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Approach: Social and Educational Practices

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MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION

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Editors' Foreword

Dear Reader! You are holding the second volume of the special issue of the Journal "Cultural-Historical Theory and Activity Approach: Social and Educational Practices". The special issue was prepared jointly by Moscow State University of Psychology and Education and the International Society for Cultural-Historical Activity Research for the 6th ISCAR Congress, held in August 2021 in Brazil (on-line). The first volume was released in the lead up to the Congress, and the second — in the aftermath to it, encouraging an international, cross-disciplinary dialogue under the pandemic, when the lack of lively interactions and face-to-face communication is particularly acute.

The second volume of the special issue includes four sections. Section "Discovering Vygotsky: New Pages in CHT" continues to acquaint the readers with unpublished works of the founder of the Cultural-Historical Scientific School. Two lectures by L.S. Vygotsky are published on the pages of the issue for the first time. As in the first volume, the lectures are published in Russian with the hope of completing the challenging task of their accurate translation into English in the near future.

Section "Language and Communication Through the Prism of CHT" invites the readers to reflect upon the ways, how L.S. Vygotsky's ideas are applied in the process of teaching and learning foreign languages, as well as in creating spaces for efficient communication and social interactions.

Section "Applying CHT and Activity Approach for Facing Contemporary Challenges" provides papers on a wide range of relevant issues, emerging in the social and educational sphere of contemporary society. The articles of the section touch upon such challenges as development of intellectual abilities in learning, developing students' agency, conducting empirical research in the framework of CHT, development in the situation of collective imagining as well as collective "pereghivanije" in playworlds, the issue of cultural identities and constructing digital environments.

Section "Vygotsky's Ideas in Practices of Inclusion" focuses on the possibilities of applying Cultural-Historical Theory for constructing inclusive environments, designed for overcoming challenges and difficulties that children with special educational needs face in various social situations.

Section "Discussions and Discourses" continues the dialogue on the possible readings and interpretations of L.S. Vygotsky's works in the light of the recent archival findings.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of B.G. Meshcheryakov, who stood at the origins of the journal and for many years was its Deputy Chief Editor. Boris Gurievitch was a great connoisseur of contemporary research, conducted in the framework of the Cultural-Historical Scientific School, and contributed a lot to the preservation of Vygotsky's legacy. The volume includes an article by B.G. Meshcheryakov, which provides a panoramic view on the international dialogue on the fundamentals of this tradition.

Prof. Vitaly Rubtsov, President of MSUPE
Prof. Katerina Plakitsi, ISCAR President

DISCOVERING VYGOTSKY: NEW PAGES IN CHT
ОТКРЫВАЯ ВЫГОТСКОГО: НОВЫЕ СТРАНИЦЫ В КУЛЬТУРНО-ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПСИХОЛОГИИ

Foreword to the Publication

Cultural-Historical Psychology is continuing its publication of the transcripts of L.S. Vygotsky's lectures on child psychology at the Academy of Communist Education in 1928 (the first two lectures were published in the previous issue). In addition to the results of Vygotsky's own research, these lectures also provide an overview of the concepts and experiments by Titchener, Lewin, Piaget and other famous psychologists. The complex theoretical material is presented in an accessible form, taking into account the modest level of training of many listeners. The Academy admitted mostly communists and member of Komsomol who had a secondary school diploma and work experience in public education.

We can trace the evolution of Vygotsky's views by comparing the surviving transcripts of his lectures from different years, using the "method of genetic sections" that he himself used to present the child's path of development. The 1928 lectures differ markedly from Vygotsky's last lectures, given in 1933—34 at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute (the Academy of Communist Education will soon merge with it).

Lecture 3 focuses on the characteristics of psychological reactions versus conditional reflexes. Over time, this topic will completely withdraw from Vygotsky's lecture courses. In Lecture 4, he relies on Claparède's "law of awareness", which will be critically re-examined in Chapter 6 of *Thinking and Speech*. Finally, in Vygotsky's last lectures on school age, we read that Claparède's concept has brought "much theoretical harm and confusion" (*Lectures on Pedology*. Izhevsk, 2001, p. 277).

Such discrepancies seem to reinforce the hypothesis that a methodological rupture in Vygotsky's work took place in the early 1930s. But behind these significant changes one should not lose sight of the "genome" of his theory — the principle that sets the direction of its development and persists throughout Vygotsky's path in science. It is very difficult to discern this principle in Vygotsky's books and articles; it was openly formulated only in notes to himself: *"The central problem of all psychology: Freedom"* (*Vygotsky's Notebooks. A Selection. Spronger*, 2018, p. 210)[1].

In the lectures published here, the words "freedom" or "free" are not used. The idea of freedom appears here in the specific psychological guise of "voluntary attention," "deliberate action," "reaction of choice" (a free will action). And it is noteworthy that the expression "psychological function" is not used in these lectures; instead, Vygotsky is always talking about "psychological reactions." He seeks to present to his listeners the "genotypic" difference between these higher reactions, or "cultural operations," and lower-order reactions that are determined by the "situation" and the structure of the body. The cultural action has a "second plane," where an "instruction" of behaviour is worked out with the help of words and other signs. Here Vygotsky clearly missing the notion "ideal" that captures the nature of this "second plane" by means of which a person masters his or her behaviour, i.e., behaves, rather than reacts to external stimuli, including the social ones.

In his lectures of 1934, Vygotsky would clarify the concept of a higher psychological function. The volitional moment constitutes only one side of it, the other side is formed by the rational moment, the "intellect." As a result, the "new formation" of higher psychological functions shifts to the beginning of school age, when the intellect starts to dominate the "system of consciousness" (while the functioning of the intellect itself becomes conscious and volitional only years later). Freedom is the synthesis of will and reason in human activity.

An equally important line of the development of Vygotsky's views will be an in-depth study of the "affective life." This topic is only mentioned in passing in Lecture 4: the "primitive structure" of behaviour and children's speech is characterised (with a reference to Stern) by the lack of differentiation and the dominance of affects. And in the "hard choice" experiment, the conflict of affects is deliberately created: "the pleasant and the unpleasant are combined." In 1931 Vygotsky's turn to the problem of the relationship between the affect and the intellect will lead to discord with Aleksei Leontiev — "the confrontation of two lines for the future", as Leontiev describes it in his memoirs.

Thus, the lecture cycle of 1928 gives us with an opportunity to observe the process of formation of the cultural-historical theory at one of its focal points — when the "instrumental" and "experimental-genetic" method begins to work at full power, and we can already see the shoots of a new, "meaningful" concept of child consciousness development created by Vygotsky in the last years of his life.

V.T. Kudryavtsev,
A.D. Maidansky

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[1] An attempt to develop this principle is presented in the article: Kudryavtsev V.T. Culture as Self-Perception, *Cultural-Historical Psychology*, 2016. Vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 113—128 (in Russian).

ЛЕКЦИИ ПО ПСИХОЛОГИИ РАЗВИТИЯ[1]
Л.С. Выготский

Третья лекция.
Фенотипическое и генотипическое
в психологических процессах

Я уже говорил, что два действия могут протекать фенотипически совершенно одинаково, а генотипически, по своему происхождению, по своему составу, по своей природе могут быть глубоко отличны одно от другого. Несмотря на внешнее сходство, они глубоко внутренне могут отличаться одно от другого. Часто нужны бывают специальные средства научного анализа для того, чтобы понять фенотипическую одинаковость, вскрыть генотипические различия, генотипическую природу каждого из этих процессов. Вот в этих случаях нужен научный анализ, т. е. умение за внешним видом процесса вскрыть его внутренний состав, его внутреннюю природу, его происхождение. Другой случай заключается в том, что часто мы оперируем такими процессами, производим такие действия, которые уже омертвели, т. е. которые проделали очень долгое историческое развитие и превратились в какую-то окаменелость, и для того чтобы вскрыть природу этих процессов приходится опять-таки провести сложный анализ этих окаменелостей, вскрыть их состав.

Вот два случая, где приходится применять анализ. Да и вообще, как общее положение можно здесь признать то методическое положение, которое выдвинул Маркс. Он говорил: «Если бы сущность вещей была совокупна с формой их внешнего проявления, то всякая наука была бы излишней»[2]. И действительно, если бы фенотипически вещи были бы теми же самыми, чем они являются генотипически, т. е. если бы внешнее проявление вещей, как их можно видеть каждый день, действительно выражало бы истинное отношение этих вещей, то, спрашивается, для чего бы тогда была наука? Тогда наши отношения, опыт нашего поведения, простое наблюдение заменило бы вполне научный анализ. Все то, что мы видели бы, то самое составило бы предмет нашего научного знания. Но вся трудность познания заключается в том, что сам аппарат познания организован так, что сущность вещей, т. е. истинное, настоящее соотношение их и формы их внешнего проявления не совокупны, и поэтому нужно анализировать те процессы научного исследования, при помощи которых за внешней видимостью вещей, за внешней формой их проявления вскрывается истинное отношение, лежащее в основе этих процессов.

В психологии, в детской в частности, есть три случая, при которых применение такого анализа является совершенно необходимым. Этот случай я вам называл, это тот случай, когда мы имеем фенотипически сходный процесс, а за ним скрываются генотипически различные процессы. Это основной случай для детской психологии потому, что он есть часть г[енетической] психологии, т. е. рассматривается в своем развитии.

Другой случай, что окаменелость внешнего поведения (это такой процесс, который вследствие длиннейшего функционирования омертвел) совершается уже в миллионный раз, омертвел или механизировался, т. е. до такой степени потерял свой первоначальный облик, что своей внешней практикой не говорит ничего о своей внутренней природе.

[2] К этой формулировке из 3 тома «Капитала» К. Маркса (*Маркс К., Энгельс Ф.* Соч. Издание второе. Т. 25. Ч. II. М.: Госполитиздат, 1962. С. 384) в том же контексте Выготский обращается в «Истории развития высших психических функций» (см.: *Выготский Л.С.* Соч. Т. 3. М.: Педагогика, 1983. С. 98).

И, наконец, третий случай, который дополняет и замыкает эти два случая, — это, как мы знаем, обратное явление: когда генотипически различные процессы, которые мы рассматриваем как совершенно различные процессы, функционируют как совершенно одинаковые. Такого рода процессов полна детская психология. Я возьму самый простой пример. Это то, что в традиционной экспериментальной психологии называется вниманием произвольным и непроизвольным. Генотипически эти два процесса различны. Мы знаем, что у ребенка в начале развито непроизвольное внимание, затем развивается внимание произвольное, и мы знаем, что это процесс, который доступен ребенку раннего возраста. Мы знаем, что одно дело ребенка заставить самого обратить внимание на непосредственный предмет, другое дело — ребенку заинтересоваться предметом, который сам по себе привлекает внимание ребенка.

Психология — и объективное наблюдение и эксперимент — установили глубокое генотипическое различие между вниманием произвольным и непроизвольным. Достаточно сказать, что отбор умственно отсталых детей, особенно детей отсталых в глубокой степени, мы производим, главным образом, пользуясь этим признаком нарастания или не нарастания этого внимания. Экспериментальная психология сумела показать дальше, что эти два генотипически различных процесса, появляющиеся в различное время у ребенка, нарастающие с различной интенсивностью, функционируют одинаково. Или, как это показал в экспериментальном исследовании чувства и внимания Т[итченер], раз установившееся произвольное внимание функционирует так, что его никак нельзя отличить от непроизвольного. Или, как он выражается в своем генотипическом законе внимания[3] и чувства: причинное внимание[4] переходит по мере роста и развития в произвольное, т. е. стоит вам установить свое внимание, как это говорят, произвольно, и совершенно нельзя указать объективного признака, по которому этот процесс отличался бы в своем протекании от внимания непроизвольного.

Таким образом, мы имеем следующие проблемы. Я еще раз перечислю. Ф[енотипически] одинаковые процессы, которые, насколько мы можем знать, генотипически различны; автоматизированные процессы, о составе которых мы ничего не можем сказать по внешнему протеканию; генотипически различные процессы, которые фенотипически приводят к одному и тому же результату. Вот основные три случая, основные три проблемы, из которых мы исходим. Здесь, я уже говорил, можно применять научный анализ, т. е. научное исследование, ставящее себе целью не ограничиться внешним проявлением, а попытаться проникнуть за внешнюю видимость этого явления и посмотреть, что за ним кроется.

Л.[5], немецкий экспериментатор, занимающийся сейчас анализирующим экспериментом, указывает на один очень интересный метод. Особенность такого эксперимента, методическая особенность его заключается в том, что когда мы прибегаем к такому анализирующему эксперименту, для нас в общем нет необходимости всегда увеличивать число наших наблюдений над экспериментом.

Надо различать индуктивный и анализирующий эксперимент. Индуктивный эксперимент, как всякий путь научного познания, пользующийся этим средством, заключается в накоплении множества наблюдений и обобщений этих наблюдений. Анализирующий эксперимент, выводя из внешних форм их истинное соотношение, может, в принципе, от одного эксперимента, как говорит Л[ипман], повести прямо к выводу научного закона, — и это положение не является новым для научного метода — в частности, для методологии. В споре с Ш[6]., признававшим один индуктивный путь, [?][7] указал, что эксперимент включает в себя анализ.

Для того чтобы можно было открыть механический эквивалент теплоты, тот основной факт, что тепловая энергия способна переходить в механическую, не надо было наблюдать тысячи машин, достаточно было проанализировать действие одной[8]. Достаточно было экспериментом показать, что тепловая энергия может переходить в механическую, проследить один случай, чтобы вывести общий закон, без того чтобы этот закон проверять на тысяче машин.

Сегодня я хотел изложить важное положение, которое занимает анализ в детской психологии. Вы, вероятно, понимаете, что этим самым мы затронули основной вопрос, который мы ставили в первой беседе. Беседа определила отношение роста физического

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[3] О «законе Титченера» см.: *Выготский Л.С.* Соч. Т. 3. М.: Педагогика, 1983. т. 3, с. 99.

[4] Возможно, стенографистка неверно услышала термин Титченера «первичное внимание» («primary attention»).

[5] Судя по всему, речь идет об Отто Липмане, психотехнике, пионере прикладной психологии. Он покончил жизнь самоубийством в октябре 1933 г. из-за преследований нацистов, которые пришли в Германии к власти.

[6] Скорее всего имеется в виду Карл Штумпф, который, вслед за своим учителем Францем Брентано, полагал, что философия, подобно естественным наукам, должна строится индуктивным методом. Л.С. Выготский относился к числу самых непримиримых и последовательных критиков «индуктивного пути» в психологии. Так, в «Историческом смысле психологического кризиса» он отмечает, что «... засилие индукции и математической обработки и недоразвитие анализа значительно погубили дело Вундта и всей экспериментальной психологии» (*Выготский Л.С.* Исторический смысл психологического кризиса. Соч. Т. 1. М.: Педагогика, 1982. С. 402).

[7] Здесь одна буква напечатана поверх другой.

[8] Выготский своими словами излагает формулировку Ф. Энгельса: «Паровая машина явилась убедительнейшим доказательством того, что из теплоты можно получить механическое движение. 100 000 паровых машин доказывали бы это не более убедительно, чем одна машина» (*Энгельс Ф.* Диалектика природы // Маркс К., Энгельс Ф. Соч. Издание второе. Т. 20. М.: Госполитиздат, 1961. С. 543—544). Выготский приводит ее в «Истории развития высших психических функций» для иллюстрации ограничений индукции как «единственной или хотя бы основной формы научных открытий», обосновывая «конструктивный принцип» анализа «развития поведения» с позиций его высших, культурных, исторически развивающихся форм (*Выготский Л.С.* Соч. Т. 3. М.: Педагогика, 1983. С. 77).

механизма, лежащего в основе поведения ребенка, с теми сложными формами поведения, которые ребенок приобретает в процессе своего роста. Анализ ставит себе основной задачей вскрыть это отношение.

Позвольте еще одно методическое замечание, раньше, чем перейти к изложению самого опыта, которое я хотел проанализировать. Это методическое замечание заключается вот в чем: какими средствами производить этот анализ?

В том и заключается наибольшая трудность психологии, крайне низкая ступень, на которой стоит эта наука, что средства этого анализа крайне ограничены, крайне бедны. Так называемый субъективный анализ, которым пользовалось индуктивное самонаблюдение, основной его <...>[9] стороны есть то, что он, метод, описывает, а не анализирует, он констатирует готовый факт, переживание, которое есть узкое <...>. Он в лучшем случае дает ярко этот факт. Но этот метод называется феноменологическим. Вы знаете, что крайнее выражение идеалистической психологии на Западе сейчас приняло форму особой науки, которая ею создана и, возникнув по предложению Г[уссерля], называется «ф[еноменологией]», т. е. наукой о явлениях сознания, без задачи их анализировать, ставить в связь с другими явлениями и т. д. Правильный сам по себе индуктивный метод является по своей природе ф[еноменологическим] и для анализа не подходит. Анализ возможен только объективный потому, что он хочет вскрыть не то, какой вещь кажется нам, а чем она является на самом деле. А для того, чтобы на это ответить, нужно вскрыть ее объективную сущность.

