview of therapeutic and theoretical approaches to suicidal behavior allowed seeing a suicidal state as a loss of control in a conflict between higher-order goals, which stem from the reasons for living and dying, and, as a result, a suicidal person loses awareness of these reasons [51]. The loss of awareness and control can become the factor which distinguishes people with suicidal ideation from those which suicidal behavior. The task of psychotherapy, according to these authors, is to give back to a suicidal person their life motives and understanding of an importance of their personal reasons for living.

Other authors, who studied people with suicidal behavior and focused on a question of what helps to survive the suicidal states and live a good life, hold a similar view [61]. The researchers, by means of narrative interviewing, found out two main themes: living with, and through the suicidal experience ("the dynamic relationship with suicidal behavior"), and "the toolbox", which helps respondents in this task. In general, the stories of the participants can be characterized as a description of a fight for life, meaning, values and hope. The authors define these stories in the framework of posttraumatic growth theory [65], comparing the process with the "grief work". But, according to our view, they also can be conceptualized in the framework of self-determination theory and gaining genuine intrinsic motivation for life.

Marsha Linehan's research on reasons for living and the eponymous inventory, composed of the reasons why people decide to live further despite the difficult conditions of life and/or death thoughts [50], also imply the experience of agency. The factor analysis yielded six scales, which pertain to beliefs regarding various spheres of life (personal and social beliefs, importance of family, children, of social environment), and potentially can be placed on a continuum of behavior regulation. The first and the leading scale was named Survival and Coping Beliefs, it included positive expectations from the future, a belief in one's ability to cope with any difficulties, and a belief that life has a specific value. It is this scale that differentiated suicidal and non-suicidal people. In another study [64], this scale predicted suicidal behavior in patients better that hopelessness, depression and negative life events. The authors describe the beliefs from this scale as "beliefs about self-efficacy, the intrinsic value of living, and the inevitability of change with the passage of time" [64, p. 371]. It partly corresponds to the experience of agency. In yet another study with ecological momentary assessment, during 21 days the respon-

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dents routinely assessed 6 items from the Reasons for Living Inventory (factors Survival and Coping Beliefs and Responsibility to Family) [67]. The authors found a negative link between these estimations of reasons for living and next-day suicidal ideation, but the personality traits openness and extraversion flattened this link due to a higher dispersion. The researchers suggest that not all processes in the development of reasons for living are protective, but this result can be interpreted in a different way: openness allows finding new reasons for living, but it doesn't mean that all of them pass the full way of interiorization and become intrinsic, integrated into personality, that the person "acquires" them, that they stay topical for the next day, alleviating the acuteness of suicidal thoughts.

Later the inventory was modified for teenagers, and abridged [41; 55; 57], but the full version for adults appear more valuable for research in suicidal behavior due to the authenticity of items (they were given by respondents, and not invented by researchers) and the scope of various reasons for living. It is this version that we chose to adapt on a Russian sample.

The Study

Objective and Hypothesis

The objective of our study was the adaptation of the Reasons for Living Inventory [50] on a Russian sample. There is a demand for this inventory [9], there were several attempts of adaptation of various versions of this inventory [5; 7], however, they have so far proved unsatisfactory. The results of an adaptation of a short version of this inventory was published recently [3]. The preliminary adaptation of this full Russian version of the Reasons for Living Inventory utilized exploratory factor analysis [2; 13]; besides, there was

a study in a clinical sample, in patients with non-psychotic psychic disorders, with and without suicidal thoughts and attempts [10], but it also utilized EFA and didn't check for criterion validity. We set a task to investigate in detail the psychometric properties of this inventory.

Also a *post hoc* hypothesis was proposed, that the scales of the inventory can be placed on a continuum of behavior regulation, starting from the external, to integrated, intrinsic motivation, with various degrees of self-determination and psychological effectiveness.

The self-determination theory describes four types of behavior regulation, which differentiate in levels of self-determination and represent a continuum, a gradual change from extrinsic to intrinsic motivation by virtue of internalization: external, introjected, identified and integrated regulation [8]. A person with integrated regulation acts in accordance with their basic values and motives; a person with external regulation acts for the sake of reward and avoiding punishment, as they feel compelled to do certain things. The introjected regulation corresponds to a moderately controlled nature of motivation, when a person acts more out of shame and guilt, or ideas of success, or maintaining self-esteem. The identified regulation corresponds to autonomous motivation, though the activity doesn't feel pleasant for a person: one acts predominantly out of sense of duty, which, albeit reflects their goals and values, does not bring them joy.

It was hypothesized that the subscales of the inventory Survival and Coping Beliefs, Child-Related Concerns, Responsibility to Family, will correspond to the motives of autonomy, competence and relatedness to a greater degree, which will manifest in higher and more stable corre-

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lations with inventories that measure various aspects of psychological well-being; and the subscales Fear of Suicide, Fear of Social Disapproval, and Moral Objections will to a greater degree reflect external motivation for living, will carry the potential for coercion, which will be reflected in correlations with scales that measure psychological distress.

Participants

The sample consisted of students of Moscow technical (n=155), Cheboksary humanities and medical (n=221) and Kirov humanities universities (n=122). The general sample (N=498) included 342 females and 155 males (1 participant didn't specified their gender and age). Age of the participants ranged from 17 to 28 (M=19.3±1.2). The participation in the study was voluntary, respondents filled out the pen-and-paper version of the battery. They did it in their free time (Kirov) or were given the questionnaires optionally at a seminar lessons (Moscow and Cheboksary). However, we excluded from the processing the protocols of 8 people, who for some reasons didn't fill out the Reasons for Living Inventory. Thus, we ended up with 490 participants, 341 females and 148 males (1 participant undefined).

Additionally, 146 inpatients of Crisis Suicidology Unit took part in the study, who experienced suicidal thoughts or had suicide attempts. The participation also was voluntary. It was a part of a diagnostic process in the framework of psychological counseling during the treatment, but patients could decline it, and 6 people did so — they were not included in the final sample. The patients received feedback about the results of their diagnostics. There were 105 females (72%) and 41 males in the clinical sample, aged 16—48 (mean age — 23.1±5.9). Out of

the sample, 59 patients didn't practice self-harm, but 87 did. Lifetime suicide attempts had 73 people (50%).

Materials and Procedure

The main questionnaire was the Reasons for Living Inventory [50]. The forward (into Russian) and back (into English, by a bilingual translator) translation of the inventory was conducted, then the original and the back translation was compared and the finishing corrections were introduced to the Russian version. The inventory is a self-report scale, which consists of reasons why a person prefers not to die by suicide, even if they think of it. The inventory consists of 48 items, which are rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale, and includes 6 subscales:

• Survival and Coping Beliefs (24items, for example "I have a love of life") — it is a reflection of a belief in participant's ability to cope with any difficulties, and in life's value as it is.

• Responsibility to Family (7 items, for example "I have a responsibility and commitment to my family") — it is a belief that the respondent's family needs them.

• Child-Related Concerns (3 items, for example "I want to watch my children as they grow") — this subscale reflects the wish of the participant to have children and care for them.

• Fear of Suicide (7 items, for example "I am afraid of death") — this subscale reflects the respondent's fear of suicidal actions and death.

• Fear of Social Disapproval (3 items, for example "Other people would think I am weak and selfish") — it is a fear of presenting in an unfavorable light in front of others.

• Moral Objections (4 items, for example "My religious beliefs forbid it") — the subscale reflects mostly religious

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objections and fear of religious consequences.

The means of construct validity testing partly differed in different subsamples, as we varied the questionnaires during the ongoing research of suicidal behavior.

1. Self-Compassion Scale (adaptation [18]) [54; 66]. The scale consists of 26 items, which are rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (almost never) to 5 (almost always), of 6 subscales: Self-Kindness, Self-Criticism, Common Humanity, Self-Isolation, Mindfulness, Over-Identification. It was given to all participants of the study.

2. Zimbardo Time-Perspective Inventory (adaptation [11]) [62; 69]. It has 5 subscales: Past Positive, Past Negative, Present Hedonistic, Present Fatalistic, Future. The items are rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (absolutely untrue) to 5 (absolutely true). The inventory was filled out by all the participants of the normative sample, while the clinical sample was given only the subscales of Past Positive and Past Negative.

3. Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support by G. Zimet (adaptation [17]) [47; 70]. The scale consists of 12 items, and assesses the perception of availability and effectiveness of social support according to 3 subscales: Family, Friends, and Significant Other. The items are rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree). The inventory was given to all participants.

4. Experience in Close Relationships-Revised, short form (adaptation [16; 19]) [37]. The questionnaire consists of 14 items, 2 subscales: Anxiety and Avoidance, assesses the predominance of these experiences in close relationships (with a loved one or with a friend), The inventory was not used in the Moscow normative sample.

5. The Almost Perfect Scale by R. Slaney (adaptation [22]) [63], short form. It consists of 36 items and 2 subscales: Adaptive and Maladaptive Perfectionism, the items are rated on a Likert-type scale from -3 (absolutely untrue) to 3 (absolutely true), and then recoded from 1 to 7. The questionnaire was not used in the Cheboksary sample.

6. The Future Self Scale (adaptation [15], modified inventory [35]). It consists of 4 items with 3 sub-items each (how I see myself in a week, a month, a year), rated on a Likert-type scale from 1 to 9, and the answers comprise 3 subscales: ability to see one's Short-Term Future (a week and a month), Long-Term Future (a year), and a propensity to think of one's future in general (Future Thoughts: what will be in a week, in a month and in a year). The Scale was given to all participants.

7. Beck Hopelessness Scale (adaptation [1]), [24] consists of 20 items, which reflect the respondent's attitude to their future that forms on the basis of their present and past experience. Answers "no", "rather no than yes", "rather yes than no", "yes" were recoded into the 4-point Likert-type scale. The inventory was not used in the Moscow normative sample.

8. The Psychache Scale (adaptation [13]) [40] is developed according to the concept of psychache by E. Shneidman [21; 46]. The inventory consists of 13 items, 9 of which assess the presence and the quality of psychache, and 4 of them assess its intensity. The rating has 5-point Likert-type scale: the more points correspond to more intense psychache. The inventory was not used in the Moscow normative sample.

Statistical Analysis

For studying the structure of the instrument, two methods were used: confirma-

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tory factor analysis and one of the widely used IRT models — Partial Credit Model [52]. The model was originally developed for unidimensional instruments, but is now successfully used in the analysis of multidimensional psychodiagnostics tests. A feature of this model is the assumption that each item has its own rating scale, and the distance between the response categories is different. For our case, this is important because not all items with a 6-point response scale worked well; some response categories were chosen by less than 5% of respondents. In the Partial Credit Model, discrimination (a measure of the relationship between a scale item and a latent factor) is taken as 1 for all items and is not calculated. The Monte Carlo EM algorithm was used as the parameter estimation method, which is one of the optimal methods for modeling more than three factors [31].

The weighted (INFIT) and unweighted (OUTFIT) fit statistics were utilized as goodness-of-fit measures. Both statistics characterize the deviations of the observed item score from its mathematical expectation [68]. The mathematical expectation of the values equals 1. If the model does not fit the data well, the observed values of these indices will differ from 1. For psychological tools, observed values are acceptable if they fall within the interval [.60; 1.40], although the most problematic items are those that exceed the right-hand boundary of the interval [68].

To examine discriminative properties of the instrument (or, in other words, the criterion-related validity of the test results), we compared the mean values of the scales in the two groups, normative and clinical. However, before comparing the means, we analyzed measurement invariance in these groups. In IRT models, measurement invariance is usually examined through an analysis of differential item functioning (DIF). According to the criteria developed, in order to talk about the fair functioning of an item, the difference in item difficulty between groups should not exceed .64 logits and the Welch t-test should not be significant at $\alpha = .05$ [27]. The study of measurement invariance was conducted within a unidimensional Partial Credit model (i.e., for each questionnaire factor separately), because the clinical sample does not include so many observations to evaluate the invariance of a multidimensional model.

Reliability was investigated using Cronbach's α and IRT reliability, which shows the proportion of the true variance of the latent characteristic in variance of the observed scores. In turn, the true variance is defined as the difference between the observed variance of the scores and the mean value of the square of the standard errors of the observed scores [32].

Multidimensional statistical analysis was performed in the R environment [58] using mirt package [31]. Winsteps software [49] served for the unidimensional modeling.

Convergent validity was examined using intercorrelations of the Reasons for Living subscales and associations with other subscales of psychological well-being/distress using the Pearson's method. Gender and intergroup differences were calculated based on Student's t-test. These two types of analysis were performed in Jamovi 1.6.23.

Results

Factor Structure of the Inventory

Three models were tested in the normative sample using confirmatory factor analysis (table 1). The method of parameter estimation was weighted least squares

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using the polychoric correlation matrix (WLSMV), because the manifest variables are ordinal [48]. There are no model comparison statistics for this estimator, so we relied on comparison of fit statistics.

In the previous study, exploratory factor analysis suggested that a three-factor solution was better in a Russian-speaking sample [13]; this is the first tested model. Secondly, some respondents expressed the opinion that it was too early for them to think about children, and we decided to try a five-factor model, without the Child-Related Concerns scale. We can see that the model with three factors fits the data worse than the five- and six-factor solution. The last two models have close values for fit statistics, but the model with six factors describes the data slightly better.

Next, we turned to the IRT model. Table 2 depicts item fit statistics before the exclusion of some items. All of them demonstrate acceptable fit.

Table 1

Confirmatory factor analysis of the Reasons for Living Inventory

Model	χ^2	RMSEA [90% CI]	CFI	TLI	WRMR
3-factor	5172.633**	.088 [.086; .090]	.815	.806	2.382
5-factor	4118.073**	.083 [.081; .086]	.843	.834	2.176
6-factor	4441.808**	.080 [.078; .083]	.847	.838	2.137

Note. RMSEA — root mean square error of approximation; 90% CI — 90% confidence interval for RMSEA; CFI — comparative fit index; TLI — Tucker-Lewis index; WRMR — weighted root mean square residual; ** $p<.01$.

Table 2

Item fit statistics for model 1 (full) and model 2 (after excluding items 8, 18, and 37)

Item, #	OUTFIT1	INFIT1	OUTFIT2	INFIT2
1	.79	1.00	.60	.65
2	.96	.99	.91	.89
3	.93	.93	.87	.84
4	.87	.93	.73	.75
5	.61	.66	.61	.70
6	.94	.94	.93	.97
7	.96	.96	1.30	1.17
8	1.03	.97	-	-
9	.84	.89	.72	.77
10	1.23	.97	1.64	1.11
11	.61	.97	.38	.52
12	1.09	.98	.78	.78
13	.93	1.00	.78	.79
14	1.04	.96	.99	.88

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Item, #	OUTFIT1	INFIT1	OUTFIT2	INFIT2
15	.88	.89	.82	.85
16	.63	.82	.58	.63
17	1.14	1.00	1.61	1.26
18	.82	.89	-	-
19	1.08	1.02	.95	.89
20	.80	.98	.58	.65
21	.48	.76	.36	.44
22	.94	.04	.72	.73
23	.49	.57	.66	.77
24	.86	.94	.65	.70
25	1.05	.98	1.51	1.38
26	.69	.77	.65	.69
27	1.00	1.00	.39	.49
28	.61	.87	.41	.58
29	1.09	1.03	1.10	1.05
30	.86	.96	.66	.72
31	.70	.80	.54	.60
32	.99	.98	.80	.76
33	.92	.90	1.01	.87
34	.79	.83	.88	1.07
35	.96	.99	.69	.69
36	1.25	.99	1.58	1.24
37	.87	.96	-	-
38	.78	.82	.73	.75
39	1.09	.99	1.91	1.43
40	1.24	1.00	1.11	.89
41	.60	.67	.46	.52
42	1.04	.97	1.09	1.07
43	.56	.66	.43	.50
44	1.14	1.04	.91	.81
45	1.21	1.01	1.38	1.10
46	.75	.81	.69	.74
47	.97	1.01	.76	.83
48	.97	.97	.92	.98

Measurement Invariance

The DIF-analysis revealed that all items of such scales as Moral Objections, Responsibility to Family, Child-Related Concerns, and Fear of Social Disapproval exhibited invariance with respect to the two groups, normative and clinical. Item #18 ("I am afraid that my method of killing myself would fail") of the scale Fear of Suicide demonstrated DIF, meaning that for respondents of the normative sample it was

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more difficult to agree with this item compared to the clinical one. After excluding it, the remaining items showed the same functioning in the two groups. Items #8 ("I do not believe that things get miserable or hopeless enough that I would rather be dead") and #37 ("I am happy and content with my life") of the scale Survival and Coping Beliefs showed non-invariance: respondents in the clinical sample had much more difficulty agreeing with these items than the normative sample. After excluding them, the remaining items demonstrated similar functioning in these groups.