Пользовалась ли старая психология таким объективным средством? Пользовалась, но эти объективные средства были только вспомогательными средствами. В прошлый раз[10] я приводил, какими средствами пользовался Бинэ для того, чтобы различить два феноменологически одинаковых, но генотипически различных процесса. Прием, который он применял и к детской психологии.

Я уже указывал опыт Бинэ[11] над запоминанием большого количества цифр. Вы помните, что это запоминание производили два лица различных способностей. Как отличить два процесса, которые дают один и тот же эффект? Один запоминает четыреста чисел и другой, один при этом молчал и другой молчал. Как вскрыть различие этих двух процессов, которые по внешнему виду одинаковы и приводят к одинаковым результатам? Бинэ пробовал так поступать — он увеличивал число цифр. Но это не помогло. И тогда Бинэ перешел к следующему способу: он предложил для запоминания не большое количество цифр, а маленькое и выдвинул следующее положение. Два, говорил он, феноменологически одинаковые, но генотипически различные способы запоминания, легче всего могут быть обследованы объективно

при запоминании не длинного, большого материала, а маленького. Именно при запоминании семи-, восьми-, иногда пятизначных чисел. Тот, кто запоминал непосредственно, — запоминал, в частности, мысли [и] слова, — делал это быстрее, чем тот, кто запоминал это мнемотехнически.

Понятно, что запоминание мнемотехническое четырех—пятизначных чисел займет времени больше, чем непосредственное запоминание. Таким образом доказано, что именно на маленьком материале достаточно указать объективную разницу во времени реакции. Вы сами видите, до какой степени этот счет далек от объективного анализа. Это только симптомы, которые позволяют различать, какого рода был процесс в одном и другом случае. Надо ответить на вопрос: какова же была истинная сущность процесса в одном и том же случае? На это такой <...>, объективный подход ответить не может.

Позвольте вам предложить другой прием, относящийся непосредственно к той методике, которую я излагал и которая показывает, каким путем идет объективный анализ детской психологии. Я предлагаю ребенку сложить 7 плюс 8. Ребенок складывает. Что это будет? Как происходит этот процесс? Ребенок дает ответ, что будет 15. Я имею арифметическую операцию совершенно особую, с результатом, понятным для ф[еноменологической] практики. Ребенок пришел к тому, что 7 плюс 8 равняется 15. Как проанализировать эту операцию? На это методика эксперимента дает ответ: этот анализ невозможно вскрыть иначе, как при помощи внешних средств. Представьте себе, что я так организую опыт. Я предлагаю ребенку не <...>[12]

Если я в эксперименте изменю внешние части и предложу одному ребенку сложить 7 полюс 8 так, а другому 7 плюс 8 так, я получу те же самые 15 в обоих случаях. Ф[еноменологически] процесс будет протекать в обоих случаях одинаково, но я уже держу в своих руках объективные средства, при помощи которых ребенок совершил эту операцию. Эти средства я могу анализировать. И, анализируя, проверять по внешним признакам, что в одном и другом случае ребенок поступил различно. Эти два процесса прошли в этих случаях различно. В одном случае вы заметите, что ребенок имел разложенные 5 и, следовательно, еще 5, и еще 5 и, следовательно, может записать как 3 — 5. В другом случае ребенок должен получить 15. Он должен был идти не тем путем, которым шел первый. Что показывает психологическое исследование этих случаев? Оно показывает, что эти два ф[еноменологических] процесса различаются по времени, или по количеству ошибок, что один из этих процессов на известной ступени развития дает меньшее количество ошибок, другой — большее количество ошибок.

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[9] Небольшой попуск в стенограмме.

[10] Очевидно, между этой лекцией и предыдущей состоялась как минимум еще одна.

[11] *Выготский Л.С.* К вопросу о компенсаторных процессах в развитии. Соч. М.: Педагогика, 1983. Т. 5. С. 122.

[12] Строка не закончена.

Наконец, и это самое важное, опыт показывает, что они вообще различны. Я сейчас поясню, что это значит. Анализ простой, здесь ребенок записывает свой результат, здесь ребенок производит так — «5, 5, 5», он прямо записывает «3—5». Таким образом, ребенок здесь записывает результат раньше, а потом его подсчитывает. Запомним это. Записывает раньше, а потом подсчитывает. А здесь ребенок поступает обратным путем, он раньше 7 плюс 8 должен сосчитать, сложить, получить 15 и потом прочесть. Здесь он раньше подсчитывает, а потом прочитывает. Генотипическое различие этих операций — вот вывод, который делает современная детская психология.

Что дал этот метод в арифметике? Такой вывод, что на определенной ступени развития, именно когда ребенок овладевает двумя десятками, генотипический этот способ для ребенка является более легким, чем этот счет. Иначе говоря, два процесса, которые ф[енотипически] оказываются одинаковыми в зависимости от того, что мы их <...>[13] группе генотипически различных в целом ряде признаков. В одном случае за нас считает десятичная система, а мы потом подводим результат, подсчитываем его, в другом случае последовательность операции <...> генотипически оказывается иной. Одна операция свойственна тогда, когда мы овладеваем десятичной системой, другая операция может появиться у человека, который еще этой системой не овладел. Вот пример основного способа, которым мы будем идти в этом внешнем анализе.

Теперь позвольте перейти к непосредственному анализу трех основных случаев, которые я наметил с самого начала.

Для начала позвольте взять самый трудный, самый сложный случай. Это проблема реакции — обыкновенная проблема реакции, которая является, как вы знаете, основной формой нашего поведения вообще. Вы знаете, что такое психологическая реакция. Как она обычно производится в эксперименте. При эксперименте дается инструкция: когда ты увидишь, что зажжется лампочка, ты должен нажать на ключ. Зажигается лампочка — он нажимает на ключ. Мы имели время от появления раздражителя до ответа — реакции. Такое испытание с виду напоминает психологическую реакцию, обыкновенную и хорошо известную сейчас по своему физиологическому механизму, — процесс условного рефлекса. Несомненно и здесь вы имеете условную связь между раздражением и ответным действием, но психологическая реакция, в смысле процесса своего протекания, содержит в себе физиологический механизм, в основе своей отличный от механизма условного рефлекса.

Однако есть целый ряд объективных особенностей, которые позволяют один и тот же процесс различать по их <...>. Особенность, которая составляет отношение между реакцией и рефлексом, более сложная, чем это может показаться по ф[еноменологическому] объяснению того и другого. Каково это различие позвольте раньше всего установить.

Вот первое отличие чрезвычайно важное. Эксперимент[альные] исследования Бинэ, Д.[14] и др., показали, что для установления условного рефлекса у человека и ребенка раннего возраста фактор содействия так же выработан. Этот условный рефлекс является отвлечением сосредоточения, как выражается Бинэ, или, иначе говоря, отвлечением внимания. Чем меньше у ребенка внимания по отношению к основной операции, к этому сложному раздражителю, тем удачнее, тем успешнее и тем скорее протекает установление этого рефлекса. Вы знаете обратное положение при реакции. Мы знаем, что чем внимательнее ребенок, тем лучше протекает психологическая реакция. Силу этой реакции можно измерить степенью внимания, и это давно делалось так.

Иначе говоря, фактор внимания, роль сосредоточения, т. е. роль основной, направляющей установки при образовании условного рефлекса и при образовании психологической реакции, глубоко различны. Это вы вероятно знаете и слышали объяснение того, почему ранний детский возраст, который отличается слабостью, [не]произвольностью внимания, оказывается возрастом, благоприятным для выработки условного рефлекса, и возрастом, в котором, [как] считалось до последнего времени, невозможно выработать сложную психологическую реакцию.

Таким образом, мы имеем дело с признаками, которые нам пока невозможно понять. Но с экспериментом устанавливается факт. Именно роль внимания различна в образовании одного и того же типа поведения. Дальше факт, который давно был установлен В[Вундтом][15]. Он считает, что реакция протекает дольше, для протекания своего требует большего времени, чем рефлекс. Это экспериментально проверенный факт.

К этому надо добавить положение, которое установил В[ундт]: реакция может сокращать свое время. Время ее прохождения не установлено. Вы знаете различие сенсорной и моторной реакции, как говорили психологи раньше. Если внимание наше направлено на реагирующий орган, то реакция совершается гораздо быстрее, чем если у нас сенсорная установка. Если внимание направлено на внешний раздражитель, реакция замедленная. При подведении времени реакция падает до времени рефлекса.

Дальше эти условное размыкание и замыкание условной реакции и условного рефлекса оказываются различным. Условный рефлекс возникает как рефлекс, вы знаете каким путем — путем соединения двух различных стимулов, так что стимул условный становится постепенно стимулом возбуждающим эту реакцию. Реакция психологическая устанавливается путем инструкции. Это разрешается раньше всего в смысле количества <...>.

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[13] Оставлено пустое место длиной около половины строки.

[14] Возможно, М.П Денисова. Вместе с другими сотрудниками Н.М. Щелованова она занималась исследованием этой проблемы.

[15] См.: *Выготский Л.С.* Соч. Т. 3. М.: Педагогика, 1983. С. 106.

Для воспитания условного рефлекса вы должны иметь более или менее длительную тренировку, психологическую реакцию вы устанавливаете с одного раза. Объективно это выражается вот в чем: если бы мы хотели вывести две кривые — кривую замыкания и кривую размыкания для условного рефлекса и для реакции, — мы заметили бы, что эта кривая замыкается сразу на сто процентов при психологической реакции, а при условном рефлексе — более или менее постепенно. Эта кривая была впервые выведена Т[орндайком][16]. Она есть в нашей экспериментальной литературе.

Таким образом, условное замыкание и размыкание — опыт, отличающий один процесс от другого. Однако при внешнем, ф[енотипическом] рассмотрении качественно различные процессы трудно установить. Трудно установить, в каком же истинном отношении стоит один процесс к другому из соответствующего анализа. Однако можно сказать вот что: те моменты, которые здесь записаны, показывают, что различие здесь нужно искать в генотипической [плоскости], т. е. в способах установки, в способе раздражения того и другого. Спрашивается, как проанализировать реакцию. То, что я рассказывал до сих пор, указывает с не меньшей ясностью на страшно неблагоприятные условия, в которые бывает поставлен сам психологический анализ.

В самом деле, по мере повторения реакции она имеет тенденцию не усиливать свое различие от рефлекса, а, наоборот, стушевывать это различие. По мере повторения, реакция имеет обыкновение переходить в обыкновенный рефлекс. Иначе говоря, время ее протекания падает до времени обыкновенного рефлекса, и особенность ее стирается. Обычно методика изучения реакции заключалась в том, что испытуемому давали несколько пробных опытов, обычно около тридцати. К моменту начала исследования брали уже выверенные реакции, реакции установившиеся, реакции, которые потеряли свое генотипическое отличие от рефлекса и приобрели ф[енотипическое] с ними сходство. Иначе говоря, реакция в психологическом эксперименте изучается обычно после того, как она проделала какой-то процесс отмирания, превратилась в какую-то окаменевшую форму. Задача исследования, следовательно, задача анализа, заключается в том, чтобы вернуть эту реакцию к первоначальному моменту, к условиям ее замыкания и, как это видно из того, произвести этот анализ при помощи объективных средств. Нужно было в реакции найти нечто такое, что напоминало бы сложные римские и арабские цифры, нужно было найти такие внешние средства, которые находились бы в нашем распоряжении, которые можно было бы [ввести][17] в реакцию и таким образом проследить объективным путем эту реакцию, ее установку и размыкание. Для анализа реакции следовало бы выбирать такие ее формы, при

которых было бы возможно введение этих внешних средств, необходимых для организации объективного эксперимента.

А когда мы в поведении прибегаем к этим внешним средствам? Тогда, когда из этих внешних средств мы можем решить задачу. Следовательно, нужно было так затруднить эту легкую задачу, чтобы психологическая реакция без внешних средств не могла осуществиться, и это все осуществляется при помощи сложной реакции выбора.

Сложной реакцией выбора называется в экспериментальной психологии такая организация эксперимента, при которой испытуемому дается инструкция на каждый отдельный раздражитель. Скажем, на красный цвет — реагировать большим пальцем, на синий цвет — указательным, на зеленый — безымянным и т. д. Затем в беспорядке появляются все эти раздражители. Как испытуемый будет, как он должен реагировать всеми десятью пальцами? Ведь он должен реагировать на каждый раз отдельным пальцем. Как он будет это делать?

Отсюда мы можем вывести следующее: мы называем эту реакцию сложной реакцией выбора. Этот психологический эксперимент устанавливает два закона. Первый закон такой, что реакция выбора протекает более длительно, чем реакция обыкновенная, простая. Другой закон такой, что реакция выбора тем дольше отнимает время, чем больше количество раздражителей, из которых надо произвести выбор. Однако исследования Т[итченера][18] показали, что при известных условиях реакция выбора может протекать не медленнее, чем обычная реакция, а иногда протекает и быстрее. Дальше они показали, что реакция выбора иногда не подчиняется второму закону. Иначе говоря, что число раздражителей, из которых мы можем выбирать, можно увеличивать, а сам выбор не будет отнимать больше времени. Оба эти закона были экспериментально подвергнуты проверке и было установлено, что в самостоятельных случаях эти законы имеют исключения.

Дальше, производя ф[еноменологический], субъективный анализ того, что происходит с человеком, когда он производит эту реакцию выбора, Т[итченер] и другие авторы пришли к выводу, что испытуемый при реакции не выбирает. Он производит какую-то операцию, но никакого момента выбора здесь не происходит.

Отсюда и общее положение реакции выбора. Мы делаем что угодно, только не выбор. Выбором можно это назвать только по внешнему логическому строению раздражителей и стимулов. Но ведь каждый раздражитель непосредственно связан инструкцией с определенным движением, и, следовательно, момента для выбора нет.

Здесь я хочу указать на общую особенность субъективного анализа. Насколько ему нельзя до-

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[16] *Выготский Л.С.* Память и ее развитие в детском возрасте. Соч. Т. 2. М.: Педагогика, 1982. С. 388.

[17] Здесь оставлено место для одного слова. В следующем предложении говорится о «*введении* этих внешних средств».

[18] См.: *Выготский Л.С.* Соч. Т. 3. М.: Педагогика, 1983. С. 102 и далее.

верять в положительном, настолько можно доверять в отрицательном. Если этот анализ говорит, что ф[еноменологически] не происходит ни того ни другого, то этому отрицательному выводу мы можем доверять в пределах ф[еноменологического] объяснения, что такое-то и такое-то явление не наблюдается.

В реакции выбора мы не выбираем. Что же мы делаем? Что же происходит, когда наряду со сложными раздражителями должен реагировать ряд сложных движений?

Ответ на это дает детская психология. Известно, что закон реакции выбора в отношении детской психологии формулируется так: реакция выбора становится доступной ребенку не позднее шести лет. Затем кривая развития реакции выбора ребенка обратно соприкасается с количеством раздражителей, из которых должен быть произведен выбор.

В каждом ряде, считалось на основании экспериментального исследования, ребенок производит выбор из двух—трех стимулов. В следующем опыте он [экспериментатор] начинает увеличивать количество этих стимулов постепенно. Исследование поставило себе задачей анализ реакции и анализ реакции выбора. Оно началось с низшего возраста детей трех лет, с детей, у которых психологическая реакция представляет собой затруднение, и где реакция выбора особенно сложна, и где прибегать к внешним средствам было необыкновенно трудно.

Первый результат заключался в том, что при помощи организации известных внешних средств опосредствованная [ими] реакция выбора устанавливается и функционирует у ребенка двух лет так же, как она функционирует у взрослого человека. Если вы ребенку двух лет предложите реагировать на эту сторону поднятием одной руки, а на эту сторону — другой, или реагировать на карандаш поднятием ноги, а на перо — поднятием руки, то эта реакция у девочки двух лет может быть исследована, если вы расчлените внешний путь от стимула к соответствующему движению. Если вы положите около одной руки предмет и инструкцией свяжете его, тогда эта реакция у ребенка протекает совершенно как у взрослого человека. Проще говоря, если вы поступите следующим образом: если вы положите около руки в одном случае лист бумаги, а в другом случае, скажем, ключ, если вы теперь условитесь, что когда вы покажете карандаш, она должна поднять руку, а когда вы ей покажете, скажем, на перо, она должна поднять другую руку, то возникает связь этого. Или вы ей предлагаете связать следующим образом: карандаш — надо поднять ту руку, где лежит бумага, перо — ту руку, где лежит ключ. Перо и бумага являются соединяющим звеном между стимулом и соответствующей реакцией. Вы выкладываете внешним образом путь, налаживаете внешнюю связь так, чтобы ребенок мог все время руководиться ею. Такая реакция устанавливается у ребенка двух лет.

Иначе говоря, вы получаете генотипическую кривую. То, что приписывают возрасту шести лет, при

введении вспомогательных средств оказывается доступным ребенку между двумя и тремя годами.

Дальше вы переходите к ребенку более старшего возраста, к ребенку семи—восьми лет. Вы даете такую задачу. Вы даете реакцию выбора из 10 предметов, реакцию, которая считалась недоступной для ребенка шести лет. Оказывается, что эта реакция для ребенка совершенно доступна: ребенок выбирает из 10 стимулов, реагирует на каждый соответствующим движением при соблюдении соответствующих условий. Если вы между стимулом и реакцией проложите внешний путь, например, если вы заставите реагировать на ряд картинок нажатием клавиши или ключа и т. д., если вы при этом заставите ребенка реагировать на одну картинку одним словом, на другую картинку — другим словом или другим знаком, который ребенок может связать с этим знаком, со стимулом, его реакция установится сразу на 10 стимулов.

В последнее время у ребенка трех с половиной лет реакция на стимул из восьми раздражителей, которую относили к десяти годам, была налажена при помощи таких внешних стимулов. Какая выгода анализу получается при этом? Она заключается в том, что те операции, которые раньше были внутри, эти операции теперь вынесены наружу. Ребенок решает эту же задачу, оперируя этими членами, которые мы здесь выдвигаем. Теперь, когда эта операция вынесена наружу, мы можем проанализировать, как налаживается связь. Исследование показывает, что связь здесь налаживается чисто мнемотехническим путем.

В реакции выбора трудность заключается не в том, что ребенок должен произвести выбор, а в том, что в реакции выбора происходит то запоминание, которое оказывается для ребенка доступным. Это запоминание и дает возможность осуществить реакцию выбора. Проще говоря, успех реакции выбора зависит от того, насколько ребенку удается воспроизвести инструкцию.

Исследование Левина, произведенное в последние 10 лет, показывает, что испытание, в сущности, сводит реакцию выбора к воспроизведению инструкции. У Левина дело обстоит так: было дано 10 цветов. Было приказано на каждый цвет реагировать соответствующим пальцем. Испытуемый вел себя так: появляется синий кружок <...>[19].

Здесь человек производил добровольное налаживание этого внешнего пути. Это самое мы наблюдаем у ребенка, когда мы ему даем производить ту же самую операцию при помощи внешних средств. Дальше эти внешние средства становятся все менее и менее нужными и ребенок начинает обходиться без этих внешних средств.

Нам сейчас интересно выяснить состав сил реакции. Что же этот эксперимент над реакцией выбора, какой же ответ он дает нам на вопрос: как реакция относится к рефлексу? Этот ответ можно было бы представить так: он показывает, что налаживается эта реакция так точно, как налаживаются обыкновен-

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[19] Оставлено пустое место длиной около двух строк.

но условные рефлексы, т. е. нет никакого основания предполагать, что в основе этого лежит какой-то другой физиологический механизм, или, как выражается Т[итченер], какой-то физиологический процесс, отличный от того процесса, который лежит в основе условного рефлекса. Наоборот, все видоизменения и дефекты, все ошибки, которые здесь наблюдаются, непосредственно указывают на то, что нет никакого основания полагать, что в основе его используется какой-то другой механизм. Иначе говоря, реакция отличается от рефлекса не по способу своего функционирования, не по способу своего протекания. Она отличается по способу своей установки, своего замыкания и размыкания; иначе говоря, реакция отличается от рефлекса не ф[енотипически], а генотипически <...>[20].

Эта связь образуется таким путем: инструкция и поведение испытуемого в этом случае являются результатом, [или], как они выражаются, действием двух стимулов: [это] стимул инструкции, стимул разрешающий, и стимул, непосредственно вызывающий эту ответную реакцию.

Вы видите, что анализ этой реакции приводит к тому, что особые действия этой реакции могут быть объяснены не столько ее отношением к стимулам, сколько отношением ее к инструкции, т. е. к сложным формам налаживания этой связи.

В чем же заключается эта инструкция? Вот последний вопрос, на который надо ответить. В чем заключается инструкция? Если вы проследите всякую инструкцию, вы заметите, что она проделывается в условиях тех же самых, какие имеются у трехлетнего ребенка, когда мы кладем около его левой руки бумагу, около правой — ключ. Она налаживается в словах в связи, которая потом должна осуществиться на деле, налаживается инструкцией.

Иначе говоря, всякая психологическая реакция заключается вот в чем: налаживается вторая связь, сначала словесная связь между стимулом и реакцией, а затем соответствующая ей связь между двумя действиями.

Иначе можно сказать так: поведение испытуемого при психологической реакции заключается в том, что поведение протекает во втором плане. Сначала инструкция планирует, затем испытуемый выполняет этот способ действия. Ход этого способа действия протекает совершенно по механизму условного рефлекса, но нам он представляется отличным, он налаживается самим испытуемым. Другие экспериментальные исследования показывают, что и вообще намеренные действия человека протекают по этому типу, по типу операций, устанавливающих законы связи, и по типу исполнения механизма, который эту связь выполняет или осуществляет.

Левин, об экспериментальных работах которого я уже упоминал, несколько раз производил опыты, которые имели целью выяснить, как протекает намеренное действие. Основные результаты его опыта показали, что намеренное действие протекает так же, как и ненамеренное. Левин различает два основных типа действия: это так называемые действия, возникающие из ситуации, и действия, которые подчинены нашей власти, которыми мы владеем. Будем говорить такими словами. Намеренное действие, оказывается, протекает так же как и ненамеренное.

Я написал письмо. Выхожу из дому с намерением опустить его в ящик. Один случай. Другой случай: я иду по улице, мне бросается в глаза интересная книжка, я захожу и покупаю ее. В одном случае намеренное действие: я сам решил бросить письмо в ящик, я знал, как я поступлю. В другом случае — то, что Левин называет действием, возникающим из ситуации. Я шел, ничего не желал, бросилась в глаза книга, я ее купил.

Есть ли здесь разница? По-разному ли протекает действие непосредственно установленное и действие не установленное. Оказывается, что протекают они совершенно одинаково, но возникают они совершенно по-разному. Генотипически эти действия глубоко различны.

Как же они возникают генотипически? Генотипически они возникают вот таким образом. Человек, создающий намеренное действие, как показывает исследование, если можно так сказать, искусственно создает будущую ситуацию, т. е. он искусственно создает то самое, что происходит с человеком, когда книга заставляет его сделать известное действие.

Представьте себе я иду по улице, почтовый ящик мне не попадается; намеренное действие заключается в том, что я создаю такую ситуацию, которая позволяет мне предоставить мое поведение на волю будущей ситуации. Я создаю такое положение, когда почтовый ящик является для меня стимулом, побуждающим что-то сделать. Можно еще проще сказать. Все своеобразие, вся установка этих намеренных действий сводится к тому, что человек действительно определяет сам свое поведение через внешние стимулы, пользуясь внешними стимулами.

Итак, я мог бы сказать следующим образом: исследуя состав реакции при помощи внешних средств, мы находим, что эта реакция протекает в двух планах. Мы имеем операцию замыкания этой реакции и операцию ее выполнения. Операция выполнения вообще схожа с условным протеканием обыкновенного рефлекса. Условный момент другой, и то, что для реакции является неоднозначным, а сложным действием, выражается во внешних признаках, выражается в том, что она протекает дольше, она замыкается и размыкается с одного раза, выражается в том, что она постепенно падает до обыкновенного рефлекса. Это происходит потому, что путем длительного воспитания, путем длительного поведения внешние налаживающие связи перестают быть нужными и реакция переходит в обыкновенный условный рефлекс, какими являются большинство наших привычных действий.

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[20] Далее оставлены две пустые строки.

Когда мы обращаемся к составу реакций, к различным двум вещам — исполнению этого механизма и <...>[21] ее механизм, исполнение механизма для нас совершенно ясно. Но что мы можем сказать о механизме? Для того, чтобы дать ответ на этот последний вопрос, я должен остановиться очень кратко на другом экспериментальном опыте. Этот другой эксперимент исследования охватывает проблему выбора в собственном смысле этого слова.

Как поступает человек, ребенок, когда он должен выбрать из двух или нескольких мотивов один? Вы знаете, какое наступает положение колебания, когда на наше поведение действуют стимулы, заставляющие нас действовать в различных направлениях. Это много раз исследовали, и опять, как и раньше я говорил, субъективно психологический анализ может дать только объяснение этих процессов, но не может вскрыть их настоящего состава. Объективный эксперимент исследования здесь возможен тогда, когда мы применяем внешние средства этого выбора.

Первое условие выбора заключается вот в чем: я предлагаю ребенку сделать по выбору одно из двух, то, что он сам хочет: или считать до десяти, или закрыть глаза и посидеть так с полминуты. То и другое нетрудно и бессмысленно. Ребенок выбирает и делает одно из двух. По такому типу шел эксперимент выборов в психологии.

Как происходит этот выбор, как выбор производится? Для нас ясно, что функционирует обыкновенная условная связь. Я дал речевой стимул просчитать до десяти или посидеть с закрытыми глазами. Как произошел этот выбор, почему из двух стимулов ребенок выбрал один, а не другой?

Для того, чтобы ответить на этот вопрос: в чем заключается механизм самого этого замыкания, над которым мы господствуем, как мы создаем эти условные связи? — для этого нужно опять несколько условий. Затруднив выбор, мы даем испытуемому в этих случаях не выбор между двумя действиями, а выбор между двумя группами действий. Мы предлагаем выбрать действия *а, б, в, г, д* — пять действий или выбрать действия *х, ц, ш, щ, э*. Причем он может выбирать одну или другую группу. Сами же эти группы составляются следующим образом: часть действий заманчива для ребенка. Он должен получить конфету, он может унести картинку, которая ему нравится, ему позволяют поиграть с игрушками и т. д. Другая часть неприятна. Приятное и неприятное соединяются. Когда я предлагаю ребенку сделать выбор любой из двух групп (состоящих из пяти действий, приятных и неприятных) ребенок приходит в колебание, он не знает, чтó ему выбрать. С одной стороны, ему хотелось сделать то-то и то-то, но зато здесь есть неприятное. То же и наоборот.

Иначе говоря, то сложное явление, которое заключается у нас в том, что мы, выбирая из каких-нибудь сложных вещей, приводим доводы за и против, здесь выносится наружу. Мы можем теперь эти приятные и неприятные мотивы в любой дозе смешать, мы можем их учесть и исследовать это одно затруднение, которое для нас чрезвычайно важно. Другое затруднение заключается в том, что мы должны, как это часто бывает в жизни, потребовать от ребенка не длинного колебания, а быстрого выбора — сразу ограничить его сроком. Мы можем сделать некоторые мотивы известными, другие — неизвестными; мы можем сделать так, чтобы в мотивах были ярко перемешаны приятные и неприятные вещи, и т. д. И тогда эксперимент показывает, что в тех случаях, которые я сейчас перечислю, когда выбор надо произвести в ограниченный срок, когда мотивы часто неизвестны, когда ребенок не знает, что его ждет, когда мотивы приблизительно одинаковы, то есть действуют одинаково в одну и другую сторону, когда мотив особенно соблазнительный или особенно неприятный, — в этих случаях ребенок часто, если мы ограничиваем специальным образом опыт, прибегает к тому средству, которое давно выработало человечество: ребенок прибегает к жребию.

Не умея решить, ребенок прибегает к костям, которые здесь лежат, и решает: «Если выпадет черный, это сделаю, и наоборот». Бросает жребий, выполняет одну или другую группу действий и таким образом осуществляет свой выбор. Если проанализировать этот случай, становится совершенно ясно, в чем заключается эта вторая операция — замыкание связи, которая составляет существенную часть всякой обыкновенной реакции, всякого предусмотренного действия, действия, отнесенного к будущему.

С одной стороны совершенно ясно, что исполнение действия ребенком протекает по механизму условного рефлекса. Оно заключается в том, что ребенок связывает известный раздражитель, черное или белое, с известным рядом действий: как выпадет, так он и поступит. Таким образом, связь эта ребенком устанавливается часто условнорефлекторным путем. Но задача здесь несколько сложнее. Как ребенок поступил в данном случае, к какому типу мы должны отнести эти действия? К действиям по ситуации, то есть приводящим к тому действию с книгой, которая определила мое поведение, или к тому действию, где я сам намеренно опустил письмо?

С одной стороны, совершенно ясно, что это намеренное действие: «Разве выбор черного и белого не я сам установил?» Но, с другой стороны, я ведь не знал, что я так поступлю. «Выпала бы другая кость — и действие было бы другое».

В этом случае чрезвычайно остро соединены эти две формы поведения. Дело вот в чем: действие — намеренное, потому что сами по себе эти стимулы не имели никакого отношения друг к другу, пока я сам не установил между ними связь. Я сам определил выбор по жребию, или, иначе говоря, я поступил таким образом потому, что кость выпала черная.

Дальше спрашивается: почему выпавшая кость заставила так поступить? Потому что я непосредственно

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[21] Небольшой пропуск.

наладил эту связь. Следовательно, это действие намеренное. Ты сам хотел, чтобы жребий решил. Ребенок часто так и говорит, когда ему приходится выполнить неприятную вещь, когда он возвращается к колебанию или когда ребенок спрашивает, как это недавно было, нельзя ли еще перебросить. Вообще, приближаясь к тому, что надо ему выполнить, и не желая это выполнить, он пробует [поступить][22] иначе.

Другое средство — это определить свое поведение как определение его свыше. Что это значит? Когда мы овладеваем процессом природы, характерно не то, что мы овладеваем этим законом природы, а то, что мы используем, подчиняем этот закон, как основной закон действия нашего поведения. Наше поведение работает по реакционному принципу. Поведение вызывается известным стимулом. Следовательно, какой есть способ овладеть своим поведением? Только создавая и вводя в ситуацию стимул, который заставил бы нас вести себя известным образом. Мы создаем искусственную связь и намеренное действие, воспроизводим ситуацию, или заставляем за себя действовать внешний стимул, создавая такую ситуацию, когда при помощи внешнего стимула воздействуем на себя. Здесь происходит колебание выбора. Как же этот выбор разрешается? Анализ отвечал на этот вопрос так: происходят, говорил он, бесконечные замыкания полюсов.

Все время поведение напоминает замыкание этих стимулов[23]. Самый момент выбора складывается от непосредственного выбора. Он неясен. Какие мотивы победили?

Я встал. Опыт с ребенком, у которого этот внутренний процесс является внешним, чрезвычайно ясно показывает, в чем дело, анализ этого же случая и протекания его. Ребенку надо встать, он не хочет? Обычным способом является команда: раз, два, три — встаю. Ребенок поднимает сам себя через внешний стимул, который он делает знаком для того, чтобы он это проделал. Так часто поднимаемся и мы, взрослые. Ребенка, которого я наблюдал, я научил делать по команде неприятные вещи. Ребенок охотно применяет ее [команду] сам к себе. «Мне не хочется этого сделать, но — раз, два, три — я делаю».

Этот проверенный случай воздействия на себя, очень обычный случай, ясно показывает, в чем дело. Команда «раз, два, три» не имеет никакого отношения к нашему поведению, но мы делаем не иначе, как при помощи этого стимула. У нас нет другой власти над своим поведением, кроме использования естественного закона поведения. Иначе говоря, человек овладевает собою точно так же, как овладевает и внешний природой. Поскольку он научается законам, которым подчинено это поведение, и научается эти законы подчинять себе — пользуется ими.

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[22] Здесь небольшой пропуск.
[23] Эта строка вписана от руки в оставленное машинисткой пустое место.