Based on the results of the DIF-analysis, items № 8, 18, and 37 were excluded and the multidimensional model was recalculated. Table 2 (last two columns) presents fit statistics after deleting the items. The remaining items have acceptable fit.

Criterion-Related Validity
Table 3 contains differences in the averages of the two groups. It is noticeable that the clinical sample has lower indicators of reasons for living (differences in the mean values are significant at α =.01) than the normative sample, except for the Fear of Suicide factor; its results do not differ significantly, unlike the results of

the original study, in which the scores of this dimension is significantly higher in the clinical sample [50].

Reliability Analysis
The authors of the original study recorded reliability (Cronbach's α) ranging from .72 to .89 [50, p. 278]. Table 4 (on the diagonal) presents the reliability indices of our study. In our case, reliability varies from .74 to .93 for Cronbach's α and from .73 to .92 for IRT reliability (in parentheses). The scale with the highest reliability is Survival and Coping Beliefs one because it contains more items than the other scales. At the same time, all scales have acceptable reliability for research purposes.

Construct Validity
There was no intercorrelation analysis conducted in the original works on the inventory, but we performed it in order to study better the structure and the content of the subscales of the RFL inventory, and to test the hypothesis of the leveled regulation of motivation for life. It is seen from the Table 4 (intercorrelations of the subscales in the normative sample) that the subscales form two sides of the spectrum: there are moderately high correlations between the subscales Survival

Table 3

Mean differences in two samples (clinical and normative)

Subscale	Clinical sample (n=146) M$_1$ (SD$_1$)	Normative sample (n=490) M$_2$ (SD$_2$)	t(634)	Cohen's d
Survival and Coping Beliefs	3.23 (1.10)	4.89(.85)	-19.33	1.82
Responsibility to Family	4.04 (1.48)	4.61 (1.10)	-5.06	.48
Moral Objections	1.87 (1.34)	3.17 (1.54)	-9.18	.87
Fear of Suicide	3.10 (1.13)	2.96 (1.13)	1.37	.13
Fear of Social Disapproval	2.47 (1.56)	3.18 (1.52)	-4.89	.46
Child-Related Concerns	2.77 (1.87)	4.70 (1.50)	-12.99	1.23

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Table 4

Intercorrelations of the subscales of the inventory in the normative and clinical samples and indices of reliability of the instrument's subscales

Subscale	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Survival and Coping Beliefs	.93 (.91)					
2. Responsibility to Family	.50*** (.31***)	.82 (.80)				
3. Moral Objections	.39*** (.44***)	.42*** (.27***)	.83 (.87)			
4. Fear of Suicide	.13** (.20*)	.29*** (.07)	.51*** (.27***)	.73 (.77)		
5. Fear of Social Disapproval	.25*** (.34***)	.33*** (.42***)	.48*** (.53***)	.50*** (.36***)	.79 (.74)	
6. Child-Related Concerns	.55*** (.46***)	.60*** (.35***)	.51*** (.42***)	.28*** (.13)	.32*** (.43***)	.79 (.78)

Note. Pearson's correlation analysis was performed, correlations in brackets and italics refer to the clinical sample; * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$; ***$p<.001$.

and Coping Beliefs, Responsibility to Family, Child-Related Concerns, and on the other side of the spectrum there are Fear of Suicide and Fear of Social Disapproval. There are much lesser correlations between these sides. The subscale Moral Objections occupies an intermediate position, becoming a sort of a connecting link on a continuum. At this stage already, the analogy with the self-regulation levels from the self-determination theory comes to mind: there is an intrinsic motivation, which corresponds to person's goals and values, and extrinsic, which is led by the fear of disapproval and physical pain (punishment).

In the clinical sample (Table 4, brackets, italics) there are no such explicit sides of the spectrum. Nevertheless, the subscale Fear of Suicide stands out: it doesn't correlate with the subscales Responsibility to Family and Child-Related Concerns, has low correlation with the subscale Survival and Coping Beliefs. As we've already mentioned, in the original study [50] this indica-

tor was significantly higher in suicidals in comparison to the normative sample.

Gender Differences

In the original sample, gender differences were not tested, but we decided to study them in our Russian sample. Various reasons for living can have varying importance for men and women due to different social roles. This hypothesis was confirmed (Table 5): in all subscales except for the subscale Survival and Coping Beliefs significant differences were found, although with moderate to low effect (Cohen's d>.2 — .4). In general, women were inclined to attribute more importance to reasons for living, but the biggest differences were revealed on the subscales Child-Related Concerns and Moral Objections: for women, these reasons were much more important than for men.

Convergent Validity

In order to better understand the psychological content of the subscales of

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Table 5

Analysis of gender differences on the subscales of the Reasons for Living Inventory in a normative sample

Subscale	Women (n=341) M_1 (SD$_1$)	Men (n=148) M_2 (SD$_2$)	t(487)	Cohen's d
Survival and Coping Beliefs	4.94 (.82)	4.78 (.92)	1.932	.18
Responsibility to Family	4.72 (1.10)	4.36 (1.05)	3.318	.34
Moral Objections	3.36 (1.56)	2.75 (1.42)	4.099	.41
Fear of Suicide	3.05 (1.11)	2.73 (1.14)	2.876	.28
Fear of Social Disapproval	3.27 (1.56)	2.96 (1.40)	2.195	.21
Child-Related Concerns	4.90 (1.37)	4.25 (1.63)	4.258	.43

Reasons for Living Inventory in the normative and clinical samples and test the *post hoc* hypothesis of the leveled regulation of motivation for life, the correlational analysis with other inventories was conducted, which measure psychological well-being/distress (Table 6).

In the normative sample, one side of the spectrum, as detected in the intercorrelations, correlated on a higher level with the constructs of psychological well-being (Past Positive, scales of Future orientations, Self-Compassion and its positive subscales, Adaptive Perfectionism, subscales of Social Support), and negatively — with the constructs of psychological distress (Hopelessness and Psychache, Past Negative, Present Fatalistic, negative self-regard, Maladaptive Perfectionsim, unsecure styles of attachment). The subscales from this side of the spectrum can be conditionally associated with intrinsic forms of regulation, identified and integrated (correspondence to goals and values, awareness of their importance, self-determination, relatedness, competence and autonomy). Another side of the spectrum (Fear of Suicide and Fear of Social Disapproval) in the normative sample shows unstable correlations, both positive and negative, with various indices of psychological well-being/distress. These scales can be attributed to external or introjected regulation (orientation to external conditions of reward and punishment, to self-esteem).

In the clinical sample (Table 6, brackets), there was a higher level of correlations of the subscale Fear of Suicide with the variables of psychological distress (Past Negative, Self-Isolation, Over-Identification), and this fact proves again that fear is not a protective factor, on the contrary, it becomes a marker of psychological distress, and an increase in this factor points to the severity of the a patient's state, to the uneffectiveness of their coping strategies [14; 38]. The subscales Moral Objections and Fear of Social Disapproval in the clinical sample had little correlations of a lower order with the scales of psychological well-being, i.e. had low protective value. In general, the subscales Survival and Coping Beliefs, Child-Related Concerns, and Responsibility to Family replicated the structure of correlations, which was found in the normative sample (for example, with the future orientations subscales, Hopelessness, Adaptive Perfectionism), however, it is important to keep in mind that these coefficients were partly achieved due to the reduced protective indicators and increased indicators of suicide risk, that is, though these correla-

tions suggested a protective potential, at the moment they rather indicated an acute psychological distress of the respondents and a lack of protective beliefs.

Table 6

Correlations of the subscales of the Reasons for Living Inventory with the questionnaires that measure psychological well-being/distress in the normative and clinical (brackets) samples

Scale	Survival and Coping Beliefs	Responsibility to Family	Moral Objections	Fear of Suicide	Fear of Social Disapproval	Child-Related Conserns	M_n (SD_n) M_c (SD_c)
Zimbardo Time-Perspective Inventory (n_{norm}=490)							
Past Negative	**-.35*** (-.07)	-.05 (-.01)	-.05 (.04)	**.15*** (.25**)	.08 (.02)	**-.11*** (-.06)	2.83(.76) 3.64(.65)
Present Hedonistic	.06	.07	-.02	-.01	.04	.08	3.36(.53)
Future	**.35***	**.25***	**.19***	.07	.08	**.26***	3.66(.55)
Past Positive	**.32*** (.41***)	**.43*** (.37***)	**.38*** (.30***)	**.19*** (.08)	**.18*** (.26**)	**.44*** (.35***)	3.65(.69) 2.95(.83)
Present Fatalistic	**-.24***	.03	**.16***	**.21***	**.18***	.05	2.55(.66)
Future Self Scale (n_{norm}=490)							
Short-Term Future	**.22*** (.18*)	**.11*** (-.03)	-.04 (>-.01)	.03 (.10)	>-.01 (-.15)	**.13**** (.02)	7.15(1.61) 5.70(1.89)
Long-Term Future	**.26*** (.44***)	**.11*** (.12)	.05 (.30***)	.08 (.09)	.08 (.19*)	**.15*** (.37***)	6.02(1.85) 4.50(2.03)
Future Thoughts	**.12**** (.37***)	**.11*** (.26**)	**.23*** (.34***)	**.15**** (.08)	**.17*** (.33***)	**.17*** (.34***)	5.60(2.22) 5.07(2.53)
Neff's Self-Compassion Scale (n_{norm}=490)							
Self-Kindness	**.18*** (.28***)	.05 (.06)	.01 (-.01)	.01 (.02)	.01 (.01)	**.13**** (.22**)	2.70(.81) 2.05(.78)
Self-Criticism	-.07 (-.10)	-.02 (.31***)	**-.12**** (.07)	-.06 (.14)	-.06 (.19*)	**-.09*** (-.01)	2.94(.83) 3.97(.73)
Common Humanity	**.22*** (.31***)	.08 (.15)	.03 (.10)	-.03 (.05)	.01 (.10)	.07 (.18*)	2.80(.78) 2.25(.76)
Self-Isolation	**-.25*** (-.15)	-.03 (.03)	**-.10*** (.04)	**.15**** (.32***)	.02 (.12)	**-.12*** (-.12)	2.74(1.01) 3.90(.80)
Mindfulness	**.20*** (.16)	-.08 (.02)	**-.11*** (.04)	**-.17*** (-.08)	**-.16*** (.02)	-.02 (.25**)	3.17(.81) 2.62(.83)
Over-Identification	**-.22*** (.08)	.04 (.21*)	**-.12**** (.11)	.06 (.33***)	-.01 (.21*)	**-.09*** (.11)	3.17(.96) 4.28(.69)
Self-Compassion (general score)	**.31*** (.26**)	.02 (-.09)	.09 (-.02)	-.09 (-.20*)	-.02 (-.10)	**.14**** (.18*)	2.96(.52) 2.12(.48)

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Scale	Survival and Coping Beliefs	Responsibility to Family	Moral Objections	Fear of Suicide	Fear of Social Disapproval	Child-Related Conserns	M_n (SD_n) M_c (SD_c)
Slaney's Almost Perfect Scale (n_{norm}=269)							
Maladaptive Perfectionism	**-.34***** (**-.29*****)	-.09 (.13)	-.10 (.03)	**.15*** (.16)	.08 (.10)	**-.13*** (-.16)	4.04(1.15) *5.42(.97)*
Adaptive Perfectionism	**.29***** (.13)	.11 (**.31*****)	**.15**** (**.32*****)	-.02 (.05)	.11 (**.29*****)	**.19**** (**.40*****)	5.15(.94) *4.79(1.20)*
Zimet's Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (n_{norm}=490)							
Family	**.40***** (**.27****)	**.53***** (**.53*****)	**.32***** (**.17***)	**.14**** (.07)	**.14**** (**.19***)	**.43***** (**.28*****)	5.47(1.45) *4.08(1.73)*
Friends	**.30***** (.01)	**.22***** (-.07)	**.11**** (-.14)	>-.01 (-.14)	-.03 (-.08)	**.23***** (-.05)	5.22(1.50) *4.20(2.11)*
Significant Other	**.37***** (.14)	**.31***** (**.17***)	**.19**** (-.14)	.05 (.08)	.06 (.11)	**.33***** (.08)	5.35(1.54) *4.79(1.79)*
Experience in Close Relationships-Revised (n_{norm}=343)							
Anxiety	**-.28***** (-.01)	**-.18***** (.02)	-.03 (.07)	**.11*** (.14)	<.01 (.13)	**-.20***** (.13)	3.22(1.29) *4.32(1.40)*
Avoidance	**-.29***** (**-.21****)	**-.25***** (.08)	-.06 (.02)	.01 (**-.17***)	.03 (-.01)	**-.22***** (-.08)	3.25(1.02) *3.26(1.36)*
Factors of Suicide Risk (n_{norm}=343)							
Hopelessness	**-.59***** (**-.66*****)	**-.28***** (**-.29*****)	-.07 (**-.31*****)	**.14**** (.08)	.06 (**-.18***)	**-.38***** (**-.45*****)	1.81(.46) *2.52(.58)*
Psychache	**-.34***** (**-.29*****)	**-.11*** (-.05)	-.05 (-.08)	.09 (-.10)	.01 (-.03)	**-.22**** (-.07)	1.84(.71) *3.59(.79)*

Note. Pearson's correlation analysis was performed, correlations in brackets refer to the clinical sample; * *p*<.05; ** *p*<.01; ***p<.001.

Discussion

Structure analysis of the Reasons for Living Inventory showed satisfactory fit of the model to empirical data; 45 items out of 48 were left in the inventory. The questionnaire can be used in clinical settings for the purpose of better understanding patients' motivations, as well as for the research purposes. The inventory also has value for differential diagnostics, especially the subscale Survival and Coping Beliefs: it is particular good at distinguishing people with suicidal tendencies. Moreover, although we haven't received significant differences between the normative and the clinical samples for the subscale Fear of Suicide, as was found in the original work [50], it was shown that the Fear of Suicide scores in the suicidal sample were linked stronger with the indices of psychological distress, than in the normative sample. Fear of death and suicide is

also one of the symptoms of the acute Suicide Crisis Syndrome in the framework of Narrative-Crisis Model of Suicide [20; 26; 38].

Significant gender differences were found in all the subscales of the inventory in a Russian student sample, except for the subscale Survival and Coping Beliefs. In general, higher scores in all subscales were characteristic for women. The highest differences (of a moderate level) were found for the subscales Child-Related Concerns and Moral Objections. It may be due to the varying social roles of men and women.

The hypothesis on the differing levels of regulation of motivation for life was confirmed in both samples, normative and clinical. In the normative sample, already at the stage of intercorrelations analysis, two sides of the spectrum were formed: one had the subscales Survival and Coping Beliefs, Child-Related Concerns, Responsibility to Family, and Moral Objections, the other one consisted of Fear of Suicide and Fear of Social Disapproval. In a wider testing of convergent validity, the subscales of the positive side of the spectrum were conditionally assigned to integrated and identified regulation, and the subscales of the negative side of the spectrum were attributed to external and introjected regulation. This again shows that the reasons for living are not equivalent to each other, they have varying levels of subjective significance and differ in their impact (motivation).

In the clinical sample, the subscale Fear of Suicide, due to its links to Past Negative (traumatic experience) and negative self-regard, can be identified not only as a manifestation of external regulation, but also as a marker of psychological illbeing of a patient, so this argument (fear of death, dying, and suicide) cannot be used by a clinician as a protective factor.

Both in the student and clinical samples, the subscale Child-Related Concerns showed high significance: it is potentially a strong buffer against suicidal tendencies, partially even more significant than the subscale Responsibility to Family. Taking into account the age of the participants, we assume that it is more of a value characteristic: people who plan children have stronger intrinsic motivation to life.

The hypothesis that the subscale Moral Objection would refer to the side of the spectrum that corresponds to external regulation, was not fully confirmed: apparently, it is also a value characteristic, which may reflect both intrinsic beliefs and not yet fully integrated motivation.

In general, the study shows the importance of the construct of self-determination and autonomy for suicidal patients, their lack of agency in the situation, which they define as hopeless and provoking psychache. This state requires psychological counseling, which can be performed by various means: through maintaining agency in clients and through the search for preferred stories of their lifes.

The limitations of the study refer primarily to the instruments used: to test the hypothesis about the connection of motivation for life with the self-determination theory, the questionnaires were utilized, which measure psychological well-being/distress, and not the scales developed in the framework of self-determination theory. Testing the correspondence of the Reasons for Living Inventory to these measures may become the objective for further study.

Another limitation pertains to the normative sample: male respondents were recruited primarily from one university,

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one region. This could have affected the results of gender differences analysis.

Conclusion

The original Reasons for Living Inventory by M. Linehan was successfully adapted in a Russian sample and can be used in research, screenings and individual work with patients in clinical settings.

It was shown in the normative and clinical samples, that the subscales of the inventory reflect the levels of self-determination in motivation for life: the subscales Survival and Coping Beliefs, Child-Related Concerns, Responsibility to Family, Moral Objections correspond more to the intrinsic spectrum of motivation, while the subscales Fear of Suicide and Fear of Social Disapproval correspond to the extrinsic side of the spectrum.

Gender differences were found in the normative sample: women demonstrated higher scores in all subscales, except for Survival and Coping Beliefs (no significant differences). The strongest effect was found for the subscales Child-Related Concerns and Moral Objections. This may be due to the different social roles of men and women, but this result requires a more thorough study.

Further research can go in different ways: firstly, it worth studying correlations between the inventory with the instruments developed in the framework of self-determination theory, in order to clarify the conclusions of the present work; secondly, suicidology would benefit from various studies of agency, both with the help of the RFL inventory and in the framework of self-determination theory, and in the framework of narrative and phenomenological studies, which reveal the experiences of a suicidal person.

The results of the study also have practical relevance: they show the importance of maintaining agency of a suicidal person, of promoting interiorization and awareness of their personal reasons for living. Moreover, it was shown that the fear of suicide is not an effective buffer from suicidal feelings, and the strengthening of this emotion does not contribute to one's antisuicidal orientation, but worsens psychological distress. E.M. Forster wrote: "Death destroys a man, but the idea of death saves him" [36], and I. Yalom adapted this thought into his works and added: "It helps us to live more authentically" [56]. It is true that the idea of death can help us find the ultimate, personally significant, unique meanings and values, but we should not exploit its physicality and horror, which it generates.

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Autonomy as the Result of Relations: Role of Attachment to Mother and Peers in Volunteering Motivation in Adolescents

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The relevance of the study is defined by the role of volunteering as social practice in developing adolescents' autonomy. Volunteering attitudes in adolescents are considered a meaningful indicator of personal autonomy development. The purpose of the study is to identify the features of volunteering motivation in adolescents as a manifestation of personal autonomy. The research tasks included the following: studying the volunteering motivation of adolescents with and without experience in volunteering; identifying the relationship between the volunteering motivation of adolescents and the type of attachment to mother; revealing the connection between the volunteering motivation and the features of adolescents' relationships with their peers. The following techniques were used: volunteering motivation questionnaire; mother and peer attachment type questionnaires. The sample consisted of 329 subjects aged 14 to 18 years. The study revealed the relationship between the mother attachment type and the attitude to volunteering in adolescents. Positive relationships with peers, including satisfaction with communication, trust and secure attachment, are associated with high willingness of adolescents to participate in volunteer activities as an indicator of personal autonomy.

Keywords: volunteering, autonomy, attachment, adolescents.

Молчанов С.В., Алмазова О.В., Поскребышева Н.Н. Автономия как результат отношений:
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Психологическая наука и образование. 2022. Т. 27. № 3

Автономия как результат отношений: роль привязанности к сверстникам и матери в мотивации волонтерства подростков

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Обращается внимание на актуальность исследования выделенной темы в связи с ролью волонтерства как добровольческой практики в процессе становления автономии подростков. Отмечается, что отношение подростков к волонтерству является содержательным показателем развития автономии личности. Исследование было направлено на установление характера связи особенностей мотивации волонтерской деятельности подростков как проявления личностной автономии. В процессе работы решались следующие задачи: установление особенностей мотивации волонтерства подростков, имеющих и не имеющих опыт волонтерской деятельности; определение своеобразия связи мотивации волонтерства подростков с типом привязанности к матери; выявление связи мотивации волонтерства подростков с особенностями отношений со сверстниками. Были использованы методики: опросник мотивации волонтерства, опросники анализа типа привязанности к матери и сверстнику. Выборку составили 329 человек в возрасте от 14 до 18 лет. Выявлена связь типа привязанности к матери и отношения подростков к волонтерству. Позитивные отношения со сверстниками, включая удовлетворенность коммуникацией, доверие и надежную привязанность, связаны с высокой готовностью подростков к участию в волонтерской деятельности как показателю автономии личности.

Ключевые слова: волонтерство, автономия, привязанность, подростковый возраст.

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Introduction

The development of independence and personal autonomy, emancipation, and the ability to act according to one's own goals and decisions is key foundation in adolescents' personal development. It is known that personal autonomy development does not only characterize one's personal maturity, but it is also the result of one's relationship with parents and peers [3; 4; 8]. Personal autonomy development is based on the system of meaningful relationships in adolescence — with parents and peers.

Several studies have shown that the development of personal autonomy is connected to the attachment type formed in the relationship between the adolescent and their mother. The mechanism that allows secure attachment to form an adolescent's autonomy and independence is connected to the possibility of keeping the feeling of closeness in child-parent relationships, even in times of estrangement and disagreements [1,12]. The security of attachment in adolescents is linked to a high level of trust and partnership in relationship with parents, which allows autonomy to form. Insecure attachment may stand in the way of adolescent's development of autonomy [13]. Secure attachment determines favorable trajectories for the development of personal autonomy of adolescents even with possible genetic risks — secure attachment mitigates the negative manifestations of separation processes and contributes to an increase in the regulatory aspect of autonomy [31].

Adolescents with secure attachment style and a high level of autonomy describe their relationship with parents as comfortable, being aware of both positive and negative aspects. Adolescents with insecure attachment style tend to feel overly intense negative emotions (anger, resentment) towards their parents which makes objective evaluation of relationships difficult [24; 27; 29]. With secure attachment adolescents see autonomy not as an absolute independence from their parents, instead they act while understanding their opportunities and limits and they do not avoid asking for help, relying on others when needed [13]. For adolescents with secure attachment style parents still are a big part in their lives. Parents help adolescents to adapt to many life changes and remain supportive even throughout periods of separation. Separation is not viewed as alienation and detachment of parents [30]. Insecure attachment style in adolescence stands as a risk factor, while secure attachment may serve as a means of protection from unfavorable teenage development trajectories.

In teenage development, secure attachment is a condition for self-actualization and the formation of an adolescent's consistent self-concept, positive self-treatment, and a differentiated self-image. Adolescents with ambivalent-anxious attachment style tend to view themselves negatively and not show self-acceptance. With this said, attachment to a mother figure may be seen as a condition and as a mechanism of self-concept formation in adolescents, with mother-child relationship transforming into relationship with self.

Adolescents with secure attachment style turn out not only to have better personal development, but to show a higher level of social skills and social adaptation as well [5]. They are also more socially competent, are better at choosing coping strategies and are less likely to turn to unjustified risks. They do not avoid conflict, but they do not get too carried away with their "fight for independence" [25]. Teenagers with insecure attachment styles are less successful in their social development: they are more prone to have addictions [23], they show deviant forms of behavior more often [18].

In social behavior, not only does the attachment to mother matter, but so does the attachment to peers. Study shows both

types of relationship's influence on adolescents' social development [22].

The security of attachment style determines the manner of teenager's personal autonomy development, therefore we can assume that adolescents with secure attachment style, without feeling any anxiety regarding their acceptance by their social surroundings (parents, peers) appear to be more ready to participate in volunteering activities, which is not a means of educational activity, but an independent act of "self-movement" and self-development/.

Volunteering activity may be viewed as social activity with volunteers' initiative, who possess a set of personal features which lead to the change of objective reality and, to self-development [9]. Several studies show that volunteers view themselves positively, have higher levels of empathy and emotional stability [6; 14; 15; 28].

Motivation for volunteering may be directly connected to personal autonomy development in adolescents and young adults. Autonomy in motivation to participate in volunteer work is positively linked to teenagers' prosocial behavior, while external motivation factors of volunteering did not lead to positive changes in adolescents' behavior [20].

Even though volunteering has recently become an increasingly expanding sphere of life for teenagers and young adults, there are few studies on teenagers' volunteering activity and their motivation for volunteer projects. In a review done in E. Korneeva's work the given data shows that volunteers have different motivations for participation and have certain personal characteristics, as well as that the types of volunteer activities themselves differ significantly [7]. We think that motivation to participate and personal characteristics of volunteering participants in sports or cultural events will differ from motivation and psychological features of orphanage, animal shelter and retirement home volunteers. But in the same volunteering project there will be individual differences in the volunteers' motivations.

The desire to participate in volunteer activities may be based on both altruistic motives and motives for social contacts, and even pragmatic goals, for example, to supplement a resume with participation in socially significant projects [10; 11]. Researchers most often suggest the following typology of volunteer activity trajectories: the "trigger" path (when a certain event in a person's life encourages them to do volunteering), the social path, the "instrumental" path (when volunteering becomes a trajectory for the acquisition of specific skills) and the religious or spiritual path.

In this study, we rely on the operationalization of the concept of volunteering motivation based on the functional theory of motivation [17] as the most developed and systematic model of volunteer motivation. According to the functional theory of motivation, the following motive-functions of volunteering are distinguished: value function, social function, volunteering as a source of competencies, volunteering as a resource of career opportunities, protective (compensatory) function, volunteering as a source of personal development [16]. Helping and supporting others as a priority in the individual hierarchy of values of an individual is reflected in the value function of volunteering. This type of motivation is traditionally connected with altruistic motives, but volunteering and helping others as a value may reflect not only purely altruistic aspirations, but basic worldview attitudes or religious ideas as well. The value function motivation allows volunteers to act based on a wide range of humanistic values, including the value of helping others. Volunteers asserting the value of helping people in difficult life situations consider this activity an important component of their lives. The opportunity to acquire new knowledge, skills and abilities in volunteer projects is most pronounced in the motivation of those who consider volunteer-

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ing as a source of competencies. Volunteers with such motivation most often participate in voluntary social, sports and educational projects [16]. This allows you to gain new experience and learn new things, learn your strengths, gain a new perspective on things.

Meta-studies indicate that this is one of the main types of volunteer motivation, along with altruistic motives. Motivation associated with the expansion of career opportunities determines an instrumental attitude towards volunteering as a means of achieving career goals [17]. For some, volunteering becomes a desirable line in the resume, an opportunity to acquire the necessary professional connections, to join a professional community. Career-oriented volunteers believe that the experience of participating in volunteer projects will help them get the desired job and achieve success in their chosen profession. The motivation associated with building a career is most often present in young volunteers [21]. The social motives of volunteer activity relate to the desire of volunteers to be part of a social group, to maintain stable social ties. Volunteers with dominant social motives participate in volunteer projects "for company" with friends or simply follow the example of a significant social environment, thereby seeking to confirm their commitment to group norms and traditions. Satisfaction of social motives in volunteering leads to the formation of new social ties, maintenance, and consolidation of the old ones. Quite often, it is social motives that prevail at the initial stage of volunteering. For novice volunteers with less than six months of volunteering experience, the desire for communication is often a priority motive [9]. In cases where volunteering makes it easier to perceive one's own problems and reduces the sense of guilt for their own well-being and privileges, we can talk about the protective function of volunteering. Volunteering becomes a sort of compensation for one's own difficulties, failures, or a means of overcoming the sense of guilt for

inability to ensure one's own well-being. The development of protective forms of motivation for volunteering is considered as an emotional reward for performing socially useful activities [11]. By helping others, volunteers often solve their own problems and difficult life situations, as well as reduce the overall stress level through socially useful activity [26].

The motivation of volunteering may lie in the perception of volunteer activity as a source of one's own development. Self-development motivation allows one to feel important and necessary in volunteer activity, increase their self-esteem. Motivation of this kind is associated with the need to assert one's self-worth and the desire for self-development.

A study of various social groups of volunteers shows that constant and frequent participation in volunteer activities, as well as in various forms of digital volunteering, is most often associated with value and learning motivation.

The nature of the motivation of volunteering, revealing the functional significance, attitude, and personal meaning of the participation of adolescents in volunteer activity, is a meaningful indicator of the development of personal autonomy. We can assume that the peculiarities of the attitude to volunteering as an indicator of personal autonomy are related to the nature of the relationship of adolescents with a close adult (mother) and peers.

A few studies of the peculiarities of volunteering in connection with attachment show that secure attachment in volunteers is associated with greater activity in volunteer projects, as well as with reliance on internal motivation. With insecure attachment, volunteers act based on altruistic motives to a lesser extent. Anxiety-ambivalent attachment is more often associated with motives of protection and self-development, anxiety-avoiding attachment leads to a decrease in volunteer activity [19]. At the same time, the

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study of the relationship between adolescents' attitudes to volunteering and the nature of relationships with peers, considering the key importance of communication with peers at this age for personality development, will clarify the role of attachment to peers in a teenager's willingness to participate in the volunteer movement.

Research program, sampling description, and applied techniques

The aim of the study was to establish the nature of the relationship between the characteristics of motivation of volunteer activity of adolescents as a manifestation of personal autonomy. The following hypotheses have been put forward: 1. The value and social motivation of volunteer activity is more significant for adolescents with secure attachment to their mother, compared with adolescents with insecure attachment type. 2. Value, social motivation and motivation of acquiring volunteer competencies are more significant for adolescents with positive relationships with peers, characterized by a high level of trust and satisfaction with communication and secure attachment to peers.

Tasks included:

— to establish the characteristics of the motivation of volunteering among adolescents with and without volunteering experience;

— to determine the peculiarity of the connection between the volunteering motivation in adolescents with the type of attachment to mother;

— to identify the connection between volunteering motivation in adolescents with the peculiarities of relationships with peers.

329 adolescents of 14-18 years old, 57.4% male and 2.6% female took part in this research. 43.8% adolescents have volunteering experience, 56.2% do not.

In accordance with the tasks set, the following techniques have been used:

1. Questionnaire of motivation of volunteer activity based on the functional theory of motivation proposed by a group of American psychologists led by E. Clary [17].

2. Methodology for attachment assessment by M. Yaremchuk modified by O. Almazova, G. Burmenskaya [2].

3. Parents and peers attachment questionnaire for parents and peers (peer section) [16].

The results

According to all scales of all questionnaires, the distribution is normal (Kolmogorov-Smirnov criterion), which allows the use of parametric methods of data analysis.

Two factors were considered — the real volunteering experience and the type of attachment to the mother in connection with the attitude to volunteering, which involves the use of two-factor analysis of variance to assess the effect of each of the factors and their interaction with different aspects of the motivation of volunteering.