ЛЕКЦИИ ПО ПСИХОЛОГИИ РАЗВИТИЯ[1]
Л.С. Выготский

Четвертая лекция.
Структура и функции культурных операций ребенка
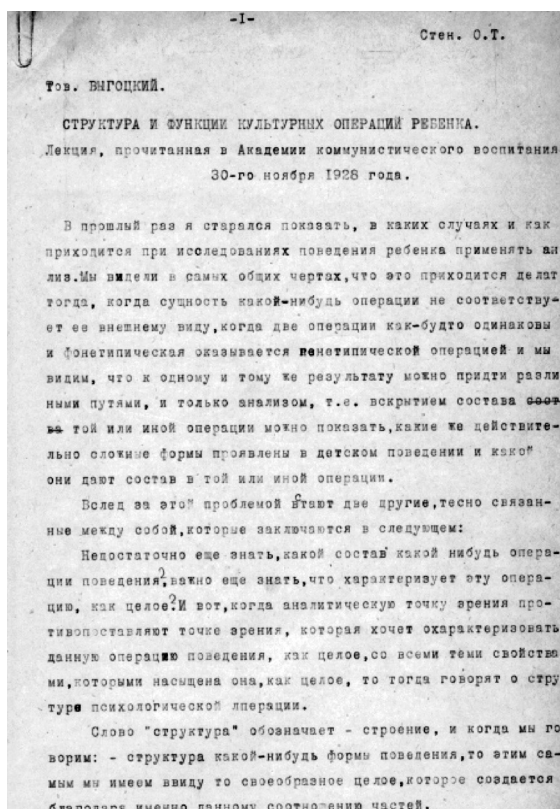
Как уже отмечалось, это — единственная лекция, тему которой сформулировал сам Л.С. Выготский и где указана дата ее прочтения — 30 ноября 1928 г.

В прошлый раз я старался показать, в каких случаях и как приходится при исследованиях поведения ребенка применять анализ. Мы видели в самых общих чертах, что это приходится делать тогда, когда сущность какой-нибудь операции не соответствует ее внешнему виду, когда две операции как будто одинаковы и операция фенотипическая оказывается генотипической, и мы видим что к одному и тому же резуль-

тату можно прийти различными путями. И только анализом, т. е. вскрытием состава той или иной операции, можно показать, какие же действительно сложные формы проявлены в детском поведении и какой они дают состав в той или иной операции.

Вслед за этой проблемой встают две другие, тесно связанные между собой, которые заключаются в следующем.

Недостаточно еще знать, какой состав какой-нибудь операции поведения; важно также знать, что характеризует эту операцию как целое. И вот, когда аналитическую точку зрения противопоставляют точке зрения, которая хочет охарактеризовать данную операцию поведения как целое, со всеми теми свойствами, которыми насыщены она как целое, то тогда говорят о структуре психологической операции.

Слово «структура» обозначает строение, и когда мы говорим: «структура какой-нибудь формы поведения», — то этим самым мы имеем в виду то своеобразное целое, которое создается благодаря именно данному соотношению частей.

Для диалектического мышления не представляет никакого открытия то обстоятельство, что целое не является простой арифметической суммой своих частей, что целое обладает такими свойствами, которые в частях по одиночке не существуют, — и обратно: что целый ряд свойств, которые имеются в частях, вовсе не обязательно проявляются в целом.

Иначе говоря, что целое возникает на известной ступени развития какого-нибудь процесса, обладает своими собственными свойствами, которые характерны для него как для целого. Стоит только этому целому распасться, и эти свойства исчезнут, несмотря на то, что все части целого перед нами остаются.

Если для философии мышления это понятие не представляет собой ничего нового, то для психологии — и, в частности, детской психологии — это понятие было введено сравнительно недавно. Так как я в сегодняшней беседе хочу осветить именно рассмотрение этого понятия, то я предполагаю начать с простых опытов, которые его вскрывают и наглядно показывают, в чем заключается закон структуры и каковы свойства структуры в области самого простого, самого примитивного поведения.

Я не знаю, рассказывали ли вам, когда вы слушали курс психологии, относительно опытов по структуре, производимых над животными на различных ступенях развития, в частности, о курице домашней и о понятии относительно цветного поля. Если нет, то я кратко постараюсь этот опыт вам рассказать, и тогда самое понятие станет для вас четким и ясным.

Опыт этот[2], который позволяет понять ясно, в чем заключается структура, производится следующим образом.

<Рисунок>

Для опытов дрессировки курицы брались два листа бумаги, светло-серый лист и темно-серый лист, на один и на другой лист бумаги насыпались зерна. Курица, когда ее подпускали к этим листам бумаги, должна была бы клевать, как это надо было бы ожидать, то с одного, то с другого листа. Однако опыт ставился так, что на одном листе бумаги, а именно на светло-сером листе, зерна лежали свободно и их легко можно было склевывать, а на темно-сером зерна были приклеены, так что курица склевывать их не могла. Вы прекрасно понимаете, что в результате проб и ошибок, успешных и безуспешных действий у курицы выработалась положительная реакция на светло-серый лист и отрицательная реакция на темно-серый.

Это значит, что когда после известного количества опытов брали снова эти два листа бумаги и подпускали курицу, она подходила безошибочно к светло-серому листу и не подходила к темно-серому. В этой части опыт показал нам необходимость такого рода самой обыкновенной дрессировки, самого обыкновенного воспитания условного рефлекса.

Когда эта стадия опыта была закончена, опыт этот перешел в критическую стадию и курица однажды была подвергнута такому опыту: курице были предъявлены следующие два листа бумаги.

<Рисунок>

Один лист светло-серый, который участвовал прошлый раз, и другой — белый лист бумаги, который был положен рядом. Что мы могли бы ожидать? Как должна вести себя курица при таком положении листов бумаги? Мы могли бы рассуждать так: если светло-серый лист бумаги, на который у курицы выработалась положительная реакция в предыдущем опыте, участвует также и в этом опыте, то можно было бы ожидать, что курица подойдет к светло-серому листу и будет с него клевать зерна. Но мы могли бы допустить и другое. Можно было бы сказать: так как ситуация резко изменилась — появился новый лист бумаги, новое соотношение, к которому реакция у курицы не установлена, — то можно было ожидать, что действительно предыдущая стадия разрушится, и можно было предполагать, что курица либо будет вести себя в отношении этих двух листов так же, как было первоначально в отношении первых двух листов, либо она даст какую-то другую реакцию. Вернее, можно было бы ожидать, что курица подойдет к светло-серому листу. Иначе говоря, можно было бы предполагать, что курица будет реагировать на структуру либо старым действием в отношении светло-серого листа, либо даст другую реакцию. И вот этот понятный опыт показывает, что наши ожидания в этом случае не оправдываются. Когда курице предъявляются два листа бумаги, светло-серый и белый, то курица подходит клевать с белого листа и совершенно обходит светло-серый, к которому у нее была выработан положительная реакция.

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[2] См.: *Выготский Л.С., Лурия А.Р.* Этюды по истории поведения. Очерки по истории поведения: Обезьяна. Примитив. Ребенок. М.; Л.: Государственное издательство, 1930. С. 39; *Выготский Л.С.* Структурная психология. С. 90; *Он же.* Л.С. Структурная психология. [Электронный ресурс]. С. 90. URL: http://psychlib.ru/mgppu/VOt-1930/VOt-0841.htm# (дата обращения: 16.09.2021) (там же см. рисунки); *Он же.* Психология искусства. М.: Искусство, 1987. Гл. 3; *Он же.* История развития высших психических функций. Соч. Т. 3. М.: Педагогика, 1983. С. 218.

Для того, чтобы понять, в чем заключается вопрос, производится третья серия опытов, которые уже устраняют совершенно какие-либо сомнения насчет характера реакции. А именно: в третий раз курице предъявляется новая пара листов бумаги, на этот раз один лист темно-серый, участвовавший в прежнем опыте, а другой — черный:

<Рисунок>

Мы могли бы ожидать на темно-серый положительную реакцию и отрицательную на черный лист. И действительно, курица клюет с темно-серого листа и совершенно обходит черный лист.

Этот опыт совершенно ясно показывает то, что можно назвать законом структуры в отношении поведения. Это я вам говорил относительно курицы, но аналогичным образом, с некоторыми изменениями в постановке опытов, подобные опыты протекают и с обезьяной, и с человеческим ребенком. Курица реагирует не на абсолютную светлость или темноту — темно-серый и светло-серый лист, — а на известное отношение, которое создается между светлым и темным.

Мы могли бы правильнее всего определить поведение курицы, если бы сказали, что она реагирует на более светлый из новых двух тонов, и когда в новой паре более светлым является белый, то этот белый тон вызывает положительную реакцию. Когда в третьей паре более светлым является светло-серый лист, то он получает положительный результат.

На основании этого мы могли бы отметить следующие свойства структуры поведения.

Первое свойство я могу формулировать так: целое обладает своими психологическими свойствами, которые не могут быть выведены из суммы его частей, и поэтому целое обладает известным соотношением в зависимости и по сравнению со своими частями. Части могут изменяться; реакция как целое, структура реакции, строение — остаются теми же самыми. Я изменил одну часть, выбросил одну часть, поставил другую, здесь выбросил одну часть и вставил другую, но реакция как целое сохранилась, и в конце концов плюс-минус сохранился за целым.

Итак, мы видим, что части могут изменяться, а структура может остаться.

Второе: самые свойства частей определяются тем целым, в которое они входят. Это наиболее важное для нас сегодня. Вот посмотрите: светло-серый лист в этом целом, в этой структуре, составляет часть, и в этой паре светло-серый лист имеет положительную реакцию. Но будучи внесен в это целое, он дает отрицательную реакцию. Входит в другую пару листов и дает положительную реакцию. Иначе говоря, истинные свойства частей изменяются в зависимости от того целого, в которое эти части входят.

Этот пример и опыт показывают с совершенной ясностью, в чем заключается то, что мы называем структурой в поведении. Под структурой мы будем подразумевать то целое и такой процесс, который обладает известными свойствами именно в силу своего строе-

ния, в силу того, что оно такое целое, которое является независимо от своих частей и которое определяет свойство этих своих частей в известной степени.

Вместе с тем мы получаем и второе определение, а именно, определение того, что мы будем называть функциональным отношением внутри данной структуры.

Если мы обратимся к истории развития структуры, то мы увидим, что структура имеется в генетическом отношении двоякого порядка: первая — это структура наиболее целостная и наиболее примитивная и наименее расчлененная, такая, в которой отдельные части не выступают самостоятельно. Это будет так называемая структура-образ, или примитивная, нерасчлененная структура. Примером такой структуры, такого целого является цветное поле[3]. Опыт показал, что и животные, и ребенок в раннем возрасте на однородное цветное поле реагируют первоначально как на наиболее целостное. Для них ясен этот цвет. В самом деле, представьте себе красный лист бумаги, однородное цветное поле, и вы понимаете, что это целое есть наиболее целостное, есть наименее расчлененное, во всех своих точках наиболее однородное.

Более сложными в генетическом отношении являются уже структуры с расчлененными частями, они уже не являются таким целым, как, например, красная закрашенная гладко поверхность. Они являются целым, внутри которого выступают более или менее отдельные части, но все-таки целое продолжает существовать как целое. И вот в таких целых возникает то, что нас сегодня интересует, — а именно функциональное отношение между целым и между его частями и к каждой из частей целого.

Представьте себе, что есть одноцветное поле, которое разделено на 4 квадратика. Вот это цветное поле. Какое отношение частей к этому целому? Отношение одинаковое, каждая точка этого поля составляет просто арифметическую часть или дробь этого целого.

<Рисунок>

Какое здесь отношение? Здесь уже функциональное отношение, т. е. каждая из частей исполняет в отношении целого известную функцию. Вот светло-серый лист. Тут функция более светлая, тут более темная. В двух других парах то же самое — здесь одна функция, здесь другая.

Иначе говоря, в зависимости от того, в какое целое входит та или другая часть, она соответствует и различным функциям в отношении к своему целому. Иначе говоря, нас интересует самая структура, т. е. характеристика целого и функциональное отношение, которое создается между этими частями.

Позвольте теперь сразу перейти к примеру психологическому, который должен нас ближе подвести к ребенку. Вы знаете, вероятно, что уже давно в психологии детского языка было установлено то положение, что развитие детского языка, детской речи не совершается так, как это может показаться, фенотипи-

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[3] Этот пример в публикациях Выготского не фигурирует.

чески: что раньше возникают отдельные звуки, потом слога́, потом из слогов возникают слова, потом из слов возникают предложения. Сейчас уже мы прекрасно знаем, что в начале развития детской речи стоит целая фаза генетических единиц, единичных начальных слов. Таким образом, теперь мы знаем достоверно, что детская речь развивается не от частей к целому, а от целого к части. Если ребенок произносит «мама», то, по Штерну, это означает целое аффективно-волевое явление для выражения речи ребенка; иначе говоря, это есть целое, или примитивная не расчлененная еще структура. Вот это и будет пример такой структуры, которая соответствует структуре красного поля, т. е. без функционального отношения отдельных частей.

Как дальше идет развитие речи? Оно заключается в том, что от нерасчлененной структуры переходит к расчлененной, т. е. к структуре речи, где из этого целого выделяются отдельные части и получаются сложные функциональные отношения между частями, которые характерны для нашей фазы. Тут фраза уже состоит из целого ряда слов — например, «мама, посади меня на стул» или «мама, дай мне то-то». Тут [есть] отдельные части, которые стоят в функциональном отношении к целому.

В отношении к человеку, если мы имеем в виду детское развитие, то вы знаете, что основной стадией, мерилом характера той структуры, которой достигла первоначальная детская фаза, является детское «мама», которое потом заменяется двумя словами, потом появляется третье слово. Если фраза сначала является аграмматической, без соединения слов, а потом вы слышите и придаточное предложение, то тут мы уже наблюдаем, как нерасчлененная структура переходит в структуру высшего порядка.

Чтобы дать характеристику речевой детской единицы в смысле строения, чтобы еще ближе подойти к предмету, который нас сегодня интересует, позволю себе перевести то же самое положение на один из самых основных вопросов детской психологии — на вопрос относительно развития внутренней речи ребенка.

Вы знаете, конечно, что у нас существует так называемый процесс внутренней речи, безмолвной, беззвучной речи, и что этот процесс имеет первенствующее значение для мышления. Правда, до сих пор является спорным теоретический вопрос, в каком отношении стоят процессы мышления к процессу внутренней речи. Одни психологи склонны ограничивать эти отношения, другие, наоборот, склонны считать, что между мышлением и внутренней речью существуют другие, более сложные отношения. Но как бы ни решать этот спорный и большой теоретический вопрос, не подлежит сомнению тот факт, что развитие внутренней речи является одним из важнейших условий для развития нашего мышления. Это положение, с которым ни один психолог не спорит.

Вместе с тем, если вы обратитесь к педологии и спросите, как развивается внутренняя речь, в каком примерно возрасте, какими путями возникает, какими способами возникает, то вы увидите, что этот важнейший вопрос до сих пор остается без ясного удовлетворительного ответа. Мы не знаем, когда возникает внутренняя речь, как происходит это важнейшее превращение нашей речи во внутреннюю речь?

Уотсон, американский психолог, высказывает предположение, что внутренняя речь развивается из внешней через шепот; иначе говоря, что шепот занимает среднее место между внутренней речью, беззвучной, и речью звучащей. Предположим, что развитие идет в такой последовательности: ребенок сначала от звучной речи переходит к шепоту, от шепота переходит к беззвучной речи. Но так как мы такого закона, чтобы у ребенка громкая речь переходила в шепот, а от шепота к внутренней речи, не знаем, то возникает потребность рассмотреть это предположение. Действительно ли мы можем предположить, что развитие внутренней речи совершается через шепот? Для этого нужно рассмотреть вопрос, как мы это делали раньше. Возьмем фенотипически, т. е. по внешнему виду, действительно ли шепот занимает среднее место? Несомненно, фенотипически это обстоит так. Однако если мы обратимся не к фенотипическому рассмотрению, а к генотипическому рассмотрению, то мы увидим, что функции, которые выполняет внутренняя речь, глубоко отличаются от функций, которые выполняет внешняя речь. Внешняя речь служит для социального приспособления, для связи с окружающими людьми, а внутренняя речь служит для индивидуального приспособления, для ориентировки, для налаживания, для планирования собственного поведения.

Таким образом, функции внутренней речи оказываются отличными и от функций внешней речи, они выполняют различные задачи. Структура внутренней речи является ли просто беззвучной внешней речью? Нет. Сам Уотсон показал, что если бы мы зафиксировали, предположим, на пластинке фонографа процесс внутренней речи, то получилось бы нечто неуловимое и несравнимое по сравнению с внешней речью, так как в процессе внутренней речи имеет место процесс сокращений, экономии, коротких замыканий — иногда можно установить только отдельные опорные точки. Иначе говоря, если бы мы с помощью какого-нибудь аппарата зафиксировали бы внутреннюю речь, то мы ее совершенно не узнали бы, настолько она оказалась бы отличной от речи внешней.