Table 1 shows the averages, medians, and standard deviations of attitudes to volunteering among respondents with and without experience in volunteering and the result of comparing estimates in these two groups (ANOVA single-factor analysis of variance, for all scales for Levene Statistics $p > 0.05$, which, combined the results of checking the normality of distributions allows the usage of ANOVA).

Significant differences were obtained on all scales of the questionnaire. At the same time, they are higher in adolescents with experience in volunteering for grades on all scales. Participation in volunteering turns out to be associated with a greater understanding of the personal meaning of volunteering for all areas of motivation.

According to the results of the modified methodology of M. Yaremchuk, 59% of adolescents had a secure, and 41% had an insecure type of attachment to their mother, which corresponds to various data on the distribution of secure and insecure types of attachment in adolescence.

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Descriptive statistics for assessment of the attitudes towards volunteering in adolescents with and without real volunteer experience; differences between them

Scale/Group	Has experience			No experience			Difference	
	M	Me	SD	M	Me	SD	F	p
Security	4.20	4.00	1.409	3.47	3.40	1.354	11.961	0.001
Value	6.08	6.20	0.840	5.33	5.60	1.211	18.625	<0.001
Career possibility	4.16	4.30	1.574	3.82	3.80	1.414	3.252	0.072
Social function	4.96	5.00	1.317	3.94	4.00	1.480	27.350	<0.001
Source of competence	5.88	6.00	0.978	5.13	5.20	1.242	22.281	<0.001
Source of development	4.81	4.80	1.355	4.28	4.40	1.330	6.429	0.012

Table 2 presents the averages, medians, and standard deviations of the estimates of the attitude to volunteering among respondents with secure and insecure types of attachment to the mother and the result of comparing the estimates in these two groups (ANOVA one-factor analysis of variance, for all scales for Levene Statistics p>0.05, which combined with the results of checking the normality of distributions allows the usage of ANOVA).

Using a two-factor analysis of variance, taking the attachment type and the presence/absence of experience in volunteering as factors, the effect of the interaction of these factors on various aspects of the motivation of volunteering was tested. Table 3 shows the results of the analysis.

Only for one aspect, namely "volunteering as a source of competence", the effect was significant. Figure 1 shows graphs of averages for all aspects of the relationship to volunteering for adolescents with different types of attachment to their mother and the presence/absence of volunteer experience and a diagram of the scope of assessments of "volunteering as a source of competence" for adolescents of different groups.

The assessment of "volunteering as a source of competence" for adolescents with insecure types of attachment to their mother practically does not differ, with or without adolescents' real volunteering experience. Whereas for adolescents with a secure type of attachment to the mother, the estimates of this aspect with the presence of real vol-

Descriptive statistics for assessment of the attitude to volunteering in adolescents with secure and insecure type of attachment to their mother; differences between them

Scale/Group	Secure attachment			Insecure attachment			Difference	
	M	Me	SD	M	Me	SD	F	p
Security	3.86	3.80	1.408	3.60	3.40	1.451	2.301	0.130
Value	5.74	5.80	1.110	5.45	5.50	1.173	4.387	0.037
Career possibility	3.93	4.00	1.519	4.08	4.20	1.427	0.661	0.417
Social function	4.52	4.60	1.482	4.05	4.00	1.495	6.542	0.011
Source of competence	5.51	5.80	1.168	5.31	5.50	1.254	1.804	0.180
Source of development	4.53	4.40	1.363	4.47	4.40	1.371	0.102	0.750

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Table 3

**The influence of the interaction of factors: the experience of participation
in volunteering and the type of attachment to the mother on the attitude
to volunteering**

	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Squares	F	p
Security	1.323	1	1.323	0.696	0.405
Value	0.079	1	0.079	0.070	0.792
Career possibility	0.163	1	0.163	0.074	0.786
Social function	0.371	1	0.371	0.187	0.666
Source of competence	5.835	1	5.835	4.579	0.033
Source of development	1.459	1	1.459	0.809	0.369
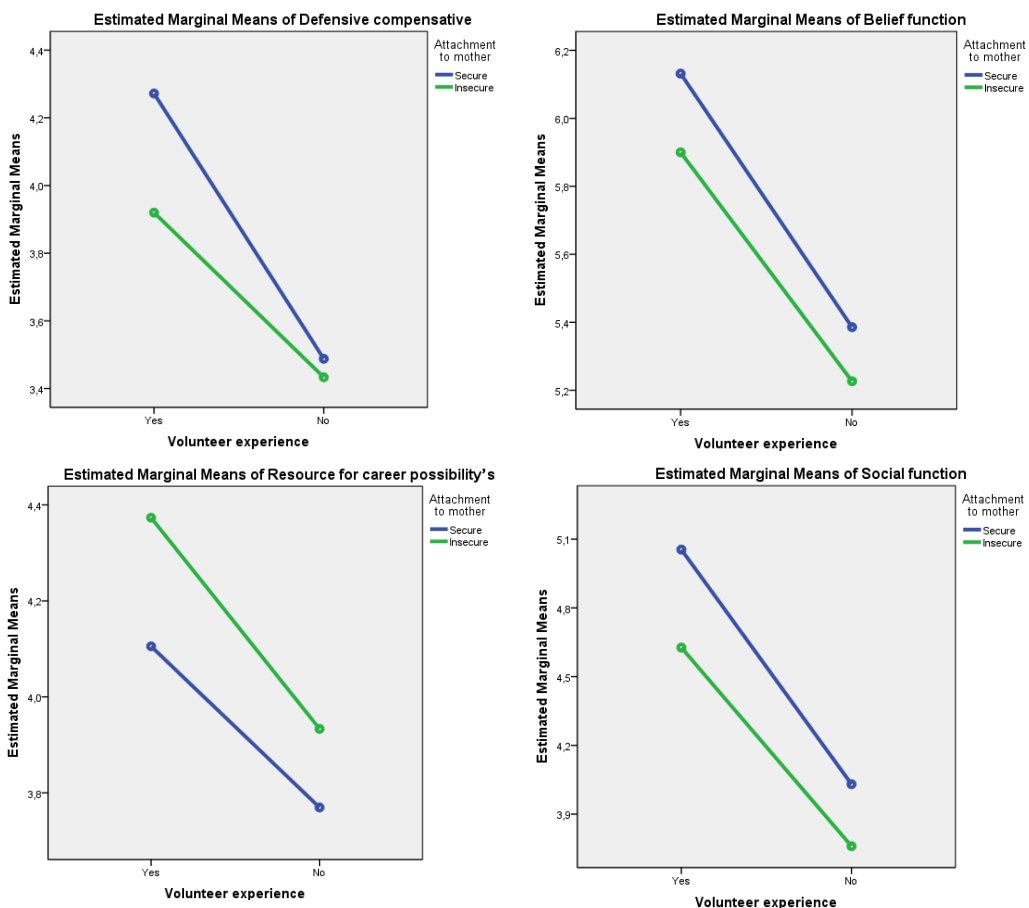
Fig. 1. Average assessments of attitudes to volunteering (all aspects) and a diagram of the scope
of assessments of attitudes to "volunteering as a source of competence" in adolescents with different
types of attachment to their mother and experience of participation in volunteer activities

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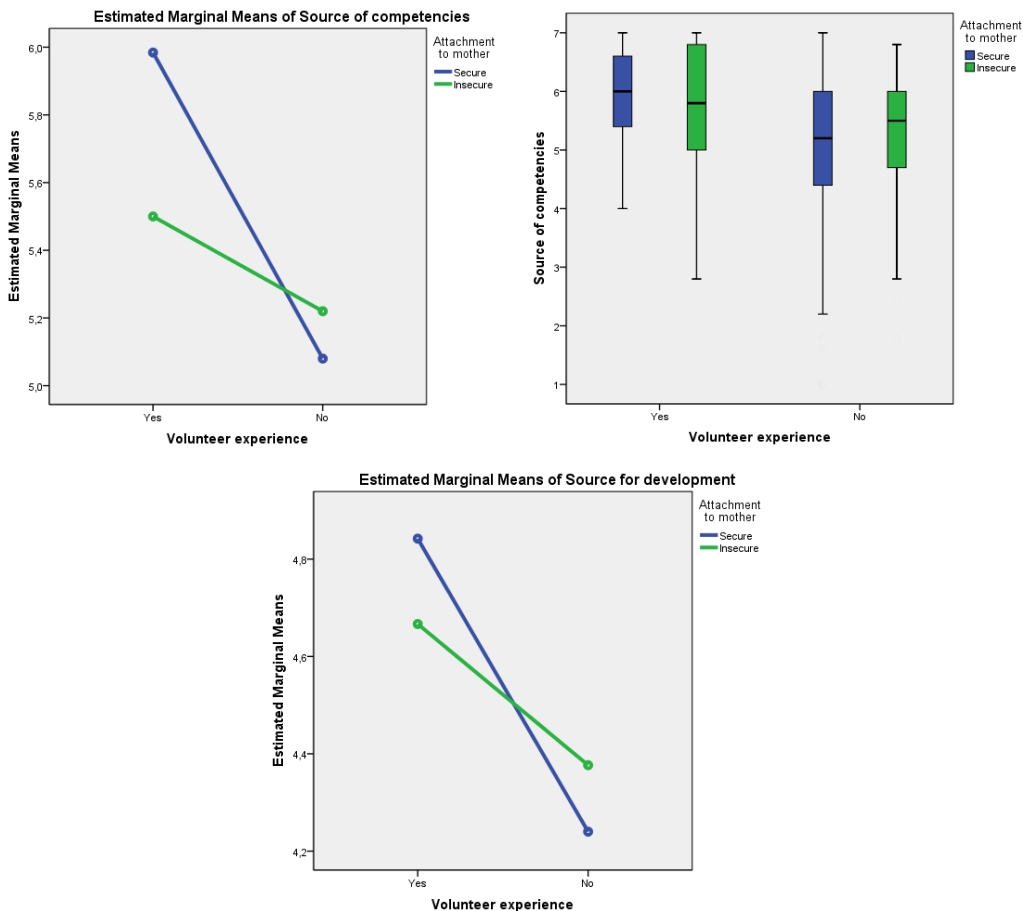
Fig. 1. Continued

unteering experience are much higher than in the absence of it.

With the help of the "Attachment to parents and peers" questionnaire (scales revealing relationships with peers were presented to respondents and analyzed) assessments of attachment, trust, satisfaction with communication and rejection in relationships with peers were determined. Using the Pearson correlation coefficient, we are going to check the connections between the assessments of various aspects of attitude towards volunteering and the assessments

of the characteristics of peer relationships under consideration. Fig. 2 shows a correlation pleiad, which shows all the significant relationships between the scores of the scales of the two questionnaires (p<0.05, the strength of the connection is greater than 0.2).

The assessments of "volunteering as a value" and "volunteering as a social function" are related with the assessments of all the considered characteristics of relationships with peers (with attachment, confidence, and satisfaction with communication direct-

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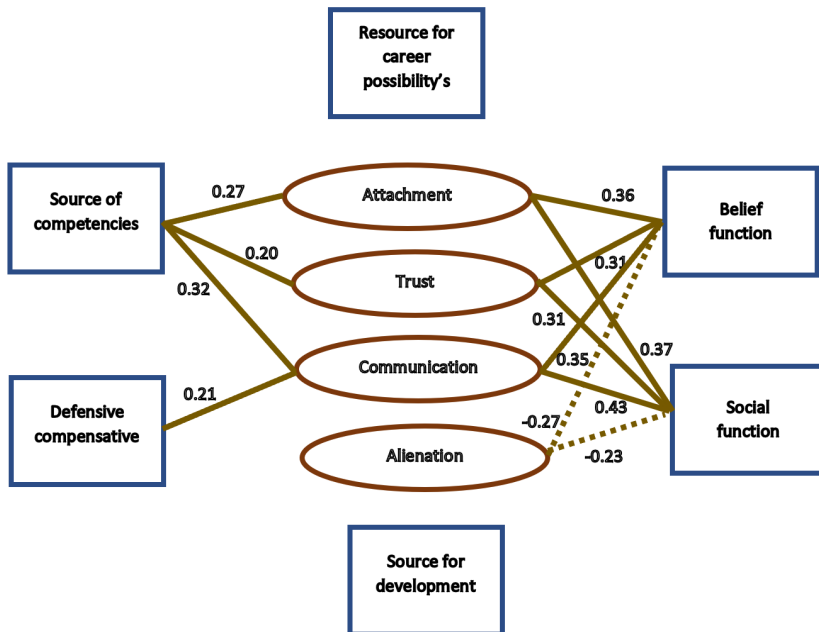
Fig. 2. Relationships of assessments of attitudes to volunteering and relationships with peers
in adolescents (p<0.05, r>0.2)

ly, with rejection — inversely). Assessments of "volunteering as a source of competence" are associated with positive characteristics of relationships with peers (attachment, trust, and satisfaction with communication). In addition, the correlation between the protective motivation of volunteering and "satisfaction with communication with peers" indicates that in case of acceptance by peers and experiencing social support, a teenager is more inclined to turn to volunteer activity, compensating for dissatisfaction with their own achievements due to a high social assessment of this activity.

Table 4 shows the averages, medians and standard deviations of peer relationship assessments among respondents with and without experience in volunteer work and the result of comparing assessments in these two groups (Student's t-criterion).

Table 4

**Descriptive statistics for assessing relationships with peers in adolescents
with and without volunteer experience; differences between them**

Scale/Group	Has experience			No experience			Difference	
	M	Me	SD	M	Me	SD	t	p
Attachment	4.34	4.40	0.435	4.15	4.20	0.509	3.569	<0.001
Trust	4.62	4.70	0.430	4.49	4.60	0.519	2.405	0.017
Communication	4.42	4.60	0.544	4.19	4.30	0.619	3.589	<0.001
Alienation	2.13	2.00	0.597	2.34	2.30	0.635	-3.114	0.002

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Significant differences were obtained on all scales of the questionnaire. At the same time, adolescents with experience in volunteering describe their relationships with peers as significantly more trusting, with a greater degree of attachment and satisfaction with communication and less rejecting than adolescents without such experience.

General results

The research results show evidence in favor of the proposed hypothesis on the manner of connection between adolescents and close adults (mother figures) relationships and motivation for volunteering and readiness to do volunteer work. It was confirmed that secure attachment style is associated with greater involvement in volunteer activities and expressed altruistic motives for affirming the value of helping other people.

The novelty of the study is represented in its reveal of the connection between secure attachment style and the social motivation of participation in volunteer activities. At the base of this connection lies the transfer of the feeling of mother's support to the social surroundings and an adolescent's stiving to be included in different social groups. To confirm this, it has been revealed that teenagers with secure attachment style are engaged in volunteering activities more, compared to adolescents with insecure attachment types. Compared to teenagers with no volunteering experience, adolescents with secure attachment style and volunteering experience have a more pronounced aspiration to participate in volunteering activities. This difference allows to determine the adolescents' overall views on volunteering activities based on real experience — from value and social motivation to the enrichment of personal resource potential.

The hypothesis of high importance of relationship with peers and motivation for volunteering as an indicator of personal autonomy has been confirmed.

The satisfaction with peer communication is connected more to the manifestation of social, source of competence, and value functions of volunteer activity and less to the compensatory-protective function. Higher levels of attachment and trust are expressed in the importance of value and social functions along with the competence acquisition function. Rejection by peers leads to adolescents' denial of volunteer functions and therefore, to lower motivation indicators. No significant connection between the manner of teenager's relationship with social surroundings and motivation for career success and self-development was revealed. This calls for additional research with considering the peculiarities of adolescents' self-determination in modern social climate with its prolongation of a moratorium on self-determination.

The results obtained in this research allow to formulate the following conclusions:

1. The connection between attachment style and the adolescent's views on volunteering has been revealed. Positive attitude towards volunteering activities and participation in volunteer work based on value and social motivation is more typical among adolescents with a secure attachment style, compared with teenagers with insecure attachment. Real volunteering experience leads to an increase of importance of mastering new competencies in a group of teenagers with secure attachment style.

2. Positive relationships with peers, including satisfaction with communication, trust and secure attachment are connected to pronounced readiness of teenagers to take part in volunteer work as an indicator of personal autonomy. Social, value motives, along with knowledge acquisition, combined with volunteering skills are linked to positive relationships with peers. Peer rejection leads to lower indicators of social and value motives expression.

3. Tendency to prioritize peer interpersonal relationships and inclusion into social

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groups prevail in the development of readiness and motivation of adolescents to volunteer, creating personal autonomy development conditions.

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Учебная позиция и предпочитаемый интернет-контент как факторы проблемного использования интернета у обучающихся

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Роль предпочитаемого контента в интернете и позиции в учебной деятельности для проблемного использования интернета или интернет-зависимости среди обучающихся изучена мало. Субъектная позиция в учебной деятельности отражает высокую мотивацию и самостоятельность обучающихся в освоении учебного материала. Выдвигается гипотеза о защитной роли субъектной позиции как фактора защиты от интернет-зависимости или проблемного использования интернета обучающимися. Выборку составили 186 обучающихся школ и вузов в возрасте от 13 до 23 лет (М=18,7), 92 лица мужского и 94 — женского пола. В исследовании использовались следующие методики: «Генеральная шкала проблемного использования интернета-3» (А.А. Герасимова, А.Б. Холмогорова, 2018), «Опросник предпочитаемого интернет-контента», опросник «Субъектная позиция» (Ю.В. Зарецкий, В.К. Зарецкий, И.Ю. Кулагина, 2014). В исследовании выявлено, что выраженная субъектная позиция в учебной деятельности (β=-0,169; p=0,001) и предпочтение образовательного контента (β=-0,389; p<0,001) снижают проблемное использование интернета. Предпочтение развлекательного и информационного контента, а также высокая частота общения и самопрезентации в интернете связаны с объектной и негативной позициями в учебной деятельности и повышают интернет-зависимость или проблемное использование интернета у обучающихся школ и вузов (R²=0,388, F=22,796). Выводы нашего исследования носят предварительный характер, необходимо расширение выборки и дальнейшая валидизация методов исследования.

Ключевые слова: психическое здоровье, учебная деятельность, проблемное использование интернета, интернет-зависимость, предпочитаемый контент в интернете, позиция в учебной деятельности, субъектная позиция в учебной деятельности.

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Позиция обучающихся в учебной деятельности и предпочитаемый ими контент в интернете как факторы проблемного использования пространства Всемирной сети

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Роль предпочитаемого контента в интернете и позиции в учебной деятельности для проблемного использования интернета и выраженности интернет-зависимости у обучающихся практически не изучены. Субъектная позиция в учебной деятельности отражает высокую мотивацию и самостоятельность обучающихся в овладении учебным материалом. Выдвинута гипотеза о протективной роли субъектной позиции как фактора защиты от выраженной интернет-зависимости и проблемного использования интернета. Выборка состояла из 186 учащихся школ и вузов в возрасте от 13 до 23 лет (М=18,7), из них 92 юноши и 94 девушки. Методический комплекс: «Общая шкала проблемного использования интернета-3» (А.А. Герасимова, А.Б. Холмогорова, 2018), оригинальный авторский «Опросник предпочитаемого интернет-контента», опросник «Субъектная позиция» (Ю.В. Зарецкий, В.К. Зарецкий, И.Ю. Кулагина, 2014). Выявлено, что выраженная субъектная позиция в учебной деятельности (β=-0,169; р=0,001) и предпочтение образовательного контента (β=-0,389; р<0,001) снижают показатель проблемного использования интернета. Предпочтение развлекательного и информационного контента, а также высокая частота общения и самопрезентации в интернете положительно связаны с объектной и негативной позициями в учебной деятельности и повышают выраженность интернет-зависимости или проблемного использования интернета учащимися школ и вузов (R²=0,388, F=22,796). Выводы носят предварительный характер, необходимы расширение выборки и дальнейшая валидизация методик исследования.

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Introduction

Educational activities and related relations with society occupy an important place in the social situation of the development of the younger generation. In the process of educational activity, professional self-determination occurs during the period of schooling, and then the formation of professional identity during the period of study at the university. A subjective, that is, an active and conscious position in educational activities contributes both to the conscious choice of a future profession and its successful development, and is also an important condition for the independence of students. On the contrary, the object, purely performing, subordinate position, as well as a negative, detached position make it difficult to find oneself in a complex social space and do not contribute to the formation of professional identity. The object position is also dangerous due to increased dependence on the opinions of others and a low level of independence. In a number of works, the important role of position in educational activities for the mental health of students was also shown earlier [2; 3; 5].

The modern social situation of youth development is unthinkable without the Internet. Introduced into science by L.S. Vygotsky, the concept of the social situation of development includes a system of relations between the child and the social reality surrounding him, an integral part of which in the modern world is the Internet. Relations with it, the nature of its use, preferences for one or another content or content cannot but influence the development of adolescents and young people, both in terms of the formation of their professional identity, independence and autonomy, and in terms of mental health. Many studies prove that the so-called problematic use of the Internet or Internet addiction can lead to serious mental health problems [1; 7; 10; 12; 14—24].

The "problem Internet use" construct, which replaced the concept of Internet addiction, includes the following aspects: too much time on the Web, regular desire to go online, preference for online communication over real, cognitive preoccupation with what is happening on the Internet and its compulsive use, inability to control the time spent on the Internet [1]. Adolescents and young people are a high-risk group for problematic use of the Internet [10]. There are numerous studies of personal and cognitive risk factors for such addiction. At the same time, works devoted to the role of content choice are still rare. Thus, in a recent study by the authors of the article, conducted with the participation of adolescents and students, it was shown that excessive time spent communicating on the Web and the high importance of self-presentation (frequent use of the Internet to express oneself) in the online space contribute to the problematic use of the Internet [7].

An analysis of the literature shows that studies examining the role of such a factor, as a position in educational activities in the problematic use of the Internet, are practically absent, despite the fact, that study occupies the bulk of the time in adolescents and young adults. According to our hypothesis, the subjective position in educational activity, in which the student has a clearly defined circle of his own interests, which he independently, actively and consciously implements, is a protective factor that protects against problematic use of the Internet. This position is associated with the development of professional identity and conscious choice, which helps a person to actively develop in his chosen field of activity [11]. On the contrary, an objective position, associated with an increased orientation to the opinions and assessments of others, does not contribute to independence and the formation of one's own sphere of interests. According to our hypothesis, it will be associated with problematic internet usage.

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The concept of a subjective position develops within the framework of a reflexive-activity approach that continues the traditions of cultural-historical psychology [2; 3; 4; 5; 6]. In the dissertation research Yu.V. Zaretsky identified three types of positions in learning activity [6]: object position — the child's desire to follow the instructions of an adult and focus on his praise, as well as ignoring their own interests in learning activities; negative position — complete denial of the value of education; subjective position — an active and conscious attitude to learning activities, which combines the pleasure of the process and the presence of meaning in the future. Also, a questionnaire "Subjective position" was developed, which allows diagnosing the severity of different positions of students in relation to learning activities [4].

It is known that insufficiently high educational motivation among schoolchildren often leads to indifference to the results of their activities, gaps in knowledge and the need for external control [4]. While their peers, who occupy an active subjective position, have a high motivation for learning and, accordingly, show independence and success in mastering the material [4; 5; 6]. Studies conducted among university and college students also showed that a pronounced subjective position is associated with a high level of empathic abilities [11]: the ability to empathize, decenter and provide emotional support in difficult situations [8].

Purpose of the study was to study the relationship of position in educational activities and preferred types of content with problematic use of the Internet among older adolescents and university students.

As a hypothesis it has been hypothesized that preferred Internet content is associated with position in learning activities, and together they influence the problematic use of the Internet by adolescents and youth.

Research procedure

Respondent data was collected online using a Google form based on informed consent and anonymity of participation. Those who wish could receive feedback. Before each questionnaire, the user was presented with an instruction that provided some information about the selected test. For example, the instructions for the Internet Preferred Content Questionnaire are as follows: "Below you will be presented with a series of statements regarding Internet use. Please rate how often you use the Internet for certain purposes. Based on the responses received, it is possible to determine the features of your use of the Internet and social networks".

Techniques research and processing of results

To study the specifics of Internet use, the General Scale of Problematic Internet Use-3 (GPIUS3) by S. Kaplan, modified by A.A. Gerasimova, A.B. Kholmogorova (2018) and the original author's "Questionnaire of preferred Internet content".

The General Scale of Problematic Internet Use-3 (GPIUS3) is based on the cognitive-behavioral model of problematic Internet use proposed by R. Davis [13] and includes 14 questions with a 7-point Likert scale of agreement, diagnosing the severity of each of the five factors problematic Internet use: preference for online communication, mood regulation, cognitive preoccupation, compulsive use, negative consequences.

The original methodology "Questionnaire of preferred Internet content" was developed by us to determine the frequency of Internet use by the respondent for various purposes. As a search in scientific databases showed, such studies have not been practically carried out so far. In one of the works, a survey took place in which adolescents identified three key types of activity on the Internet for them [10], however, in the original methodology used in this study, the participant is instructed to

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evaluate the frequency of use of each of the proposed types of content separately, which allows for a more differentiated picture of the respondent's preferences. The questionnaire includes 9 questions related to the frequency of using the Internet for studying and searching for cognitive information, as well as information about world events, achievements in medicine and technology and famous people, as well as for the purpose of communication, entertainment, "killing time", self-expression. To evaluate the respondents answers, we used the Likert scale, which contains 5 categories: from "never" to "always". The preferred types of content were divided into 4 domains according to the nature of the focus: domain 1 — Self-presentation and communication (interpersonal focus). These included questions about how often you use the internet to communicate and express yourself; domain 2 — Entertainment and "killing time" (non-purposeful activity); domain 3 — Education and self-education (educational orientation). Includes questions about the frequency of using the Internet for studying and searching for cognitive information; domain 4 — Information retrieval (content orientation). Includes questions about the frequency of using the Internet to search for information about events taking place in the world, about famous people and about the achievements of medicine and technology.
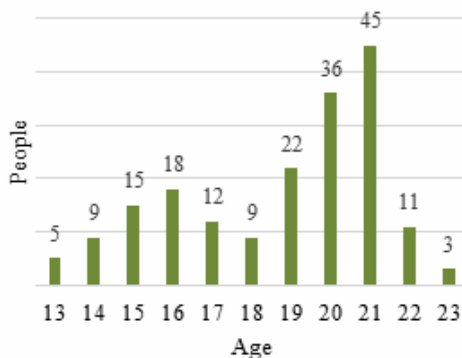
To study the position in educational activity, the questionnaire "Subjective position" was used (Yu.V. Zaretsky, V.K. Zaretsky, I.Yu. Kulagina, 2014). It includes 12 questions that make it possible to judge the degree of expression of the subjective, objective and negative positions. The methodology was developed for schoolchildren and is currently in the process of validation on a student sample with minor changes in the wording to fit the context of university education. On the combined sample (N=186) the values of the reliability coefficient were obtained α-Cronbach for all three scales: object position — 0.72; subjective position — 0.8; negative position — 0.67. Based on the

data obtained, an article on the validation of the methodology is being prepared.

The obtained data were processed using the SPSS Statistics 23.0 for Windows statistical software package. Methods used: percentile method to divide the sample into three groups according to the level of problematic Internet use; Mann-Whitney test for the study of differences between age groups; the Kruskal-Wallis test as a non-parametric test for investigating differences between several groups that differ in the level of problematic Internet use; correlation analysis (non-parametric Spearman test) to study the relationship between the studied parameters; regression analysis to study the influence of the subjective position and indicators of preferred Internet content on the severity of problematic Internet use.

Sample

The study involved 186 people, including 92 boys and 94 girls (data were collected in May-June 2020). The age of the participants was from 13 to 23 years old, the average age was 18.7 years (SD=2.56). All respondents are students of schools and universities (students of 1—6 courses of technical and humanitarian orientation) in Russia. On pic. the distribution of respondents by age is presented. The ratio of boys and girls in adolescent and student samples was equalized.

Pic. Distribution of respondents by age

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It should be noted that this study is pilot in nature, which means that the number of respondents is less than required to test the hypothesis for the entire population. Due to the fact that the sample includes respondents of two age groups (schoolchildren and students), it should be noted that the studied phenomena may manifest themselves in different ways in these groups. However, when conducting an analysis using the Mann-Whitney test, no differences between the groups were found (all indicators at the $p>0.05$ significance level), and therefore the results of data processing are presented for a single sample of schoolchildren and students. In further studies, it is planned to expand the sample and analyze the data in each age group.

Results

Using the percentile method, the sample was divided into groups with low, medium and high levels of problematic Internet use. Further, using the SPSS program, a statistical analysis was carried out using the Kruskal-Wallis test, according to the results

of which we can talk about the revealed significant statistical differences between the selected groups. Respondents with high levels of problematic internet use demonstrated higher rates of object ($p=0.013$) and negative position ($p=0.015$), one side, and domains «Self-presentation and communication» ($p<0.001$), «Entertainment and "kill time"» ($p<0.001$) and «Information search» ($p<0.001$)-with another. In the group with a high level of problematic Internet use, there are also lower indicators of the subjective position ($p<0.001$) and the domain «Education and self-education» ($p=0.002$) (see Table 1) in comparison with the other two more prosperous groups.

In our previous study [7], we found relationships between domains that reflect the Internet content preferred by adolescents and young people and indicators of Internet addiction according to the K. Young Internet addiction test, which has long been one of the most widely used in research. Similar patterns were also found in this study, but with a different scale of problematic use of the Web (see Table 2).

Table 1

**Differences in indicators of preferred Internet content and position
in learning activities among respondents with different levels
of problematic Internet use (N=186)**

Scales \ Level use	Low (N=47) M (SD)	Medium (N=91) M (SD)	High (N=48) M (SD)	Kruskal-Wallis test	Significance level of differences p
Self-presentation and communication	0.73 (0.3)	0.8 (0.18)	0.89 (0.21)	16.369	**0.000**
Entertainment and «killing time»	0.94 (0.19)	1 (0.17)	1.1 (0.17)	21.040	**0.000**
Education and self-education	1.11 (0.12)	1.07 (0.19)	0.96 (0.21)	12.948	**0.002**
Information retrieval	0.53 (0.19)	0.78 (0.24)	0.76 (0.23)	34.158	**0.000**
Object position	2.43 (1.81)	3.02 (1.54)	3.35 (1.72)	8,750	**0.013**
Subject position	4.96 (1.99)	4.33 (1.98)	3.06 (1.56)	23.261	**0.000**
Negative position	2.79 (1.91)	3.25 (1.66)	3.71 (1.76)	8.344	**0.015**

Legend: M — average value; SD — standard deviation; p — significance of differences.

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Table 2

**Correlations of indicators of problematic Internet use with indicators of the use
of Internet content of various directions according to the Spearman criterion**

Indicators	Direction of Internet content			
	Self-presentation and communication	Entertainment and «killing time»	Education and self-education	Information retrieval
Preference for online communication	0.093	**0.239****	**-0.194****	**0.394****
Mood regulation	**0.281****	**0.265****	-0.112	**0.234****
Cognitive Preoccupation	**0.274****	**0.237****	**-0.225****	0.126
Compulsive use	**0.271****	**0.353****	-0.125	**0.204****
Negative consequences	0.091	**0.184***	**-0.175***	0.142
Total score	**0.314****	**0.338****	**-0.22****	**0.322****

Notes: **— correlation is significant at p<0.01; *— correlation is significant at p<0.05.

As can be seen from the Table. 2, three domains — «Self-presentation and communication», «Entertainment and "kill time"», as well as «Information search» have positive associations with indicators of problematic Internet use, while the «Education and self-education» domain, on the contrary, negative.

A correlation analysis was also carried out between indicators of preferred Internet content, problematic use of the Internet, and indicators of position in educational activities (see Table 3).