Итак, можно сказать, что внутренняя речь оказывается отличной от внешней речи, как по структуре, т. е. в отношении своего строения, так и в функциональном отношении, т. е. относительно той задачи, которую она выполняет в отношении к нашему целому.

Вот и возникает вопрос: можно ли допустить, что два процесса, столь различные в отношении структуры и в отношении функций, являются генетически связанными через шепот, т. е. через переходное звено, которое только фенотипически, по внешнему виду занимает среднее место, а функции и структура весьма отличны от громкой речи?

Эксперименты в области исследования шепота показали, что шепот у ребенка может быть вызван в раннем возрасте, примерно в два года, когда еще нет возможности объективно приписать ребенку процесс внутренней речи. Это — с одной стороны. А с другой — дальнейшие опыты показали, что шепот ре-

бенка не развивается спонтанно в моменты до первого школьного возраста — момента, когда возникает потребность в шепоте, когда именно люди хотели бы, чтобы их слова слышало ограниченное количество людей. Такие сложные отношения у ребенка возникают гораздо позднее, хотя к этому приучают его чрезвычайно рано; ребенок относительно некоторых своих потребностей рано научается говорить на ухо.

Таким образом констатировано, во-первых, чрезвычайно большое различие шепота, процесса внутренней речи и громкой речи, а с другой стороны, очень медленное развитие шепота. Если бы действительно дело происходило так, что внешняя речь превращалась в шепот, а шепот — во внутреннюю речь, то шепот должен был бы занимать основное место в процессе развития детской речи, а до восьми лет этого не происходит.

Наконец, исследования структуры и функций показали, во-первых, что шепот в точности воспроизводит структуру речи громкой: от того, что мы понижаем голос, не изменяется структура фразы. С другой стороны, эта функция заключается в более сложной манере социального приспособления: мы шепчем то, что мы не хотим, чтобы слышали окружающие, или когда хотим, чтобы наш голос не был слышен даже в соседней комнате. Таким образом, и со стороны функций, и со стороны структуры мы находим глубокое отличие шепота от внутренней речи.

Возникает сомнение, действительно ли шепот, который фенотипически является переходной формой, является такой переходной формой в генотипическом отношении? Ведь все, что мы знаем о развитии детской речи, заставляет нас ответить на это отрицательно, а именно, приходится сказать, что здесь мы имеем яркий пример того, до какой степени фенотипическое заключение способно нас обмануть и указать ложно создающееся звено между двумя процессами.

Иначе говоря, если мы посмотрим внимательно, то оказывается, что предполагавшееся фенотипически внешнее сходство, необходимое для определения шепота как переходной формы от процесса внешней речи к процессу внутренней речи, ни структурой, ни функциями в этом отношении не подтверждается.

Что дает генотипический анализ? Для того, чтобы выяснить происхождение внутренней речи из внешней, он старается найти связующее звено, переходный момент, которым связана внешняя речь с внутренней. Этот переходный момент намечается в той форме детской речи, которая в последние годы установлена и описана швейцарским исследователем Пиаже[4]. Он исследовал детскую речь в раннем и дошкольном возрасте и установил особую функцию детской речи, которую он называет эгоцентрической речью.

Вы знаете, в чем заключается эта эгоцентрическая речь? Она заключается в том, что ребенок, производя какое-нибудь действие, разговаривает часто на людях, и разговаривает таким образом, что не ставит себе задачу сообщить свою мысль другим и не дожидается ответа от этих других. Он как бы на людях говорит вслух сам с собой, мыслит сам с собой вслух. В отличие от социальной речи, которая направлена на общение с другими, Пиаже предложил эту речь называть эгоцентрической.

Самое интересное заключается в проверке этого исследованиями. Пиаже пришла мысль измерить эту эгоцентрическую речь в известной области. Пиаже стал подсчитывать эгоцентрическую речь ребенка и попытался вывести коэффициент этой эгоцентрической речи. Этот коэффициент эгоцентрической речи выразится следующим образом: подсчитаем все ранние, спонтанные высказывания ребенка и подсчитаем отдельно его эгоцентрические высказывания, [затем] возьмем отношение эгоцентрических и спонтанных высказываний, — какую часть, какой процент всех высказываний ребенка составит эгоцентрическая речь?

Пиаже производил свой подсчет двояким способом: или подсчитывал речь одного ребенка, или подсчитывал речь целой детской группы. Он подсчитывал высказывания всех детей, сидящих в группе. Подсчитав все высказывания всех детей, он получил следующий вывод, для нас чрезвычайно интересный. Оказывается, что, по данным Пиаже, сравнивавшим школьный и дошкольный возраст, получается: для дошкольника, заканчивающего свой дошкольный стаж, этот коэффициент дает цифру 47—50%, а для школьника, начинающего свой школьный стаж, коэффициент сразу падает и выражается в цифре 25%. Иначе говоря, сразу резко, в течение одного года коэффициент эгоцентрической речи падает в два раза.

Чем объясняется этот факт? Если ближе посмотреть эгоцентрическую речь, то увидим, что она является и в функциональном и в структурном отношении переходной формой между речью внешней и внутренней.

Раньше всего, если возьмем со стороны структуры, то заметим, что эгоцентрическая речь имеет свои свойства, а именно — она будет вам непонятна, если вы не будете знать всех тех действий, во время которых происходил разговор. Она является сокращенной, многое в ней выпущено. Когда ребенок так говорит, он не заботится, чтобы его поняли окружающие.

Это не значит, что ребенок не умеет разговаривать так, чтобы его понимали. Когда ему нужно поставить вопрос, нужно сделать предложение, когда ему нужно сообщить, информировать, то он прекрасно умеет сказать так, что вы поймете. Но когда он говорит сам с собой, для себя, он выпускает целые слова, и если вы не будете знать всю ситуацию, в которой он разговаривает, то вы [его] и не поймете.

Если вы возьмете протоколы, в которых записана эгоцентрическая речь, то много вы не поймете. Если, скажем, происходит так, что ребенок рисовал зайца, он может сказать: «уши» или «теперь уши». Это означает, что он намерен зайцу приделать уши. Первое, что отличает структуру эгоцентрической речи, заключается в том, что она так тесно вкраплена во внешние действия ребенка, в его игру, что стано-

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[4] В стенограмме: «Пьеже». По-видимому, Выготский произносил имя как «Пьяжé».

вится непонятной, когда вы оторвете ее от действий и попытаетесь понять саму по себе.

Что обнаруживает эта речь? Сходство с внутренней речью. Потому что, несомненно, мы здесь имеем начало сокращений, которые свойственны внутренней речи. Наша внутренняя речь тоже понятна себе, потому что она служит для индивидуального, а не для социального приспособления. Если вы возьмете функцию эгоцентрической речи, то увидите, что она потому названа эгоцентрической, что выполняет функцию не связи с окружающими людьми, а функцию индивидуального приспособления. Она сопровождает и стимулирует собственную активность ребенка, и потому в функциональном отношении она является родственной внутренней речи. Почему это не сама внутренняя речь? Для ответа на этот вопрос имеется следующий опыт, предложенный Уотсоном.

Уотсон для исследования внутренней речи заставляет испытуемого мыслить вслух. Он дает задачу и просит рассуждать вслух. Этот метод, который применяется в целом ряде опытов и который может быть оправдан, все же, конечно, является методом не без греха. Порок этого метода заключается в том, что когда испытуемый мыслит вслух, как бы он ни мыслил для себя, все же он, пользуясь звуками, до известной степени изменяет свою внутреннюю речь, переводя ее на рельсы внешней речи. Иначе говоря, внутреннее мышление часто заменяется рассуждением, но все-таки при применении этого метода мы замечаем — особенно когда испытуемый глубоко поглощен своей задачей — все характерные функции и структурные свойства эгоцентрической речи ребенка.

Когда мы будем говорить о речи, мы будем говорить об этом подробно, сейчас же достаточно установить следующее: что переходным моментом между внутренней и внешней речью ребенка является не шепот, который фенотипически, по внешнему виду, при наименьшей звучности занимает среднее место, а эгоцентрическая речь ребенка, которая по внешности не отличается от внешней речи и которая функционально и структурно является поэтому переходной в отношении речи вообще.

Какие громадные выводы получаются из этого? Генотипическое рассмотрение процесса внутренней речи ясно будет из следующего: мы не только приобретаем по эгоцентрической речи объект речи вообще — внешней, звучной, — но мы овладеваем и всеми свойствами внутренней речи, т. е. мы не только можем на объекте анализа речи ребенка проследить все функции и структуру детской внутренней речи, но мы приобретаем возможность судить о том, что представляет собою и внутренняя речь и как происходит превращение внешней речи во внутреннюю.

В самом деле, почему внешняя речь превращается во внутреннюю, какие факторы определяют линию этого превращения?

Если дальнейшими исследованиями подтвердится, что переходной фазой от внешней к внутренней является эгоцентрическая, то ответ будет звучать приблизительно так: речь строится психологически внутренне раньше, чем строится физиологически внутренне. Это значит, что по своей психологической функции речь уже внутренняя, эгоцентрически она уже внутренняя, для себя, но по своему внешнему виду она еще речь звучная, громкая. Изменилась функция речи, речь стала выполнять другую более сложную функцию, последовало изменение структуры. Изменилась структура, речь стала сокращаться, видоизменяться, она стала все более и более непонятной окружающим, более и более замыкалась в себе, и речь становится физиологически внутренней. И только после того, как она психологически изменила функции и структуру, она изменила свое отношение и к речи вообще.

На этом примере я хотел бы показать, до какой степени структура и функции, как характеристика какого-нибудь процесса, являются важными для определения их генеза, т. е. развития. Вы видели, что с точки зрения фенотипической шепот занимает среднее место между одной и другим видом речи, а с генотипической точки зрения эгоцентрическая речь занимает среднее место между одной и другой формой речи, и что эту переходную генотипическую схему эгоцентрической речи можно установить только исследованием структуры и функций этой речи.

Позвольте сделать маленький перерыв.

<Перерыв>

Если перейти к более близкой характеристике того, какие же виды структур и какие виды целого образуются в процессе развития поведения ребенка, то в самых общих чертах и в общей форме можно сказать следующее.

Ребенок, переходя от примитивных форм поведения к культурным формам поведения, обнаруживает все большее и большее нарастание особого типа структур, которые, по предложению Кёлера, принято называть структурой обходных путей[5]. В опытах Кёлера эти обходные пути различаются как обходные пути в прямом и в переносном смысле этого слова.

Типичной структурой поведения, обходным путем в прямом, буквальном, смысле этого слова является такой опыт.

Очень простая, огороженная с трех сторон клетка. С этой стороны — решетка, через которую видно, что в клетке лежит плод, или корм, например, кусок мяса. Вот здесь — животное, предположим, собака или обезьяна. У человеческого ребенка при примитивной структуре детского поведения будет прямое направление к цели. Животное, находящееся в состоянии аффекта, под влиянием стимула сильного голода прямо бросается и старается через решетку достать цель, хотя эта цель положена так далеко, что ее прямо достать нельзя. Животное, находящееся в более спокойном состоянии, развивает движения обходным путем.

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[5] Сложность структуры обходного пути — критерий разумности действия.

Замечательным в этом обходном пути является следующее: при непосредственной инстинктивной реакции, при аффективном состоянии животное действует прямо к цели; но если пища лежит не здесь, а животное прямо эту пищу достать не может, тогда животное действует обходным путем под углом в 180° к этой цели. Таким образом, структура обходного пути характеризуется раньше всего тем, что в отличие от примитивно направленного действия это действие развивается так, что при рассмотрении его в своих частях оно является действием не к цели, а от цели. Получается, что животное, вместо того чтобы бежать к цели, — бежит *от* цели, и этот бег от цели является, в этом смысле — если вы будете рассматривать его как часть общей кривой, — бегом к цели.

Исследуя этот примитивный обходной путь в буквальном смысле этого слова, психологи смогли установить, что для различных животных доступны различные степени этих обходных путей. Например, если вы возьмете вместо обезьяны курицу, то вы узнаете, что такое действие под углом в 180° для курицы невозможно, она будет стараться пролезть через решетку, хотя попытки эти будут бесполезны. Как выражается Кёлер, при примитивном или, в данном случае, глупом поведении на несколько килограмм-метров работы тратится больше, чем тратится при обходном пути.

<Рисунок>

Стоит этот опыт продолжить, поставить клетку чуть-чуть под углом к этой цели. Если вот так, а курица помещается вот здесь, чтобы обходной путь требовал поворота в 90°, и вот тут начинается зона обходных путей, которые доступны для курицы.

Этот тип обходных путей является у целого ряда животных инстинктивным. Собака, кошка без труда совершают сложные обходные пути, чтобы обойти препятствие, и для вас понятно, почему эти обходные пути в буквальном смысле этого слова развиваются у животных инстинктивно, т. е. врожденно.

Взять, например, обезьяну. Ей, как вообще всякому животному, очень часто приходится, скажем, в лесу видеть цель там, куда она прямо пройти не может — скажем, препятствует дерево, пропасть, яма, пень, и приходится животному действовать обходным путем. Таким образом, простейшие обходные пути являются инстинктивными.

Кёлер исследовал ребенка одного года и нашел у него наличие только примитивной структуры этих путей, однако эти обходные пути и структуры обходных путей, которое отличаются в основном тем, что ведут к цели не по прямому пути, а по обходному пути, могут быть поняты нами и в переносном смысле. К таким структурам обходных путей Кёлер справедливо относит все случаи употребления орудий.

<Рисунок>

Если возьмем ту же ситуацию, [но] предположим, вот эта клетка закрыта со всех сторон. Здесь — цель, вот тут — обезьяна. Вот тут лежит палка. Цель нельзя достать непосредственно. Обходной путь заключается в том, что обезьяна при помощи палки достает пищу. Вот это самое употребление орудий Кёлер рассматривает как случай более сложной структуры обходных путей.

Какие есть основания для того, чтобы определить, что это есть обходной путь? Это сделать очень просто. Представьте себе, что животное находится в состоянии аффекта.

Вот здесь находится собака, здесь в клетке — кусок мяса. Собака очень голодна. От мяса в клетке протянута веревка. Собака, как показывает опыт, будет лаять, метаться, бегать около клетки, ища обходных путей, но она не потянет за веревку мясо; настолько она поглощена видом мяса, что всякий другой предмет не является стимулом для ее действий.

Обходной путь с употреблением орудий заключается в том, что обезьяна хватает палку, в то время как ее цель — не палка. Обезьяна, видя цель, действует обходным путем, она берется за предмет, который, казалось бы, уводит ее от цели, но она прибегает к этому предмету потому, что структура ее действий является первым шагом для достижения цели обходным путем[6].

Дальнейшие опыты показывают дальнейшие указания относительно обходных путей. Они показывают, что обходной путь, совершаемый собственном телом, гораздо легче, чем обходной путь, совершаемый орудием.

Например, представьте себе такой опыт.

<Рисунок>

Вот здесь — обезьяна, вот здесь — плод. На этот раз цель свободна. Вот этот ящик в три стенки настолько низок, что обезьяна видит, что делается в ящике. Здесь лежит палка. Обезьяна берет палку и стремится сквозь стенку притянуть к себе плод. Так как плод через стенку притянуть нельзя, то действие обезьяны остается безрезультатным. Тогда наиболее умные обезьяны поступают так: они берут палку и вместо того, чтобы подкатывать плод к себе в направлении прямого действия, они катят плод от себя и отгоняют его вот так. Таким образом они совершают при помощи палки обходное действие. Когда плод случайно начинает катиться к отверстию, тогда он попадает обходным путем к обезьяне.

Представьте себе, что вот здесь — обезьяна, тут будет ящик, здесь будет находиться свободно плод. Тут обходной путь тот же, и если достать цель при помощи движения тела кошке или собаке не удается, то нужно сделать обходной путь при помощи орудия. Иначе говоря, обходной путь с движением собственного тела является, несомненно, более простым, чем обходной путь при помощи орудия.

Иначе говоря, мы видим, что внутри одной и той же структуры, которую можно назвать структурой обходного пути, — характеризуемой тем, что цель достигается не по прямому пути, а обходным путем, — имеются различия по степеням сложности. Есть более простые и более сложные [структуры].

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[6] *Опосредствование*, рождение предметного действия — высшая форма обходного пути у животных.

Еще одно интересное свойство в структуре обходного пути, которое важно отметить. Я вам сейчас покажу пример структуры обходного пути, которая будет отличаться от структуры во втором смысле, т. е. от структуры с нерасчлененными частями.