As can be seen from the Table. 3, the object position has significant weak direct links with such indicators of preferred content and problematic use of the Internet, as «Self-presentation and communication», «Entertainment and "kill time"», «Problem Internet Use», and «Compulsive Internet Use». The subjective position, on the contrary, is negatively associated with almost

Table 3

**Correlations between indicators of position in educational activities with indicators
of preferred Internet content and problematic use of the Internet (N=186)**

Indicators	Object position	Subject position	Negative position
Self-presentation and communication	0.281**	-0.229**	0.236**
Entertainment and «killing time»	0.146*	-0.230**	0.000
Education and self-education	-0.07	0.228**	-0.102
Information retrieval	0.07	-0.104	-0.025
Problematic internet use	0.164*	-0.371**	0.175*
Preference for online communication	0.097	-0.270**	0.142
Mood regulation	0.053	-0.261**	0.136
Cognitive Preoccupation	0.073	-0.340**	0.124
Compulsive use	0.158*	-0.322**	0.141
Negative consequences	0.132	-0.160*	-0.006

Notes: **— correlation is significant at p<0.01; *— correlation is significant at p<0.05.

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all indicators of problematic Internet use, and all relationships are significant, the most pronounced relationships of moderate strength are typical for the overall score of the scale of problematic Internet use, as well as these two subscales, as cognitive preoc-cupation and compulsive use. At the same time, the subjective position, in contrast to the objective position, is negatively asso-ciated with the use of the Internet for the purpose «Self-presentation and communi-cation» and «Entertainment and "kill time"», but is positively associated with «Educa-tion and self-education». That is, students with a subjective position are better able to regulate the time spent on the Web, and are also less loaded with feelings about what is happening on the Internet, choosing it as a platform for self-education.

As for the negative position, it has a weak positive relationship with the use of the Internet for «Self-presentation and com-munication», as well as with the general indicator of problematic use of the Internet (see Table 3).

In order to assess the most significant factors influencing the overall indicator of the Problematic Internet Use Scale, a re-gression analysis was carried out for the dependent variable Problematic Internet use (see Table 4). The independent variables were indicators of position in learning ac-tivities and indicators of preferred Internet content. The object and negative positions are not presented in the table due to their low impact on the dependent variable under consideration: they were excluded during stepwise selection.

As can be seen from the Table. 4, only the subjective position has a significant impact on the indicator of problematic Internet use, and the severity of the objective or negative position does not affect this indicator. More-over, this influence is protective — the higher the indicator of the subjective position, the lower the severity of problematic use of the Internet. The same applies to the preference for educational content — its protective effect is even more significant. The main contribu-tors to the rise in problematic Internet use are the content preference for «Entertainment and "kill time"», «Self-presentation and com-munication» and «Information retrieval». The model explains 38.8% of the variance in the dependent variable Problematic Internet use ($R^2=0.388$, F=22.796).

Thus, it is shown that the active use of social networks for entertainment purposes, to search for heterogeneous information about people and events, as well as for communication and self-presentation, is most conducive to problematic internet use. On the contrary, a high subjective position in educational activities and the use of the Net-work for educational purposes help reduce problematic internet use.

Discussion

The result obtained about the positive relationship of the subjective position with

Table 4

Regression analysis for the dependent variable Problematic Internet use (N=186)

Index	Beta	T	P
Subject position	-0.169	-2.61	**0.001**
Information retrieval	0.243	3.7	**0.000**
Education and self-education	-0.389	-5,881	**0.000**
Self-presentation and communication	0.279	4.366	**0.000**
Entertainment and «killing time»	0.216	3.242	**0.001**

Legend: Beta is the regression coefficient; T — Student's t-test; P — significance of differences.

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the domain «Education and self-education» can be correlated with the data of a domestic study, according to which students with a subjective position show greater emotional stability than their peers, and also have a more developed personal and professional identity [11]. Among foreign works, there are also similar results, which indicate the importance of the factors of the educational environment, self-learning and joint activities of the student and teacher in the development of educational independence of students [9].

Based on the analysis of the results obtained during the study, we can conclude that the main hypothesis is confirmed: the preferred Internet content is associated with the position in educational activities, and together they influence the problematic use of the Internet by adolescents and youth.

A pronounced subject position allows students to effectively regulate the use of the Internet and social networks, paying more attention to educational content, rather than entertaining or related to communication on the Internet. Such a strategy of behavior indicates a high level of independence and awareness of adolescents and students, which will help them in later life, including in such a significant period for personal development and well-being as the choice of a profession and its successful development.

General results and conclusions

1. Students with high rates of problematic use of the Internet have higher indicators of the objective (H=8.750; p=0.013) and negative (H=8.344; p=0.015) positions in learning activities and lower indicators of the subjective position (H=23.261; p=0.000) compared to groups with medium and low rates of problematic internet use. As factors in the emergence of problematic use of the Internet is the preference for entertainment and informational content, as well as a high frequency of communication on the Web, in-

cluding for the purpose of self-presentation. At the same time, the decrease in indicators of problematic Internet use is due to a pronounced subjective position and the preference for educational and educational content.

2. Subjective, that is, an active and conscious position of learning students allows them to successfully regulate the time spent on the Internet in their educational activities, and to be less emotionally dependent on what is happening on the Web. The close relationship between the subjective position and the preference for educational content (R=0.228; p<0.01) obtained in the study indicates the importance of such a position for professional self-determination, the development of professional self-identity and independence of students.

3. The data obtained naturally raises the question of ways to strengthen the subject position of students in modern education and the analysis of conditions that, on the contrary, encourage an object position that is closely related to the preference for content on the Internet, which increases the severity of problematic use of the Internet. Together with the scientific results obtained earlier and cited in the article, the subjective position can be considered as a protective factor in mental health, including reducing the severity of problematic Internet use by adolescents and students.

4. It is also important to emphasize the pilot nature and associated limitations of the study. In the future, it is necessary to expand the sample, complete the procedures for validating methods and clarifying conclusions drawn, which are preliminary. Further research is needed in this area to deepen the understanding of the relationship of subjectivity, constructive use of the Internet, development of independence and professional self-determination of adolescents and youth in the modern information society.

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Application

Preferred Internet Content Questionnaire

Instruction. Below you will be presented with a series of statements regarding the use of the Internet. Please rate how often you use the Internet for certain purposes. Based on the responses received, it is possible to determine the features of your use of the Internet and social networks.

	Never	Rarely	Regularly	Often	Constantly
1. Do you often use the Internet to communicate?					
2. How often do you use the Internet for study?					
3. Use the internet to search for non-study educational information?					
4. Do you use the Internet for entertainment (games, watching movies or videos, listening to music, etc.)?					
5. Do you browse your social media feed to "kill time" (for example, while waiting for something or when you don't feel like doing business)?					
6. Do you often use social media to express yourself, your opinions and/or your creativity?					
7. Do you use the Internet to get information about events taking place in the world?					
8. Do you use the Internet to get information about various advances in medicine and technology?					
9. Do you use the Internet to get information about famous people?					

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Aggression and Autonomy in Adolescence

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The paper is devoted to the question of whether there is a connection between aggression and autonomy in adolescence, and whether aggressive behavior can be considered as a tool for solving the age-related problem of developing autonomy. We present results of a study on the relationship between aggressive behavior and the level of autonomy in adolescents aged 13—16 years. At the first stage of the study, the sample consisted of 499 respondents. At the second stage, we compared aggression and autonomy in adolescents with and without school records of aggressive behavior, and the sample consisted of 192 respondents. The research tools included the physical aggression scale from the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire, the Legitimized Aggression Questionnaire by S.N. Enikolopov and N.P. Tsibulsky, the Violent Extremism Dispositions technique by D.G. Davydov and K.D. Khlomov, as well as the Autonomy Questionnaire by N.N. Poskrebysheva and O.A. Karabanova. The results showed significant low negative correlations of autonomy indicators with indicators of physical aggression, legitimized aggression and dispositions of violent extremism, which does not confirm the hypothesis of aggressive behavior as a manifestation of autonomy. A comparison of adolescents with and without school records of aggressive behavior showed significant differences in indicators of physical aggression, legitimized aggression and dispositions of violent extremism (they are higher among those who have no such records), but not in autonomy: thus, an attempt to operationalize aggressive behavior through intra-school records showed an unexpected result, problematizing questions about the normalization of aggressive behavior in the school environment and about the role of school records in the prevention of maladaptive behavior. The results obtained do not confirm positive relationship between adolescent autonomy and aggression. At the same time,

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the limitations of the study necessitate further studies of this problem, requiring a different operationalization of aggressive behavior and an expansion of the range of variables studied.

Keywords: autonomy, aggression, adolescence, intra-school accounting.

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Рассматриваются вопросы о том, есть ли связь между агрессией и автономией в подростковом возрасте и можно ли рассматривать агрессивное поведение в качестве инструмента для решения возрастной задачи развития автономии. Представлены результаты исследования связей между агрессивным поведением и уровнем автономии у подростков 13—16 лет. На первом этапе

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выборку составили 499 респондентов. На втором этапе осуществлялось сравнение агрессии и автономии подростков, состоящих и не состоящих на внутришкольном учете, выборку составили 192 респондента. Батарея методик включала шкалу физической агрессии из опросника уровня агрессивности Басса-Перри, опросник легитимизированной агрессии С.Н. Ениколопова и Н.П. Цибульского, методику диагностики диспозиций насильственного экстремизма Д.Г. Давыдова и К.Д. Хломова и опросник автономии Н.Н. Поскребышевой и О.А. Карабановой. Результаты показали значимые невысокие отрицательные корреляции показателей автономии с показателями физической агрессии, легитимизированной агрессии и диспозиций насильственного экстремизма, что не подтверждает гипотезы об агрессивном поведении как проявлении автономии. Сравнение подростков, состоящих и не состоящих на внутришкольном учете, показало значимые различия по показателям физической агрессии, легитимизированной агрессии и диспозиций насильственного экстремизма (они выше среди тех, кто не состоит на учете), но не автономии: таким образом, попытка операционализации агрессивного поведения через постановку на внутришкольный учет показала неожиданный результат, проблематизирующий вопросы о нормализации агрессивного поведения в школьной среде и о том, какую роль в профилактике дезадаптивного поведения играет постановка на внутришкольный учет. Полученные результаты не подтверждают положительную взаимосвязь между подростковой автономией и агрессией. В то же время ограничения проведенной работы обусловливают необходимость дальнейших исследований этой проблематики, требующих иной операционализации агрессивного поведения и расширения спектра изучаемых переменных.

Ключевые слова: автономия, агрессия, подростковый возраст, внутришкольный учет.

Introduction

The issue of where and how autonomy can develop and manifest itself in modern adolescents now has no unequivocal answer. On the one hand, there is a traditional linear trajectory of increasing autonomy by expanding "parental licenses" for autonomy and reducing parental control [1; 11]; the Internet provides certain opportunities for autonomous behavior and includes probing behavior that contradicts parental norms [6]. At the same time, the areas of life of adolescents uncontrolled by parents are narrowing [2], uncertainty and unpredictability of society are growing [14], and control over child behavior by the social environment is intensifying [13]. We were interested in the question of whether aggressive behavior (purposeful destructive human behavior that contradicts the norms and rules of human existence in society, aimed at causing harm, physical damage and psychological discomfort) [4] in modern adolescents is considered to be a form of the manifestation of autono-

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my? The novelty of the study is due to the lack of data on the relationship between the independence of adolescents (understood in this case as autonomy and consisting of four components value, emotional, cognitive and behavioral autonomy [12]) and their aggressive manifestations as a form of protest against adults and an indicator of increasing autonomy.

In the domestic literature so far, there is no uniform conceptual apparatus characterizing the growing independence of the child from parents and the strengthening of his/her autonomy. It is difficult to find data on the connection between aggression and any indicators of autonomy. A number of foreign studies show that risky and maladaptive behavior becomes a variant of acquiring autonomy and solving the age-specific problem of separation under conditions of hypercontrol from parents, when their behavior is perceived by teenagers as intrusive and compulsive [20; 21]. The understanding of aggression, as a result of frustration [17] for the need of autonomy, [18] may be promising in terms of preventing aggressive behavior in the educational environment, but there is a significant lack of data regarding both family and school contexts of autonomy development in Russian adolescents. According to N.N. Poskrebysheva and O.A. Karabanova [12], such parameters of child-parent relationships as parental control, freedom and autonomy, are important for autonomy development: with autonomy increasing, the relationship is rebuilt from parentally controlled to mutually directed, where planning, regulation, and control is divided between the adolescent and the parent; parents of more autonomous adolescents avoid directive interference in the child's activities and try to give him/her the opportunity to regulate his/her behavior by himself/herself. On the other hand, maladaptive behavior can, on the contrary, be evidence of difficulties with the development of autonomy [15; 23]. Parental control practices are complexly re-

lated to psychological problems and manifestations of adolescent autonomy [15; 19; 22; 24]. N.V. Meshkova's research shows that for adolescents with different levels of aggression, antisocial creativity is mediated by different types of values: the higher the importance of the value "Autonomy of Action", the higher the level of aggression. For young football fans, antisocial creativity is mediated by a combination of a high value of hostility and a low orientation to social norms [9]. Thus, an adolescent's separation process associated with increased autonomy from parents can be accompanied by anticipated and actual hostility and aggression. Autonomy can be associated with different behaviors and moral evaluations. For example, it has been shown that low levels of emotional autonomy (awareness of emotional processes, self-regulation) in adolescents are associated with an orientation toward values of care, and high levels are associated with an orientation toward values of justice [10].

We assumed that adolescents' aggression helps them to solve the tasks of realization of independence and autonomy and thus can be related to autonomy indicators. This study attempted to find the links between aggression and autonomy as well as to compare data from both students who are and are not on the intra-school register.

Program of the Research

The objective of the research is to establish the connections between aggression in adolescence and the level of development of personal autonomy.

The hypotheses of the study. 1. There is a positive relationship between the indicators of aggression and autonomy in adolescence. 2. Adolescents included in the intra-school registration have higher levels of aggression and autonomy.

Measures. The study was conducted through the online survey using the following tools:

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— the Bass-Perry Aggression Questionnaire adapted by S.N. Enikolopov and N.P. Tsibulsky, which includes scales of physical aggression, anger and hostility [5]. The questionnaire measures a personality trait (aggression), but the items in the questionnaire also describe behavioral manifestations (for example, "I fight more often than others"), therefore we used a separate scale of physical aggression. It is validated on the adult sample, but is often used to study adolescents (e.g., [8]);

— the Questionnaire of Legitimized Aggression, by S.N. Enikolopov and N.P. Tsibulsky, for the assessment of socially approved aggression including 5 scales of legitimized aggression — in personal experience, politics, sports, mass media and in the educational sphere [7]. The questionnaire was also validated on an adult sample only, but we were interested in the legitimization of aggressive behavior in an educational setting. We hypothesized that greater tolerance for aggression could be related to autonomy, if our first hypothesis is correct, so we included this instrument in the battery, despite perceived limitations;

— the Violent Extremism Dispositions Questionnaire, which allows assessing 11 dispositions reflecting an unspecific propensity for extremist behavior and potentially leading to the formation of separate hostile attitudes towards specific objects (cult of strength, intolerance, conventional coercion, social pessimism, mysticism, destructiveness and cynicism, protest activity, legal nihilism, anti-intraception, tolerance of aggression, and conformism) [3];

— the Autonomy Questionnaire by N.N. Poskrebysheva and O.A. Karabanova, allowing to estimate emotional, behavioral, cognitive and value components of development of autonomy of adolescents, as well as its general level [12].

Sample. A total of 1,039 adolescents from 40 schools located in different regions of Russia participated in the data collection.

However, in the survey process, many participants avoided answering certain questions in the survey, and therefore their answers had to be excluded from the overall analysis.

At the first stage, the answers of 499 school students who completed the questionnaire were analyzed (Table 1).