<Рисунок>

Представьте себе такое положение: вот здесь животное, вот цель. Животное может достать цель рукою. Здесь целый ряд предметов. Чем являются все эти предметы для обезьяны? Для нее вся эта ситуация чрезвычайно проста: все реальное, что она видит, составляет фон. Эта ситуация является нейтральным стимулом и в силу своей нейтральности будет означать только фон. Плод является действующим стимулом, и на этом фоне он является стимулом, который заставляет действовать. Следовательно, все окружающие предметы при наиболее простой структуре являются для обезьяны исключительно фоном. Представьте себе, что обезьяна должна прибегнуть к обходному пути, при этом окружающие предметы перестают быть для нее нейтральными предметами, а каждая из частей становится в какое-нибудь функциональное отношение к цели. Опыт показывает, что если, например, вот здесь стоит башмак, то обезьяна связывает этот башмак со своей целью, она пытается достать цель при помощи башмака. Если это не удается, то она выстраивает башмак в ряд с целью, чтобы заполнить место между собой и целью. Если [и] это ей не удается, то она хватает башмак и швыряет в цель. Так ведет себя и ребенок двух лет и одного месяца.

Иначе говоря, нейтральных предметов не существует, как только прямой путь к цели не был найден. Так же точно ведет себя и животное более примитивное. Если здесь лежит одеяло, которым покрывается обезьяна, соломенная шляпа и другой предмет — все равно [какой], — любой предмет приобретает функциональное значение и любой предмет старается использовать обезьяна, чтобы приблизиться к цели. Получается структура более сложного порядка, где мы имеем не просто фон, нейтральный стимул в пределах одного действующего стимула, а получается структура, где испытывается функциональное отношение между отдельными предметами. Обезьяна эти предметы то швыряет, то устраивает мостик, то пользуется в виде орудия. Нейтральный фон перестает быть фоном, структура фона переходит в структуру функционального отношения между частями.

К такого типа структуре, только еще более сложной, потому что речь идет о структурах не наглядных, относится и та структура, которая нас здесь должна интересовать, именно структура сложных форм поведения ребенка. Эта структура является структурой обходных путей, потому что она помогает там, где на прямом пути психологическая операция ребенка оказывается невозможной. Однако, так как эти обходные пути приобретены человечеством в своем культурном историческом развитии, так как социальная среда с самого начала предлагает ребенку целый ряд таких обходных путей, то мы очень часто не замечаем, что мы идем по обходному пути.

Простой пример. Представьте себе, что мне нужно сравнить, в какой из двух групп имеется больше предметов. Или представьте, что ребенку нужно разделить известную группу предметов, известное количество частей — скажем, разделить игрушки или шашки между несколькими присутствующими. Примитивная, самая простая операция была бы следующая: делится каким-нибудь образом на глаз, как это делается у детей младшего возраста или у примитивных людей. Мы — люди культурные, и ребенок старшего школьного возраста, чтобы разделить, действует обходным путем — он раньше пересчитывает предметы. Таким образом, основная цель — разделить — отступает на задний план. Прежде пересчитывают предметы, потом пересчитывают, сколько есть присутствующих участников, затем производят арифметическую операцию, предположим, делят 64 предмета на 4 присутствующих; получается, сколько должно быть у каждого, и затем делят. Иначе говоря, основная цель, несомненно, не наступает непосредственно, как только возникла задача, а даже у ребенка раннего возраста она отодвигается, ставится в конце, а промежуток заполняется целым рядом операций, которые являются обходным путем для решения задачи.

Равным образом, когда ребенок начинает считать по пальцам, когда, не будучи в состоянии дать прямой ответ на вопрос учителя, сколько будет 6 и 2, он начинает считать по пальцам (отсчитывает 6, потом отсчитывает 2 и говорит: 8), то мы опять имеем структуру обходного пути для выполнения известной операции — счета. Ребенок, не имея готового, автоматического ответа, пользуется своими членами, которые раньше являлись только фоном для ребенка. В данном случае руки, не имея прямого отношения к вопросу, приобретают значение средства, как только задача на прямом пути оказывается для ребенка отрезанной.

Мы могли бы на основании этих положений определить самые функции, самое назначение этой операции, какое назначение выполняет эта культурная операция в жизни ребенка. Мы могли бы относительно всякой структуры ответить так.

Опыт показывает, что структура обходного пути возникает только тогда, когда возникает препятствие на прямом пути, когда реакция по прямому пути оказывается отрезанной, иначе говоря, когда ситуация предъявляет такие требования, что примитивная реакция оказывается неудовлетворительной. Как общее правило, мы это можем отнести к сложным культурным операциям ребенка. Ребенок начинает прибегать к обходным путям тогда, когда на прямом пути реакция затруднена; иначе говоря, когда требования приспособления, встающие перед ребенком, превышают его возможности в данную минуту; иначе говоря, когда у ребенка оказывается дефицит в поведении — когда при помощи естественной реакции он не может справиться с задачей, которая возникла. Тогда возникает движение обходным путем.

В качестве примера я позволю себе привести свой опыт, который представляет собой модификацию опыта Пиаже относительно эгоцентрической речи ребенка.

Мы наблюдаем эгоцентрическую речь ребенка приблизительно в такой же ситуации, как у Пиаже, но только мы задаемся целью проследить, от каких

факторов зависит эта эгоцентрическая речь. Отличие этого опыта от опыта Пиаже заключается в том, что мы затрудняем поведение ребенка. Мы наблюдаем ребенка в момент свободного рисования, но, в отличие от Пиаже, мы организуем дело так, что у ребенка не хватает цветного карандаша. Когда он увлекся рисованием, мы незаметно отбираем образец, по которому он рисовал; когда он копирует рисунок на папиросную бумагу, мы незаметно вынимаем кнопку и бумага отрывается. Словом, мы организуем поведение ребенка так, чтобы он наталкивался на ряд затруднений. И я констатировал, что эгоцентрическая речь, подсчитанная в этих случаях, сразу возрастает на 96%, в то время как нормальный коэффициент около 47%. Это показывает, как возникает эгоцентрическая речь тогда, когда у ребенка возникают затруднения. Представьте себе, что ребенок рисует, ему нужен красный карандаш. Если этот карандаш тут лежит, появится ли эгоцентрическая речь? Нет. Ребенку нужен красный карандаш, он берет и рисует. Но представьте, что ребенку нужен красный карандаш, а этого карандаша около него нет, он оглядывается — нет карандаша. Вот тут является эгоцентрическая речь — рассуждение: пропал красный карандаш, надо достать красный карандаш, или заяц останется без ушей, или придется нарисовать серым карандашом, или, если намочить синий в воде, то будет как красный. И потом ребенок это делает. Иначе говоря, там, где нельзя действием справиться с ситуацией, там выступает на сцену рассуждение, как планировать свое поведение, как достать, или ребенок пытается отдать себе отчет в том, что происходит. Этот обходной путь возникает тогда, когда прямой путь отрезан.

Этот опыт убеждает в том, что эгоцентрическая речь ребенка может быть самая важная из функции внутренней речи, так как она планирует функции относительно поведения. Вы знаете, до какой степени то, что у человека возникает в голове, влияет на то, что он делает, и до какой степени это характерно для поведения человека, и в какой степени это обусловливает наши акты, наше отношение к окружающей среде. Вот это планирование мы находим в эгоцентрической детской речи.

Клапаред — швейцарский исследователь — указывает законы, объясняющие структуру таких обходных операций. Эти законы он называет законами трудности осознания. Клапаред исследовал, как возникает у ребенка реакция на сходное и реакция на различное, и натолкнулся на следующие факты: реакция на сходное возникает раньше, чем реакция на различное; между тем словесное определение различного возникает раньше, чем словесное определение сходства.

Клапаред это объясняет так. Совершенно понятно, что ребенок раньше опознает в мысли различие, чем сходство, и почему раньше действует в отношении сходства, чем различия. В отношении сходства нет трудностей, он прямо реагирует, у него нет оснований прибегать к обходному пути. В отношении различного он гораздо больше наталкивается на ошибки, предпринимает одно-другое действие, и тут обнаруживается, как возникает обходная операция.

Клапаред оформляет этот закон так: мы осмысливаем на словах или переводим операцию из плана действия в план вербальный по мере того, как мы научаемся приспособлению, по мере того, как мы наталкиваемся на трудности нашего поведения.

И действительно, исследователи не только эгоцентрической речи, но и исследователи более сложных операций показывают, что всякий раз структура обходных путей возникает тогда, когда операция на прямом пути оказывается отрезанной. Иначе говоря, основная функция, основное назначение этой высшей формы приспособления заключается в том, чтобы осуществлять приспособление там, где приспособление по прямому пути оказывается для ребенка затрудненным.

Но [есть] еще одно чрезвычайно важное положение, которое можно формулировать так: развитие таких высших форм поведения совершается под давлением необходимости. Если у ребенка нет необходимости подумать, то он никогда не подумает. Если те трудности, которые вы организуете, заставляют ребенка исправлять свое поведение, подумать, прежде чем действовать, осознать на словах, как говорит Клапаред, — тогда возникает и соответствующее поведение. И если вы организуете опыт так, что у вас на эти затруднения ребенок не наталкивается, то окажется, что и процент его эгоцентрической речи сразу падает с 96% до 47% , почти в 2 раза.

Возникает вопрос: почему же все-таки, когда у ребенка трудностей нет, и тогда эгоцентрическая речь выражается в значительной сумме 47%, около половины речи дошкольной? И не противоречит ли это тому, что эгоцентрическая речь, как вообще структура обходного пути, возникает от трудностей?

Этот вопрос не представляется особенно трудным. Вы понимаете, что если у ребенка нет внешних трудностей, то есть внутренние. Вы припомните, в какой последовательности идут его действия. Предположим, он должен выбрать, что рисовать. Он нарисовал зайца, он кончил рисовать, он должен выбрать, что ему рисовать дальше. Иначе говоря, трудности и тут вызывают эгоцентрическую речь, и эти трудности — внутреннего порядка. Для того, чтобы экспериментально изучить, как и какие трудности влияют на эгоцентрическую речь, как возникает эта эгоцентрическая речь, для этого следует обязательно рассмотреть — наряду с этими внутренними трудностями, которые иногда невозможно учесть, — и внешние трудности. И тут опыт показывает, что эта же самая эгоцентрическая речь возникает и при трудностях внешних. Иначе говоря, эксперименты показывают, что роль внешних и внутренних трудностей одинакова в смысле вызова этих обходных путей. Иначе говоря, и там, где мы не видим внешних трудностей, не видим возникновения структуры обходных путей, а у ребенка возникает эгоцентрическая или внутренняя речь, — там нужно предполагать наличие внутренних трудностей, т. е. каких-либо затруднений, с которыми ребенок пытается справиться обходным путем.

Вот все, что я хотел вам сегодня сказать. В следующий раз мы будем беседовать о генезе в отношении основных стадий развития ребенка.

Хронотоп культурно-исторической науки о деятельности[1]

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Введение

Тема данной статьи не совсем совпадает с ее главной целью. Точнее сказать, что тема одновременно указывает и на цель, и на средство, и на ее результат. Без длинных вступлений можно сказать, что главная цель заключается в том, чтобы обсудить ситуацию в современном сообществе «Выготскианской академии» (термин Е. Матусова) с точки зрения вопроса о его общем основании, получив в итоге некоторый ответ на этот вопрос. Однако следует предупредить, что под «общим основанием» здесь будет рассматриваться совсем не то, что *обычно* понимается под этими словами — многократно обсуждавшиеся концепции Л.С. Выготского, А.Н. Леонтьева, М.М. Бахтина, И. Энгестрёма и других авторов, которые действительно выступают в качестве достаточно общего фундамента многочисленных современных исследований, теорий и научных подходов, а их имена являются хорошо узнаваемыми обозначениями (указателями) соответствующих теоретических и методологических ориентаций.

Вопрос, который будет обсуждаться здесь, скорее имеет обратное направление — *телеологическое*, т. е. это вопрос о том, можно ли найти некоторое единство в целевой направленности современных исследований. Или совсем просто — можно ли установить какую-то объединяющую и единую *цель* развития деятельности данного сообщества, несмотря на то, что оно фактически является чрезвычайно тематически разнообразным, полидисциплинарным, международным, многопредметным, многоголосным и т. п.

(В скобках замечу, что с этим вопросом связаны и другие важные вопросы, в частности вопрос о том, как достичь единства в его обозначении, или идентификации, и еще более значимый вопрос об оценке современного состояния.)

Из поставленного первого вопроса вытекает следующий вопрос — о средствах поиска ответа. Было бы совершенно бесперспективно и неубедительно провозглашать некую перспективную цель без предварительного анализа современного и прошлого состояний развития. Отсюда и возникает вопрос о реконструкции хронотопа..., а уже опираясь на него, можно было бы экстраполировать, куда он ведет нас.

Очень простое решение состояло бы в том, чтобы взять в качестве искомого хронотопа очень популярную сегодня линейную схему трех+ поколений теории деятельности, которую разработал И. Энгестрём. Эта концепция так часто воспроизводилась в последние годы, что нет никакой нужды в еще одном ее повторении. Она не может не нравиться в силу своей простоты, логичности и содержательности. Но все-таки кое-что в ней требует обсуждения.

Во-первых, когда говорят об эволюции теории деятельности и ее поколениях, то имплицитно подразумевается идея смены одного поколения другим, т. е. процесс вымирания более ранних поколений и замещения их новыми. Так, конечно, можно говорить о поколениях людей (что не исключает возможности соучастия одного и того же человека в деятельности нескольких поколений, как, например, было в случае А.Н. Леонтьева и А.Р. Лурии, которые сотрудничали

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[1] Вот статья Бориса Гурьевича Мещерякова «Хронотоп культурно-исторической науки о деятельности». Это последняя статья нашего ушедшего товарища и коллеги. Мы приняли решение публиковать эту работу без каких-либо редакционных правок и изменений. Это решение продиктовано, конечно, памятью о талантливом ученом, но не только этим, а и тем, что статья профессиональна, умна и интересна, а по своему стилю в правках не нуждается. *Б.Д. Эльконин*

This is the paper written by our late colleague and friend, Boris G. Meshcheryakov, "The Chronotope of Cultural-Historical Science of Activity". We have decided to publish it as it is, without any editorial corrections or changes. This decision was informed not only by our wish to honor the memory of a talented scientist, but also by the fact that this paper is highly professional, smart and challenging. No alterations needed. *Boris D. Elkonin*

и с Выготским, и с харьковчанами, и с представителями 3-го и даже 4-го выготскианского поколения); но к идеям и теориям эта логика применима далеко не всегда. Новая теория может опираться на старую, развивать ее, но старая теория при этом не отбрасывается и продолжает работать в своей сфере деятельности, на своем уровне анализа. Именно поэтому я предпочитаю говорить не об эволюции и поколениях теории деятельности, а о хронотопе таких теорий, а также в целом о хронотопе науки о деятельности (кроме того, в дальнейшем я буду использовать более человеческий смысл поколений при описании другого хронотопа).

Но и это еще не все. Во-вторых, к сожалению, эта концепция развития теории деятельности является неполной. Такое впечатление, что она отождествляет третье поколение теории деятельности только с самим И. Энгестрёмом, с его собственной теорией деятельности, игнорируя многих других авторов и почти синхронные деятельностные концепции третьего и даже четвертого поколения исследователей, напр., М. Коула, Дж Верча, Г. Дэниелса, К. Хольцкампа, Г.П. Щедровицкого, В.В. Давыдова, Э.В. Ильенкова, Ф.Т. Михайлова, А.И. Мещерякова, В.П. Зинченко, В.В. Рубцова, Б.Д. Эльконина, Г.А. Цукерман, А.Г. Асмолова и многих других[2]. Ни об одном из них А. Саннино и И. Энгестрём даже не упомянули в своем описании «современных версий теории деятельности» (2018, с. 44), а в последующей близкой по содержанию статье (Eng., San., 2020) из аналогичного абзаца исчезли даже те имена, которые были в предшествующей статье. Было бы полезно при создании хронотопа придерживаться бахтинского принципа вненаходимости, требующего децентрированного взгляда на события.

Таким образом, тот факт, что в разные периоды времени могут сосуществовать несколько теорий, а это особенно верно в отношении современного периода, заставляет нас говорить не о поколениях теории деятельности, а о более широком понятии — хронотопе науки о деятельности. К его конкретизации я вернусь позже.

Вопрос о цели

Вопрос о перспективах развития деятельного подхода (и науки о деятельности) не является новым, о нем размышляли некоторые весьма активные и авторитетные коллеги, предлагавшие разные варианты ответа. Остановлюсь на двух в силу их ярко выраженной противоположности.

В.В. Давыдов еще в 1992 г. (опубликовано в 2016 г.) утверждал: «Конечная, пусть и далекая, цель нашей работы должна состоять в создании общеприемлемой полидисциплинарной теории деятельности» (2016, с. 54).

В 1992 г., когда эта цель ставилась, еще не было ISCAR, но завет В.В. Давыдова сохраняет свою силу и сейчас: «Теперь же нам в пределах международной организации “ISCRAT” необходимо искать пути... создания подлинной современной теории деятельности, именно “создания”, а не простого повторения того, что нам осталось в наследство от прошлого. И вместе с тем это наследство весьма серьезное и большое, и отбрасывать его нельзя» (там же, с. 54).

Эта же тема развивалась В.В. Давыдовым и позднее (1996, 1997/2003). Тут важно подчеркнуть, что В.В. Давыдов, ставя такую цель, исходил из того, что ни теория А.Н. Леонтьева, никакая другая известная ему теория деятельности (в том числе и И. Энгестрёма или методологическая теория Г.П. Щедровицкого) не соответствует его представлениям о полидисциплинарной теории. Очевидно, дело не только в схематизмах типа треугольников или прямоугольных блоков, которые были излюбленными иллюстрациями соответственно в работах И. Энгестрёма и Г.П. Щедровицкого. В.В. Давыдов в первую очередь указывал на отсутствие достаточной фактической базы для построения такой теории.

Как и В.В. Давыдов, я не уверен в том, что создание полидисциплинарной теории деятельности может произойти достаточно быстро, но мне кажется, что существенным шагом на пути к ней будет осознание необходимости создания полидисциплинарной науки о деятельности, в рамках которой возможно существование многих теорий и направлений исследования.

Наука — это, конечно, более крупная единица организации знания по сравнению с теориями, методами, фактами и т. п. Но и науки неоднородны — не только по своим предметам или методам, но также по степени специализации, т. е. сами науки могут выступать как единицы разного уровня. Специфика науки о деятельности состоит в том, что не только требуемая от нее общая теория, но и она сама должна быть полидисциплинарной. Эта специфика объясняется, прежде всего, тем, что деятельность представлена на разных уровнях социокультурной действительности, или, говоря иначе, понятие деятельности применяется к явлениям разного уровня, изучаемым целым спектром наук. Эту идею в наиболее четком виде разрабатывал философ-методолог Г.П. Щедровицкий.

Другой, можно сказать, противоположный целевой вектор формулируют Аннализа Саннино и Ирьё Энгестрём (2018), которые, как бы подразумевая, что вполне пригодная теория деятельности у них «уже в кармане», призывают к тому, о чем К. Маркс писал

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[2] Этот список можно продолжать долго. В связи с этим отмечу, что, на мой взгляд, давно назрела необходимость в создании двухтомного международного словаря культурно-исторической науки о деятельности, один из томов которого включал бы персоналии, в том числе и те, которые, хотя и не дают членские взносы в международные организации, но своими идеями и исследованиями делают существенные вклады в нашу науку, а другой — основные термины (понятия) этой науки с фиксацией трудностей их перевода на другие языки.

еще в 1845 году (и что написано на его памятнике в Лондоне): «Философы (читай: теоретики деятельности. — *Б.М.*) лишь различным образом объясняли мир; но дело заключается в том, чтобы изменить его» («Тезисы о Фейербахе»: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it.").

Следуя этому завету, А. Саннино и И. Энгестрём (2018) пишут: «Сегодня теория деятельности сталкивается с новыми проблемами, которые напрямую связаны с судьбой жизни на нашей планете. Быстро развивающийся глобальный экологический кризис требует преобразований, выходящих за рамки конкретных четко определенных видов деятельности. Текущие вызовы сводятся к созданию альтернатив капитализму» (с. 44). Разумеется, в человеческом мире существует много недостатков, противоречий и напряжений, многое требует усовершенствований. Однако превращать науку о деятельности в скорую помощь по решению такого рода практических проблем и объявлять это главной целью исследований и разработок, на мой взгляд, губительно прежде всего для самой науки. Это не значит, что наука о деятельности должна игнорировать практику и отказываться от применения теорий и методов для решения практических задач (здесь можно было бы сослаться на многовекторную деятельность Л.С. Выготского, но я не буду повторять то, что давно и хорошо известно, лишь упомяну: он отлично понимал, что на одной практике здание общей психологии не построишь, а для хорошей практики нужна хорошая теория). В рамках науки о деятельности свое место должны занимать прикладные, практические и фундаментальные науки (или их части). Поэтому, скорее всего, говорить об одной единственной перспективной цели, будь то полидисциплинарная теория деятельности или «изменение мира», не приходится. Попытки же обесценивать роль фундаментальных исследований и призывы начать изменять мир подходят лишь для тех, кому приятно бежать впереди паровоза. И вряд ли что-нибудь изменится, если наука о деятельности избавится от надоевших искусственных и неоднозначных эпитетов «неклассической» или «постнеклассической» науки.

Новый хронотоп

Я не буду пользоваться слишком абстрактными определениями хронотопа, которые давались А.А. Ухтомским или М.М. Бахтиным. Для меня хронотоп — это достаточно обобщенная и топологическая (неметрическая) схема (способ репрезентации) процесса развития, похожая на генеалогическое дерево.

Единицей анализа нашего хронотопа выступают не версии (разновидности) какой-либо теории, а более крупные единицы — теоретико-методологические парадигмы, отчасти сопоставимые с ними научные школы. Поэтому в нем приводятся те или иные имена с чисто иллюстративной (уточняющей) целью, без всякой претензии на всеохватность.

О количестве современных кандидатов на статус такой единицы есть разные суждения, обычно они укладываются в диапазон от двух до четырех. E. Matusov (2008) в "Выготскианской академии (Vygotskian academia)" выделил два подхода — *социокультурный* (включая с некоторыми оговорками CHAT в понимании И. Энгестрёма) и *культурно-исторический* (в традиционном смысле). М. Дафермос (2016) рассматривает три типа восприятия (интерпретации) теории Л.С. Выготского в международном академическом сообществе, а именно: *когнитивизм*, *культурализм* (социокультурный подход), *культурно-историческая теория деятельности* (Cultural-historical activity theory) (CHAT в понимании И. Энгестрёма). Парадоксально, что в этом списке не нашлось места современному этапу (3+ поколению) российской школы культурно-исторической психологии и деятельностного подхода (как будто ее развитие остановилось на уровне первой половины XX столетия), который ему достаточно хорошо известен. Поэтому его позицию мы относим к варианту четырех парадигм. Но чаще все-таки встречается вариант из трех парадигм (см., например: Ellis, V., Edwards, A., & Smagorinsky, P. (Eds.). 2010. Ch. 1, Introduction): 1) *культурно-историческая*, имеющая ближайшие корни преимущественно в советско-российской психологии и философии; 2) *социокультурная*, ассоциирующаяся прежде всего с рядом известных северо-американских и британских психологов, а также испанских авторов (Valsiner, J., & Rosa, A. (Eds.). 2007. Editors' Introduction) и 3) *cultural-historical activity theory* (CHAT), тесно связанная с финской (хельсинкской) школой теории деятельности. Сразу подчеркнем, что геоэтнополитические маркеры этих парадигм имеют совершенно условный характер, поскольку реальный состав их последователей чрезвычайно интернационален (скажем, в России немало исследователей, затронутых «энгестрёмизацией» («Engeströmization»). На рис. 1 представлена древесная схема хронотопа культурно-исторической науки о деятельности.

Сделаем несколько пояснений к этой схеме. Во-первых, обратим внимание на то, что КИП, т. е. культурно-историческая психология, не оставалась на всем временном интервале хронотопа в ее первичном виде, поэтому для обозначения ее некоторых трансформаций во времени на схеме использованы звездочки (КИП*, КИП**).

Во-вторых, схема опирается на точку зрения родственности и преемственности в отношениях между первичной КИП и теорией деятельности (ТД) А.Н. Леонтьева. Поэтому на схеме «КИП*» означает общую парадигму, в которой объединены КИП и ТД (сошлемся здесь на точку зрения В.В. Давыдова, изложенную, например, в публикациях 1996, 2016 годов):

«Подлинным источником культурно-исторической теории можно считать ... понятие **ореальной**, внешней, или социальной, *деятельности*.

Таким образом, сложная и противоречивая (порой драматичная) история фундаментальных идей научной школы Л.С. Выготского свидетельствует о

Культурно-историческая наука о деятельности
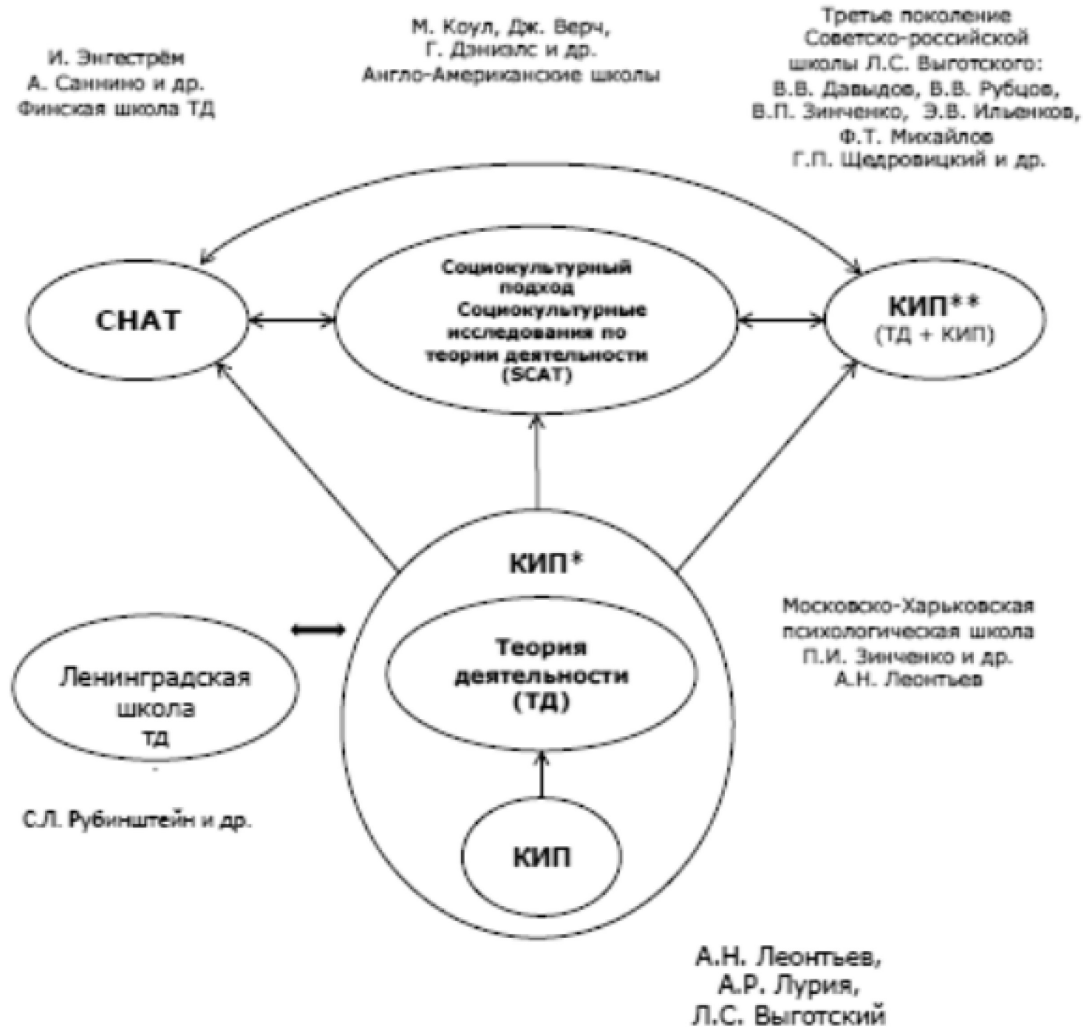
Рис. 1. Хронотоп культурно-исторических и деятельностных исследований
(культурно-исторической науки о деятельности)

внутренней связи культурно-исторической теории и теории деятельности» (Давыдов, 1996, с. 27).

«Как соотносятся и как связаны эти, на первый взгляд, независимые друг от друга теории? Этот вопрос будет ключевым для моего сообщения, более того, я полагаю, что именно в соединении основных идей этих двух теорий можно найти подлинный источник для их взаимообогащения, источник развертывания новых пластов теории деятельности» (1992/2016, с. 45).

В-третьих, по поводу названия «Московско-харьковская школа». Обычно используется укороченное название — «Харьковская школа», но оно, на мой взгляд, является неточным. Достаточно сослаться на то, что А.Н. Леонтьев (как и А.Р. Лурия, а иногда и Л.С. Выготский) лишь периодически приезжал в Харьков), оставаясь одновременно москвичом.

В-четвертых, визуализированная схема показывает лишь ствол и крону хронотопа, без корней, т. е. без мощного культурно-исторического слоя. Сами основатели культурно-исторической психологии и теории деятельности пытались системно интегрировать достижения многих поколений мыслителей, начиная с Геродота, Сократа, Платона и Аристотеля (Cole, 1996; Коул, 1997; Toomela, 2016). А в ряду наиболее влиятельных мыслителей, живших в более близкие к современности века, следует указать, как минимум, также Б. Спинозу, И. Канта, Г.В. Гегеля, В. фон Гумбольдта, К. Маркса, Ч. Дарвина, Э. Тайлора, В. Вундта. К неполноте и ограниченности данной схемы можно было бы добавить тот факт, что она не показывает влияния и взаимодействия между КИП и КИП* с другими современными им авторами (напр., Х. Вернер, К. Левин, П. Жане, Ж. Пиаже и др.). Исключение сделано для

теории деятельности С.Л. Рубинштейна, однако стоит заметить, что многие последователи С.Л. Рубинштейна сами настойчиво дистанцируются от культурно-исторической психологии.

В-пятых, учитывая, что в современной литературе благодаря И. Энгестрёму получила распространение концепция трех+ поколений теории деятельности, стоит оговорить, что мы используем на схеме слово «поколение» в его собственно человеческом смысле, т. е. так, как, к примеру, пишут редакторы «*Cambridge companion to Vygotsky*» (Daniels, Cole, & Wertsch, 2007, p. 8): «third-generation Vygotskian-inspired psychologists». M. Cole и J. Wertsch использовали такое понимание «поколений» в статье 2011 г., посвященной 80-летию В.П. Зинченко (опубликована повторно в 2021 г.): «Мы, если так можно выразиться, родня Владимиру Петровичу и его другу, Василию Васильевичу Давыдову, а также многим другим последователям культурно-исторической теории. Мы разделяем с ними честь быть «третьим поколением» последователей Л.С. Выготского. Как и они, мы учились у А.Р. Лурия и А.Н. Леонтьева...» (2021, с. 637).

И последнее замечание, касающееся названия «культурно-историческая наука о деятельности». Даже если не принимать во внимание особую значимость этого понятия не только для психологии, но и для всех социогуманитарных наук, нельзя не заметить потребность в общем названии, объединяющем все уровни и ветви хронотопа.

О междисциплинарности и полидисциплинарности науки о деятельности

Прежде всего, зададимся вопросом: можно ли термин CHAT, используемый так, как это делает создатель третьего поколения теории деятельности, дополнительно к этому рассматривать как общий, объединяющий все линии и этапы приведенного хронотопа.

Термин «культурно-историческая теория деятельности» был придуман Майклом Коулом (1996) и популяризирован Ирьё Энгестрёмом (особенно его акроним **CHAT**), чтобы способствовать единству того, что к 1990-м годам превратилось во множество направлений, более или менее восходящих к работам Выготского и его ближайших коллег.

Но по факту получилось нечто обратное: Энгестрём в хорошем смысле постарался, чтобы CHAT стал целиком отождествляться с одним направлением — энгестрёмовским. Наверное, не слишком удобно все время вводить уточнения, как, например, делал Ник Пейм (Peim, 2009), который называл CHAT в понимании Энгестрёма *Engeströmian activity theory* (EAT). В общем, никакого терминологического единства среди множества направлений не возникло, просто другим пришлось искать для себя другие названия, а нередко для них их придумывали со стороны.