At the second stage, the study group consisted of 99 students included in the intra-school register, and the control group consisted of a normalized subsample of 93 students of the same age and gender who were not in the intra-school register (Table 1).

The aim of intra-school registration is the early prevention of school disadaptation and asocial behavior of minors in accordance with the Federal Law №120-FZ from 24.06.1999, "On the basis of the system of prevention of neglect and juvenile delinquency". Students are placed on the intra-school register as a disciplinary measure, following such manifestations as absenteeism, aggressive attitude towards peers and teachers, committing offenses, poor academic performance, failure to comply with the school internal regulations, smoking, alcohol and drug use, etc. Often, the intra-school registration is combined with a registration in the Commission on Juvenile Affairs and Protection of their Rights, as well as in the Division of Juvenile Affairs of the Department of Internal Affairs. Unfortunately, during the data collection process, it was not possible to establish the specific reasons for the students' registration, as well as how long they have been on the register and what kind of psychological and pedagogical work is done with them in this regard. In designing the study, we assumed that these students, on average, would be characterized by a higher level of aggression, since we considered placement on the in-school register as a disciplinary measure in response to their socially undesirable, including aggressive, behavior.

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Table 1

Characteristics of the sample in the first and second stages

First stage (N=499)	N	M age (SD)	Males	Females
School students	499	14.9 (1.92)	188	311
Second stage (N=192)	**N**	**M age (SD)**	**Males**	**Females**
Those on the in-school registry	99	15.1 (1.25)	50	49
Not on the in-school registry	93	14.3 (1.56)	48	45

The obtained quantitative data were processed using the Spearman correlation coefficient and the U Mann-Whitney test in the "JASP 0.14" program.

Results

*Relationship of aggression
and autonomy*

The analysis showed many statistically significant, but low negative correlations (Table 2). Physical aggression weakly negatively correlates with indicators of cognitive and emotional autonomy, as well as its integral index. Legitimization of aggression in different environments also shows a number of negative correlations with autonomy, although it is worth noting that the scales of legitimization of aggression, in personal experience and in the media that are most relevant to adolescents show fewer connections than other scales of the Legitimization of Aggression Questionnaire. The indicators of violent extremism dispositions, i.e. propensity for violence and potentially hostile attitudes, also show weak negative correlations with autonomy, including conformism being negatively correlated with all four components of autonomy, which indirectly confirms the reliability of the scales. This result does not confirm the first of the hypotheses posited: the data obtained indicate a weak negative or absent correlation between the aggression and autonomy scales. An adolescent's aggressive behavior is almost unrelated to how high his or her level of autonomy is in the cognitive, emotional, behavioral or value spheres.

*Comparison of aggression
and autonomy in the students on
and not on the intra-school register*

A comparison of indicators of physical aggression, legitimizing aggression, violent extremism dispositions, and autonomy in the groups of students with and without intra-school registration showed the following results (Table 3). Students on the intra-school register show, on average, significantly lower rates of physical aggression; they also demonstrate significantly less legitimized aggression in personal experience, in education and in politics, and the overall rate of legitimized aggression is also significantly lower. Such dispositions of violent extremism, as the cult of strength, acceptability of aggression, intolerance, anti-intraception and conformism, are also lower among those on the register than among those who are not on the intra-school register. No significant differences between the two groups were found for other dispositions of violent extremism (legitimization of aggression in the media and in sports, conventional coercion, social pessimism, mysticism, destructiveness and cynicism, protest activity, normative nihilism), or for all components of autonomy.

Thus, contrary to our second hypothesis, the data indicate that aggressive behavior is not typical for school students who are intra-school registered. On the contrary, different forms of aggression and beliefs about its accessibility are more common for children who are not intra-school registered, that is, those who are not identified in

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Table 2

Correlations of aggression and autonomy indicators (N=499)

Indicators	Emotional autonomy	Cognitive autonomy	Behavioral autonomy	Value autonomy	Integral index of autonomy
Physical aggression	-0.17**	-0.19**	No	No	**-0.15****
Legitimization of aggression in politics	-0.010*	-0.15**	No	-0.09*	-0.130*
Legitimization of aggression in personal experience	No	**-0.13****	No	No	No
Legitimization of aggression in education	-0.09*	-0.17**	-0.10*	-0.22**	-0.20**
Legitimization of aggression in sports	-0.11*	-0.19**	Нет	-0.10*	-0.16**
Legitimization of aggression in media	No	No	0.09*	No	No
Integral index of legitimization of aggression	-0.12**	-0.18**	No	No	-0.14**
Cult of strength	-0.11*	-0.23**	-0.09*	-0.18**	-0.21**
Acceptability of aggression	-0.14**	-0.18**	No	No	No
Intolerance	No	-0.19**	-0.12**	-0.21**	-0.13**
Conventional coercion	No	No	0.09*	-0.01*	-0.15**
Social pessimism	-0.21**	-0.15**	No	No	No
Mysticism	-0.09*	-0.12**	No	**-0.11****	No
Destruction and cynicism	-0.16**	-0.11*	No	No	No
Normative nihilism	-0.17**	-0.11*	No	No	-0.24**
Conformism	-0.18**	-0.23**	-0.13**	**-0.16****	No

Legend: * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$.

Table 3

Differences between the indicators of students who are on the intra-school registry and those who are not (N=192)

Indicators	Students who are on the intra-school registry	Students who are not on the intra-school registry	Mann-Whitney test
	M (SD)	M (SD)	U
Physical aggression	19.18 (6.43)	22.44 (8.15)	**5952.0****
Cult of strength	15.06 (4.39)	17.07 (5.27)	**5755.5***
Acceptability of aggression	17.82 (5.39)	19.28 (5.70)	**5600.5***
Intolerance	14.17 (4.20)	16.96 (5.07)	**6360.0****
Anti-intraception	19.16 (3.72)	20.17 (4.22)	**5634.5***
Conformism	16.71 (4.23)	18.45 (4.50)	**5856.5****
Legitimization of aggression in personal experience	29.60 (10.84)	35.42 (12.20)	**6054.5****
Legitimization of aggression in education	16.10 (7.47)	21.33 (9.15)	**6478.0****
Legitimization of aggression in politics	38.86 (13.15)	46.17 (15.91)	**6126.0****
Integral index of legitimization of aggression	67.18 (22.16)	78.79 (26.82)	**6013.5****

Legend: * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$.*Условные обозначения:* * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$.

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school as a risk group for maladaptive and antisocial behavior. These results raise the question about the functions of the intra-school registration, on the one hand, and about the normativity of aggressive behavior in the educational environment, on the other.

Discussion

The findings demonstrate that both hypotheses were not confirmed. The results indicate that physical aggression, legitimization of aggression in different environments and in personal experience, as well as manifestations of dispositions of violent extremism, are either weakly negatively or not at all connected with autonomy. This does not coincide with the interpretation of adolescent aggression as a variant of response to intense control and assertion of personal autonomy [9; 17; 20; 21]. On the contrary, in our case, the results suggest that aggression may be indicative of difficulties in developing autonomy [16; 23]. Overall, our results suggest a further problematization of the relationship between aggression and autonomy, rather than providing definite answers. We can assume that the weak links found are mediated by factors that have not been touched upon in this paper, and further research is needed to clarify these patterns, including the quality of the relationship with parents, features of parental control, anxiety levels, etc. In addition, we face the need to develop instruments to measure adolescent aggression. The attempt to operationalize aggressive behavior through an intra-school register has been unsuccessful. The intra-school register was introduced as a response to the various forms of antisocial, risky or socially undesirable behavior of schoolchildren, which is followed up by working with the child, which involves a school psychologist and social pedagogue and the parents of the child. However, as our results show, adolescents on the intra-school register are characterized by lower rates of physical

aggression compared to the control group, and show less acceptance for aggression in personal experience, education, and in politics. The data show that it is not those children who are characterized by aggressive and antisocial behavior that are placed on the intra-school register, but those who are vulnerable to its manifestations, perhaps being victimized by their peers. This may indicate a high level of normalization of aggression in the educational environment and that non-aggression is a signal to include school children in a risk group, to put them on the register, and to increase attention toward them from the social pedagogue, psychologist and parents. This data prompts us to reconsider the target audience for prevention programs and to focus our efforts, aimed at preventing aggressive behavior and reducing pro-aggressive attitudes in the school environment, on working with school children who are perceived as being socially adequate. The results also raise questions such as: how and why is the intra-school register used in different educational organizations, what are the typical reasons for placing and removing schoolchildren from the intra-school register, what work is done with children on the register, and how their behavior differs from other students?

Limitations of this study: we used tools designed for an adult sample (Bass-Perry aggression level questionnaire, legitimized aggression questionnaire); socially desirable answers to questions about aggression are likely; there is a lack of data on reasons for using the intra-school register and further work with the children on this register.

Conclusions

The research data indicate that aggressive behavior in adolescents is not a form of achieving autonomy and is rather negatively related to it. However, theoretically, aggressive behavior, understood as the frustration of the need for autonomy, plays a major role in the development of adolescents' person-

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ality, which raises the question of developing a relevant instrument. Further research is needed in which the connections between different manifestations of aggression and autonomy will be investigated, using more appropriate tools for adolescents. In addition, the characteristics of the family context, the educational environment, and the

specifics of the peer community need to be investigated in order to correctly model the relationships between aggressive behavior and autonomy during adolescence. The results obtained do not provide clear answers to the question of these relationships, but they request further research into the issues highlighted.

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ПСИХОЛОГИЯ РАЗВИТИЯ | DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

Growing Up of Youth: Separation from Parents, Subjective Adulthood and Psychological Well-being at the Age of 18—27

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The article explores the process of growing up in young people in the period of "emerging adulthood" from the perspective of psychological separation from parents and its relationship with the formation of adult identity (subjective adulthood) and psychological well-being. The study was conducted on a sample of 126 subjects aged 18—27 years (M=22.3) with different work and family status. Indicators of psychological separation (Hoffman PSI Questionnaire), psychological well-being (Riff Scale), life satisfaction (Diener scale), happiness level (Fordis scale), indicators of spatial and functional separation, subjective adulthood (survey questions) were measured. The study revealed the heterogeneity of the separation process and the dominance of functional and behavioral aspects over the affective and cognitive ones. Also, the separation from father was more expressed in comparison with the separation from mother. Behavioral components of psychological separation from parents are viewed as predictors of a decrease in satisfaction, happiness, and purposefulness of life. Subjective adulthood is not related to the degree of separation, but it is related to psychological well-being: the highest levels of psychological well-being scales were found in young people with developed adult identity.

Keywords: growing up, adulthood, subjective adulthood, psychological separation from parents, psychological well-being.

Манукян В.Р. Взросление молодежи: сепарация от родителей, субъективная взрослость
и психологическое благополучие в возрасте 18—27 лет
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Взросление молодежи: сепарация от родителей, субъективная взрослость и психологическое благополучие в возрасте 18—27 лет

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Рассматривается процесс взросления молодежи в период «формирующейся взрослости» с точки зрения протекания психологической сепарации от родителей и ее взаимосвязи с формированием идентичности взрослого (субъективной взрослостью) и психологическим благополучием. Исследование проведено на выборке 126 человек в возрасте 18—27 лет (М=22,3) с разным трудовым и семейным статусом. Измерялись показатели психологической сепарации (Опросник PSI Дж. Хоффмана), психологического благополучия (Шкала К. Рифф), удовлетворенности жизнью (шкала Э. Динера), уровень счастья (шкала М. Фордиса), показатели пространственной и функциональной сепарации, субъективная взрослость (вопросы анкеты). Выявлены неоднородность процесса сепарации и доминирование функциональной и поведенческой сторон над аффективной и когнитивной, а также большая выраженность сепарации от отца по сравнению с сепарацией от матери. Поведенческие компоненты психологической сепарации от родителей являются предикторами снижения удовлетворенности, счастья, целенаправленности жизни. Субъективная взрослость не имеет связи со степенью сепарированности, но имеет связь с психологическим благополучием: наиболее высокие уровни шкал психологического благополучия выявлены у молодых людей со сформированной идентичностью взрослого.

Ключевые слова: взросление, взрослость, субъективная взрослость, психологическая сепарация от родителей, психологическое благополучие.

Introduction

Most modern researchers note significant changes taking place in the processes that accompany the growing up of today's youth around the world [3; 15; 17; 19; 23; 25]. It becomes clear that growing up is a complex, multifaceted process that covers a significant part of a person's life and is influenced by historical time. As N.N. Tolstykh notes, the questions with which we should start discussing the problem of modern growing up are questions about the age at which a person can be considered an adult, requirements of society for an adult and in-

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ternal criteria — "on the basis of what does a growing person begin to consider himself an adult?" [13, p. 8]. Thus, we are talking about the selection of chronological, sociocultural and psychological markers of adulthood, which are only partially interconnected and exposed to heterochrony, which has been increasing in recent years. For example, recent demographic studies show that the age at which partnerships are initiated has fallen to historic lows, while the age at which education is completed has increased significantly. Young people "debut in different spheres of life in accordance with their life schedules and at the right time" [6, p. 36], which probably occurs as a result of the weakening of traditions, increasing informatization and individualization of modern society. This socio-demographic context determines the relevance of research into the maturation of young people.

In each of the identified aspects of growing up, serious transformations have taken place in recent decades. Chronological markers of adulthood have expanded significantly [13; 15; 16; 25]. For the last 20 years, we have been using J. Arnett's term "emerging adulthood" in relation to young people from 18 to 30 years old [16], suggesting that even by the age of 30, not everyone makes the transition to adulthood, which is especially the characteristic of developed industrial societies that allow a long education and period of searching for one's own identity through trials and experiments.

The traditional social and role markers of entering adulthood, which were such events as graduation, leaving the parental family, marital status, the appearance of the first child, making a decision about the future profession, stable employment, financial independence, are also losing their role [23; 25]. A number of authors note that the internal, psychological criteria of adulthood prevail in importance over social ones [16; 25; 26], however, this thesis strongly depends on the demographic context and socioeconomic status of the studied group of young people [15; 16; 19] that indicate the heterogeneity and high individualization of the process of transition to adulthood.

The psychological criteria of adulthood are associated with the formation of autonomy, beginning of self-realization, growth of responsibility, individualization, stress resistance, and realism. This allows us to define growing up as the acquisition of the qualities of personal maturity — responsibility, autonomy, resilience, focus on self-development, self-understanding [3; 11]. Most of these qualities also correspond to the concept of psychological well-being which includes personal characteristics of positive functioning [4].

The most important psychological criterion for the transition to adulthood is a subjective adulthood or a formed "adult" identity that allows one to classify oneself as a member of the adult world and subculture [9]. Subjective adulthood begins to form already in adolescence as a "sense of adulthood" — the main neoplasm of this period, including the adolescent's attitude to himself as an adult, his idea or feeling of being an adult, which in adolescence is not always conscious, but is already included in the design of the image of adulthood [9], thereby contributing to real maturation. In the study of M.V. Klementieva it is shown that in the period of 18-33 years, the age transition from diffusion to integration and connectivity of the "true self" and the "adult self" is still taking place when a person manages to harmoniously balance his authenticity and the social expectations from society [2]. It has been shown that at the stage of emerging adulthood, the feeling of adulthood is unstable and grows with an increase in the stressful fullness of life [18].

The growing differentiation of maturation, the difficulty of identifying markers of its achievement raise the question of the mechanisms of the emergence of adulthood. In the context of growing up as the formation

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of one's own individuality, gaining spatial, functional and psychological autonomy, the most important mechanism is psychological separation from parents [1; 3; 4; 8; 12; 14; 24]. Timely separation of a child from parents is associated with the development of the ability to control, protect, develop one's psychological space [7] corresponds to the formation of responsibility, setting life goals, entering an independent life, maturity, subjectivity [3; 12; 24]. This is a long-term process of mental separation of the child from his parents, family, accompanied by the development of identity, which starts at an early age and continues at adulthood [12; 14; 24]. T.V. Petrenko, L.V. Sysoeva note that at the age of 23-25 years, separation activity increases significantly — this is a turning point in confrontation, the final separation from parents, and beginning of independent life [8]. N.E. Kharlamenkova highlights the external and internal sides of separation where the first involves separation, severance of relations, distancing, getting rid of external control along with the adoption of responsible decisions, the manifestation of independence. Internal separation is the separation of the Self from internal objects and the present — from images of the past and future when a person is separated from previous feelings, actions, ways of thinking that do not correspond to new life tasks [14]. In the structural model of J. Hoffman, separation is considered in three levels: emotional (as a decrease in the need for parental approval and support), attitude (cognitive) as the formation of views and judgments different from parental ones, the ability to build a position based on one's own experience; functional (behavioral) — the ability to make independent decisions, solve problems, the ability to provide for oneself on one's own. An idea about the style of separation is introduced (harmonious or conflict), associated with the manifestation of negative feelings of guilt, anger, anxiety, distrust arising in the process of separation [1; 21]. Studies also record the gender specifics of separation from parents and differences in models of separation from the father and mother [1; 12; 22].

The complex structure of separation suggests that it is precisely the features of its course — the ratio of the external and internal sides, as well as various components determine the process of becoming an adult both in terms of its external social and role criteria (spatial, financial independence, independence in everyday life, building relationships), and internal, psychological that are associated with the formation of maturity and adult identity. Indirect criteria that determine the course of growing up, indicating the degree of maturity of the individual and the success of solving age-related tasks may be the psychological well-being of the individual in conjunction with his emotional characteristics — happiness and satisfaction. The consideration of separation as a complex set of processes that ensure growing up determines the novelty of this approach to the study of youth maturation.

Thus, based on the foregoing, the purpose of the study was formulated as to determine the role of psychological separation from parents in the formation of an adult identity and ensuring the psychological well-being of young adults.

The hypothesis is based on the following assumptions:

1. Psychological separation is a heterogeneous phenomenon where the components of psychological separation from the father and mother have different severity and are differently related to the formation of an adult's identity (subjective adulthood) and psychological well-being of a young person.

2. The severity of separation processes and the formation of an adult's identity are interconnected with the psychological well-being of young adults due to the importance of this process in a given age period.

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To achieve the purpose of the study and test the hypotheses, the following tasks were formulated: 1) to study separation from parents in the ratio of its various components: spatial separation, financial independence, household independence (functional aspect) and psychological components of separation from the father and mother, taking into account gender specifics and chronological age of respondents; 2) to study the formation of an adult identity (subjective adulthood) and its foundations; 3) to study the relationship of separation and psychological well-being with the formation of an adult identity; 4) assess the impact of the components of psychological separation from parents on indicators of psychological well-being.

Methods

Measures. To study psychological separation from parents, the Psychological Separation Inventory by J. Hoffman Q (PSI) [21], adapted by T.Yu. Sadovnikova, V.P. Dzukaeva was used [1; 4]. Scales: "Conflictual Separation" (Style), "Emotional Separation", "Attitudinal Separation" (Cognitive), "Functional Separation" (Behavioral), measured separately for the father and mother on a 5-point Likert scale. The characteristics of the scales correspond to the structural model of J. Hoffman presented in the introduction.

The study of functional separation included an assessment of cohabitation or separation from parents (spatial aspect); assessment of self-dependence in everyday life, the formation of the necessary life skills (cooking, cleaning living space, paying bills, making necessary household and large purchases, communication with government agencies, etc.), measured on a 4-point scale; assessment of financial independence.

To study subjective adulthood, respondents were asked an open question: "Do you consider yourself an adult? Why? " which also made it possible to describe the criteria

by which young people classify themselves or do not classify themselves as adults.

To study psychological well-being, we used the C. Riff Scale adapted by L.V. Zhukovskaya, E.G. Troshikhina [10]. Scales: "Autonomy", "Environmental mastery", "Personal Growth", "Positive Relations with other people", "Purpose in Life" (sense of meaningfulness and direction of one's existence), "Self-acceptance", "General indicator of psychological well-being", measured on a 5-point Likert scale.

To measure the emotional aspects of well-being, the E. Diener Life Satisfaction Scale adapted by D.A. Leontieva, E.N. Osin and M. Fordis Happiness Scale were used [10].

The selected methods are widely used in world practice [1; 3; 4; 10; 19; 21; 22; 26], which makes it possible to compare the results of various studies.

Participants. The study involved 126 people living in St. Petersburg (50 men, 76 women), aged 18-27 years (M=22.3; SD=2.1). Students made up 44% of the sample, combining work and study adults — 15.3% of the sample, working adults — 33.5%, about 7% of the sample were other possible options (including unemployed). The sample was formed randomly, taking into account the age range of the period of emerging adulthood and a relatively even distribution by sex; anonymously and voluntarily. The survey was conducted in an online format, the participants received feedback at will.

Statistics: frequency analysis; descriptive statistics; comparative analysis by using Student's t-test for dependent and independent samples, one-way analysis of variance ANOVA; correlation analysis (Pearson's test); regression analysis; content analysis.

Results

Separation from parents. Indicators of functional separation indicate its formation as a whole. Spatial separation: 25.8% of

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the sample live with their parents, the rest of young people live in a separate apartment, hostel, with partners, friends or relatives. The average age at which young people leave their parental home was 19 years old and ranged from 15 to 24 years. The financial independence of young people is also quite high: 68% of the sample are fully or almost completely self-sufficient, 15% partially earn on their own, but still use their parents' money, another 10% are supported by partners, only 6% of young people are fully supported by their parents. For 74% of the sample the first experience of paid activity is quite early and falls on the period of 14-17 years, extending further up to 23 years. Household self-dependence as a whole is also fully formed (M=3.03; SD=0.59) and is the subject to gender specificity — women more often show household self-dependence according to a number of indicators. This concerns making daily purchases, cleaning living space (p≤0.001), visiting medical facilities and leisure planning (p≤0.05), which ultimately affects the higher overall self-reliance in women (p≤0.05).

Analysis of the average values for indicators of psychological separation reveals a tendency for a greater severity of indicators of psychological separation from the father compared to a mother, regardless of gender

(Table 1). This difference is highly significant for all scales, except of the separation style (p<0.001, t-test for dependent samples) — young people are significantly more in need of emotional support and approval from their mother than from their father, show greater similarity with their mother's ideas and worldviews when making important decisions, more often need a mother's advice than father's. The general trend is also the predominance of the behavioral component of separation for the sample as a whole.

Gender differences were found on the scales "Conflictual Separation (mother)" and "Functional Separation (mother)" and indicate that men are easier and more harmonious separate from their mothers than women, and are also more independent of their mothers in making important decisions and in their life choices (Table 1).

The correlation coefficient for dependent samples showed the relationship between identical separation scales (0.358≤r≤0.570; p<0.001), which together with the absence of significant differences on the "Conflictual Separation" scale from the father and mother, indicates the unidirectional and consistent nature of the separation from the parental couple.

Correlation analysis (Pearson's criterion) revealed most of the separation compo-

Table 1

Descriptive statistics on the scales of the Psychological Separation Inventory

Scales	The whole sample		M Male	M Femail	t-test
	M	SD			
Conflictual Separation (mother)	3.67	0.71	3.91	3.50	3.26**
Conflictual Separation (father)	3.80	0.77	3.91	3.75	1.13
EmotionalSeparation (mother)	3.56	0.85	3.73	3.46	1.76
EmotionalSeparation (father)	4.04	0.94	4.16	3.97	1.04
Attitudinal Separation (mother)	3.56	0.87	3.67	3.48	1.19
Attitudinal Separation (father)	3.86	0.95	4.00	3.78	1,19
Functional Separation (mother)	4.03	0.75	4.27	3.86	3.05*
Functional Separation (father)	4.38	0.79	4.37	4.38	-0.75

Note: * — p≤0.05; **—p≤0.01.

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nents tend to increase with age (except for the emotional separation component from father and mother). The closest relationship with age is found in the attitudinal separation from the father (r=0.266; p=0.005) and the functional separation from the mother (r=0.264; p=0.003), i.e. there is a tendency to increase differences in views and judgments with fathers and the ability to act without relying on the effective help of a mother, but the need for emotional support and approval of parents does not decrease with age.

Subjective adulthood and its foundations. This aspect was studied using content analysis of answers to the question whether young people consider themselves adults and why. The distribution of answers showed that more than half of the sample (54.8%) have an adult identity formed (consider themselves adults), a quarter of the sample (26%) have no adult identity (do not consider themselves adults), a fifth of the sample has doubts and gives contradictory answers (19.2%) (Fig. 1).

Next, the criteria on the basis of which the respondents classified (or did not classify) themselves as adults were analyzed.

Two categories (external/internal criteria of adulthood) and 7 subcategories were selected (Table 2). Such a division of categories and subcategories as external and internal is based on the widespread analysis of the criteria of adulthood in modern studies [16; 17; 19; 26].

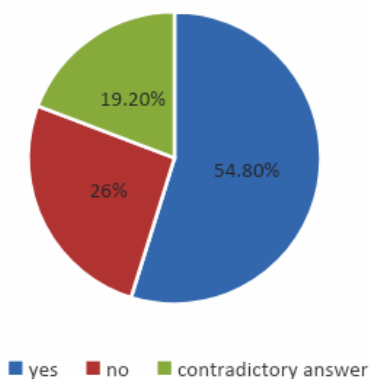The results showed that internal, psychological criteria of adulthood are the pre-

Fig. 1. Distribution of answers to the question about subjective adulthood

Table 2

**Distribution of respondents' answers regarding the criteria
of adulthood they single out**

Categories	Subcategories	% sample
External criteria of adulthood	Financial security (independence)	19
	Separate accommodation	10
	Occupation (studies or works)	5
	Total by external criteria	34
Internal criteria of adulthood	Responsibility	32
	Self-dependence	27
	Psychological qualities of personal maturity («self-sufficiency», self-confidence, «reliance on life experience», caring for close people, etc.)	22
	Stability	5
	Total by internal criteria	86
Other (no answer, joke answer, etc.)		15

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dominant grounds for adulthood (the share of their references was 86%, while external ones — only 34%), with responsibility (32%) and independence (27%) occupying leading positions. The most significant external criterion is financial independence (19%), but the importance of employment as a criterion of adulthood is the least (5%).

Connection of psychological separation, subjective adulthood and psychological well-being. By using ANOVA, the differences in psychological separation and psychological well-being in groups with different adult identity formation were studied. There were no significant differences in separation parameters, i.e. subjective adulthood is not related to the degree of psychological separation from parents. The chronological age of young people in groups with different subjective maturity did not differ either. Significant differences were found in the parameters of psychological well-being (Table 3).

Young people with a developed adult identity have a greater sense of competence in mastering the environment ("Environmental mastery"), are more accepting various aspects of their personality ("Self-acceptance"), and are generally more prosperous ("General well-being") compared to those who have not formed an adult identity. According to the "Purpose in Life" scale, each

of the selected groups differs significantly from each other, and respondents with an unformed sense of adulthood feel lack goals, direction and meaning in life. Satisfaction with life is also significantly higher in the group with a formed adult identity. Also, the group of subjective adulthood has more experience (0.5 years on average) of living separately (F=3.948; p=0.02).

The impact of psychological separation components from parents on the psychological well-being of young adults. To solve this problem, multiple regression analysis was used, where the independent variables were the scales of psychological separation from parents, and the dependent variables were the parameters of psychological well-being. In table 4, the results are presented in order of decreasing dispersion of the models.

The style of separation ("Conflictual separation") from the father is a positive predictor of life satisfaction and the frequency of experiencing happiness. The style of separation from the mother is a positive predictor of the "Positive Relations" component — harmonious separation has an affirmative effect on subjective well-being.

At the same time, the growth of "Functional separation" from parents negatively affects life satisfaction and happiness. The back impact of the behavioral component of

Table 3

Indicators of psychological well-being in groups with different formation of adult identity (significant differences)

Indicators	Do not consider themselves adults	Consider themselves adults	Doubters	F	p-level
Environmental mastery	25.84*	32.09*	30.36	8.244	0.001
Purpose in life	27.42*	35.05*	33.14*	9.342	0.000
Self-acceptance	29.05*	34.86*	34.07	4.981	0.009
General well-being	181.53*	204,02*	201.5	5.701	0.005
Satisfaction with life	3.05*	4.19*	4.00	4.097	0.021

Note: an asterisk (*) indicates groups that differ significantly from each other in terms of the results applying the Scheffe correction.

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Table 4

Results of regression analysis

Dependent variables	R-squar	Predictors	Beta	p-level
Satisfaction with life (Diener)	0.50	Conflictual separation (father)	0,391	0.001
		Functional separation (father)	-0.431	0.002
Happiness frequency (Fordis)	0.26	Conflictual separation (father)	0.420	0.001
		Functional Separation (mother)	-0.384	0.002
Purpose in life (Riff)	0.14	Functional separation (father)	-0.368	0.004
Positive relations (Riff)	0.12	Conflictual Separation (mother)	0.348	0.007

separation from the father on the "Purpose in Life" criterion shows that a decrease of orientation to the father's help and independent decision-making can lead to a loss of a sense of the direction in life.

Conclusions and Discussion

The results of the study confirm our hypothesis about separation as a heterogeneous phenomenon. It is shown that the behavioral and functional aspects of separation are more pronounced than the emotional and cognitive components in the period of emerging adulthood. This partially correlates with the results of the studies of separation in adolescence [1; 8]. So, we can assume that the external separation, which markers are the behavioral and functional aspects associated with the ability to make decisions independently, make choices, the ability to self-service, spatial separation and financial independence, leads to an internal separation associated with the formation of identity and personal maturity.

Separation from the father is generally more pronounced than separation from a mother, but it is more difficult for girls to separate from their mothers. The separation of a child in a family is unidirectional, i.e. moving away from one parent is not compensated by moving closer to the other.

During the emerging adulthood, separation indicators grow, however, the absence of a connection between age and affective components of separation allows us to speak of the need for emotional support and parental approval that persists during this period. Probably, emotional separation from parents is formed most late, outside of early adulthood, which confirms the assumption of N.E. Kharlamenkova on the continuation of separation processes in adulthood [14], and is also consistent with some empirical studies of separation in adulthood [12].

Subjective adulthood is not associated with the degree of separation from parents and chronological age, but is associated with psychological well-being. Apparently, the growth of self-acceptance, mastery in managing the environment, acquisition of the direction and meaning in one's own life, a general sense of stability and satisfaction with life are the sources of the formation an adult identity. It can also be assumed that the connection between separation and subjective adulthood is mediated by psychological well-being, and separation itself does not lead to a sense of being an adult. This is consistent with the fact that the criteria for adulthood for young people are mostly internal, psychological, where responsibility and independence are the main markers, and the most significant external criterion is financial independence. These results correspond to some results of the foreign studies [16; 17; 19; 26].

Regarding the influence of the components of psychological separation on well-being, the study showed that the behavioral components of separation are the predictors

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of a decrease in satisfaction, happiness, and purposefulness of life. Independence in decision-making and making choices still hinders the experience of emotional well-being, which is probably associated with an increase in the number of life difficulties and growth of responsibility. A harmonious (conflict-free) style of separation from parents, on the contrary, contributes to rising of life satisfaction and happiness. Similar results were obtained in one of the modern cross-cultural studies on emerging adulthood [24].

In general, the obtained results indicate that separation, especially external separation, is a painful and difficult process for a young adult, however, overcoming these difficulties leads to an increase in psychological well-being and formation of subjec-tive adulthood, and therefore contributes to maturation.

At the same time, it should be noted that the measurement of subjective adulthood as a qualitative characteristic in our study acts as its limitation as the results obtained could not be included in the regression analysis to assess their impact on psychological well-being. In future research, attention should be paid to the development of numerical scales for measuring subjective adulthood. In addition, the most perspective direction in studying the relationship between separation features and maturation processes is longitudinal studies covering the entire period of emerging adulthood, as well as a two-sided study of separation processes in "parent-adult child" dyads.

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