Приведу несколько примеров из этого множества гибридных названий (в том числе и те, которые появились еще до названия CHAT):

«культурно-историческая теория деятельности» (Cultural-historical activity theory — термин М. Коула, на английском языке давшее такие аббревиатуры как CHAT и CH/AT);

«социокультурная теория деятельности» (англ., socio-cultural activitytheory, SCAT);

«социокультурные и теоретико-деятельностные исследования» (например, в названии «The Centrefor Sociocultural and Activity Theory Research at the University of Bathinthe United Kingdom»);

«социокультурные исследования» (в названии «The Society of Socio-Cultural Research, объединившееся в 2002 г. с ISCRAT);

«культурные исследования по теории деятельности» (вназвании «The International Society for Cultural Research on Activity Theory», ISCRAT);

«культурно-деятельностные исследования» (часто используется в российских источниках») или «культурные и деятельностные исследования» (в названии «The International Society For Cultural And Activity Research», ISCAR)

Таким образом, нужда в общем, объединяющем названии сохраняется до сих пор. Такую роль может сыграть уже неоднократно используемое в данной статье название «культурно-историческая наука о деятельности».

Заметим также, что название «культурно-историческая психология» (КИП), в первую очередь ассоциирующееся с Выготским и его психологической концепцией, или же современный вариант «культурно-деятельностная психология» (КДП) очень подходят для психологов, но в рамках междисциплинарной (полидисциплинарной) науки теряют свое объединяющее значение.

Существует мнение, что лишь в третьем поколении теории деятельности наука о деятельности стала междисциплинарной. Со ссылкой на недавно ушедшего от нас Пеннти Хаккарайнена, Манолис Дафермос следующим образом отразил эту точку зрения:

«Хаккарайнен (Hakkarainen [26, с. 4]) утверждает, что западная теория деятельности принимает "междисциплинарный подход, а в России превалирует более психологический метод". Междисциплинарный подход к теории деятельности был разработан в Центре теории деятельности и исследований развивающей работы (Университет Финляндии, Хельсинки), который возглавляет Ирьё Энгестрём. Первое и второе поколение теории деятельности действовали в сфере психологии как в дисциплине, а третье поколение создало исследовательскую программу с междисциплинарным подходом» (Дафермос, 2016, с. 42).

По-моему, здесь нужны уточнения в понимании «междисциплинарного подхода».

Подход Выготского к психологическим вопросам, несомненно, был междисциплинарным. И во многом благодаря этому он был столь успешным. Благодаря своим обширным знаниям в различных областях —

философии и логике, физиологии, эволюционной биологии, психиатрии, неврологии, педагогике, лингвистике, семиотике, филологии, этнографии и т. д., его теории приобретали особую понятийную широту, глубину, многосторонность (многоаспектность), которая как раз и делает их притягательными для специалистов разных областей. Материалом для его идей могли служить факты, полученные отнюдь не только психологическими методами. Вспомним также, что Выготский идентифицировался не только с позицией психолога, но и педолога, а педология, по замыслу, выступала как полидисциплинарная (многопредметная) наука о детском развитии.

Не только «детское развитие», но и такие объекты исследования, как деятельность или личность, входят в области исследования многих дисциплин, т. е. являются междисциплинарными.

Возможно, авторы, отрицающие междисциплинарность подхода Выготского и признающие это характерной чертой третьего поколения теории деятельности, имеют в виду другой тип междисциплинарности, связанный с множеством объектов и проблем исследования.

По отношению к Выготскому отчасти подходит характеристика, данная Щедровицким к общему типу исследователей деятельности: «... почти всегда в лице одного реального ученого соединяются специалисты разного рода и, следовательно, происходит объединение разных средств, чаще всего синкретическое, но организованное в рамках одной субъективной системы "видения" мира и частных предметов изучения» (1975/1995, с. 270).

Не вдаваясь в подробности и не претендуя на оригинальность, предложу различение по крайней мере трех уровней междисциплинарности:

1) междисциплинарность на индивидуальном исследовательском уровне (Выготский и многие другие);

2) междисциплинарность на уровне коллектива, разрабатывающего конкретный проект (научный или практический). В.В. Давыдов в этом случае говорил о комплексном исследовании, которое он описывал на собственном опыте:

«Хотя я сам себя причисляю к психологам, но по характеру своих работ постоянно вынужден так или иначе рассматривать вопросы дидактики, конкретных методик, а также теоретические вопросы педагогики. И это не случайно — изучение учебной деятельности школьников, проводимое исследовательским методом формирующего экспериментирования (а этот метод является, по нашему мнению, наиболее современным и адекватным), должно быть по-настоящему комплексным и охватывать в своей целостности философско-логические, психологические, дидактические, методические и физиолого-гигиенические аспекты этой деятельности.

Подобное исследование должны проводить вместе и на единой экспериментальной базе специалисты всех указанных дисциплин. И когда нам удавалось именно так организовать работу, она была наиболее продуктивной. И специалисты разного научного профиля, по нашим наблюдениям, сами научились относительно хорошо ориентироваться в вопросах смежных дисциплин.

Для нас вся современная проблематика учебной деятельности, по сути дела, является в основном *комплексной логико-психолого-педагогической проблематикой*» (Давыдов, 1990/2016, с. 44).

3) междисциплинарность на уровне (совсем не обязательно формального) сообщества ученых разных специальностей. По-видимому, этот тип междисциплинарности Давыдов обозначал словом «полидисциплинарность».

По поводу обвинений Выготского в этноцентризме

Одна из главных мыслей Выготского и культурно-исторической психологии, несомненно признающей специфику наследственной человеческой природы (воплощенной в генотипе и сформированной в процессе антропогенеза в специфической социокультурной среде), заключается в том, что исторический прогресс культуры (прежде всего интеллектуальной), по крайней мере, в диапазоне от первобытной эпохи верхнего палеолита до современности, никак (или почти никак) не связан с «генетическими» изменениями человеческой природы и целиком (или почти целиком) объясняется генеративными и конструктивными способностями к саморазвитию самой человеческой культуры. Для Выготского это положение имело статус неоспоримого факта. И я думаю, что его не могут оспаривать даже убежденные сторонники так называемого «культурного релятивизма», некоторые из которых склонны приклеивать Выготскому и Лурии ярлык этноцентристов в связи с их интерпретацией результатов среднеазиатских экспедиций в 1931 и 1932 гг. В чем же состояла суть этой интерпретации? Если абстрагироваться от конкретных этногеографических маркеров (а с точки зрения общей теории эти маркеры никакого значения не имеют), то они делали следующий вывод: существенные изменения в культуре приводят к изменениям сознания человека, в частности, его интеллектуальных способностей (что для культурно-исторической психологии имело статус теоретической гипотезы, впервые проверявшейся квазиэкспериментальным методом).

Конечно, Выготский и Лурия не могли исследовать интеллект первобытного кроманьонского человека, но они воспользовались теми возможностями, которые им предоставляли современные кросс-культурные различия в доступной им ситуации для проверки такой гипотезы, точнее операционального следствия из нее: новые формы мышления, транслируемые благодаря обучению в школах, могут достаточно быстро усваиваться (присваиваться) людьми из этой культуры, т. е. нет каких-либо генетических ограничений для культурного развития интеллекта людей. Сомневаюсь, что этот вывод имеет какое-то отношение к этноцентризму и может хотя бы на йоту скомпрометировать культурно-историческую психологию.

Их выводы находятся в полном согласии и преемственности с положениями, зафиксированными спустя много лет в рамках деятельностной концепции Г.П. Щедровицкого («общей теории деятельности»):

«Сегодня уже не может вызывать сомнений тезис, что обучение и воспитание создают в человеке то, что не могло возникнуть и появиться у него как у отдельной особи без этого, причем именно создают; знание математики и физики, истории и географии, умение решать разнообразные задачи средствами этих наук и т. п. не появляются сами собой из опыта "практической жизни". С другой стороны, появление всех этих знаний и умений не сопровождается — и это тоже можно считать выясненным и доказанным — изменениями биологического субстрата "человека"» (Щедровицкий, 1968/1995, с. 394).

Это не означает, что методики, процедуры и описания результатов данного исследования были идеальными и их не следует критически оценивать, равно как и теоретические представления Л.С. Выготского о стадиях и факторах антропогенеза, но обвинения в этноцентризме, во-первых, выходят за рамки научной критики и, во-вторых, на мой взгляд, не имеют никаких оснований.

Вместо заключения.
Значимость деятельности как объекта исследования

Деятельность имеет онтологический статус не менее значимый, чем мозг, движение или познание, которые, как известно, обрели свои науки (нейронаука, кинезиология, когнитивная наука).

В некотором смысле де-факто, наука о деятельности уже давно существует и имеет мощный культурный слой, прежде всего в философии, о чем писал Г.П. Щедровицкий (1974/1995):

«Если оставить в стороне отдельные постановки вопросов и ориентироваться только на достаточно систематические разработки, то, наверное, можно сказать, что в философии изучение деятельности как таковой началось примерно 350 лет назад, хотя общие основания и определенная традиция в этой области шли уже от Аристотеля» (с. 233).

Примечательно, что именно Аристотель в список из 10 категорий включил понятие **действия** (др.-греч. τò ποιεῖν — «действовать»).

И это вполне объяснимо:

«Деятельность, как мы уже говорили, занимает совершенно особое положение в системе социума. Именно она является тем фактором, который превращает все его элементы (и вещи, и отношения) в одну или несколько *целостных структур*. Вне деятельности нет ни средств производства, ни знаков, ни предметов искусства; вне деятельности нет самих людей. Точно так же и в процессе воспроизводства социума именно деятельность занимает основное место — и как то, что воспроизводится, и как то, что обеспечивает воспроизводство» (Щедровицкий, 1966/1995, с. 200—201).

Споры о том, кто является основателем психологической теории деятельности очень часто ведутся через подсчеты того, сколько раз и в каком году тот или иной автор (Выготский, Рубинштейн, Леонтьев) употреблял термин «деятельность» в своих работах. Последователи С.Л. Рубинштейна «откопали» статью своего учителя, опубликованную в 1922 г. в Одессе, но которая несколько десятилетий оставалась неизвестной. Тем не менее, они уверенно доказывают приоритет С.Л. Рубинштейна, хотя эта работа не совсем о деятельности, а скорее, о самодеятельности, и никакой психологической теории в ней нет.

Эти споры, как правило, игнорируют тот факт, что термин «деятельность» использовался еще в дореволюционной российской философской и психологической литературе и без всякого влияния Маркса.

Приведу лишь один малоизвестный исторический пример. Один из основателей дореволюционной российской психологии Николай Яковлевич Грот еще 140 лет тому назад писал:

«Мы вводим в число основных психологических понятий новое понятие "деятельности" в тесном значении слова, т. е. проводим еще не признанное в наше время противоположение воли (стремлений, желаний) и деятельности (движений, действий) и тем самым на место обычной трихотомии предлагаем тетрахотомию психических явлений, деление их на *четыре* раздельные класса» (Грот, Психология чувствований, 1879—1880, с. 434).

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION THROUGH
THE PRISM OF CHT
ЯЗЫК И ОБЩЕНИЕ СКВОЗЬ ПРИЗМУ
КУЛЬТУРНО-ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПСИХОЛОГИИ

The ZPD, Second Language Learning, and the Transposition ~ Transformation Dialectic

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The Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) held "great practical significance" for education as it identified how instruction can optimally impact learner development: by aligning mediation not to abilities that have already fully formed but to those that are emerging or "ripening" [30]. Despite being one of the most well-known and influential features of Vygotsky's writings, it has also been subject to critique. For instance, it is [25] suggested that Vygotsky introduced a "methodological paradox" in formulating the ZPD: it endeavors to bring into focus proximal or future psychological functioning by engaging in teaching-learning activity in the present. In their view, this means that direct, empirical study of the ZPD is not possible as it can only be inferred retrospectively, once future abilities have become the new present [25]. Moreover, Valsiner and van der Veer [25] charged that Vygotsky's depiction of the ZPD did not reflect his commitment to dialectical thinking because the concept does not allow for the creation of anything new but implies "mere transposition from the interindividual to the intraindividual domain" [25, p. 48]. Supporting our arguments with examples from research in our field of second language (L2) studies, we propose that attention to changes in the quality of mediation learners require during ZPD activity offers a means of observing the future as the abilities in question shift from 'ripening' to 'developed.' In this way, future independent performance is brought into the present during dialectical activity wherein tension between learner actual abilities and the demands of the task are resolved through mediator-learner cooperation. We propose this process as a way of realizing 'the methodological imperative' that was sought after by Vygotsky [26]. We then consider the importance of the relationship between learner transposition of ideal language features presented through instruction and the development of the ability to creatively manipulate these features in order to shape how others construe objects and events in accordance with the user's personal perspective.

Keywords: zone of proximal development, methodological imperative, dynamic assessment, prediction, transformation, transposition, creativity, dialectic.

Introduction

Vygotsky's discovery of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) must rank among the most important of psychology in the Twentieth Century. It is certainly among the concepts most closely associated with Vy-

gotsky, and it has influenced theorizing and practice in a number of fields, including education. Indeed, nearly forty years ago, when Western scholars were still becoming acquainted with Vygotsky's writings, some worried that the ZPD had already been applied so "loosely and indiscriminately" that it risked losing its "explanatory

power" [34, p. 7]. Others lamented that references to the ZPD had become so ubiquitous that it was "one of the most used and least understood constructs to appear in contemporary educational literature" [21, p. 370]. In contrast, it was suggested that the ZPD lends itself to multiple readings and, understood in the full context of Vygotsky's theory, has broad applications to psychological abilities and their development in children as well as adults [16]. Vygotsky himself wrote of the ZPD's "great practical significance" for education [30, p. 204].

Divergent interpretations of the ZPD may in part be due to the translations of Vygotsky's writings into English. Table 1 offers a comparison of one of the most well-known definitions of the ZPD as it appears in *Mind in Society* [28] with a more recently translated paper, *The dynamics of the schoolchild's mental development in relation to teaching and learning* [32]. The former, which has had considerable influence on how Vygotsky's ideas have been interpreted in the English-speaking world, is not a monograph prepared by Vygotsky but is instead an assemblage of his lecture notes and papers.

The contrasts in these translations, while seemingly subtle, have reinforced differing 'readings' of the ZPD [16]. The phrasing of the 1978 [28] translation, with mention of potential development as an aptitude that is created through mediated interaction, resonates with an interpretation of the ZPD as itself a quality or property of individuals. Indeed, one of Vygotsky's earliest known discussions of the ZPD was in a 1933 lecture delivered at the Bubnov Institute that examined the observation that IQ measures of young children often shifted over the first year of schooling, with low performers gaining and high performers losing IQ points. Vygotsky explained that through an alternate administration of the test, in which children were offered support when they encountered problems, it was possible to group them not only according to low or high IQ but also on the basis of a large or small ZPD, defined according to how responsive they were to support. This argument inspired a range of procedures referred to as Dynamic Assessment (DA) [14] aimed at uncovering latent potential ability among low performing learners (e.g., [5]; [6]). A concern that arises from this reading of the ZPD, however, is the extent to which abilities are construed as already present in individuals rather than created through cultural

transformation of the natural lines of development, a position Vygotsky argued forcefully.

The appearance of the terms "guidance", "cooperation," and "collaboration" in definitions of the ZPD follow Vygotsky's maxim that "what the child can do in cooperation today he can do alone tomorrow [33, pp. 199—200]. Therefore, the only good kind of instruction is that which marches ahead of development and leads it." Aside from passing references to prompts, leading questions, and feedback, Vygotsky did not detail what such cooperation might include, but a theoretical argument that concerns 'helping' learners to do more than they can independently was perhaps the most readily embraced aspect of early translations of Vygotsky's writings. The metaphor of 'scaffolding' [36], likely familiar to all educators, expresses this reading of the ZPD, as an adult or teacher possesses the expertise needed to complete a task and acts 'on' the learner accordingly (see also [7]). It has also been observed that the relation between successful task completion and learner development of relevant psychological abilities is not always clear in discussions of scaffolding [24]. Moreover, as the metaphor has become increasingly employed to describe assistance offered from one individual to another, less attention has often been given to the basis for determining what kinds of support to offer and when to do so or when to permit individuals to attempt tasks on their own. While scaffolding suggests an engineering endeavor and the effort of an expert to offer something to learners, Vygotsky seems to prefer a gardening analogy that requires the gardener to take careful account of those plants that have already produced fruits and flowers and those that have only buds and to alter his attention and activity accordingly. Indeed, consideration of what is not yet present but could be if properly nurtured is, in our view, a crucial feature of Vygotsky's conceptualization of the ZPD and one that requires further attention if its significance to education is to be realized [for a critique of the scaffolding metaphor, see 37].

The purpose of this paper is to address two critical and related issues raised by Valsiner and van der Veer [25] in their discussion of the ZPD. The first issue is their critique that the ZPD fails to adequately conceptualize future development. According to these authors, Vygotsky introduced a "methodological paradox" by re-

T a b l e 1

Translating Vygotsky's description of the ZPD

Source Text	Mind in Society [28, p. 86] (emphasis added)	The dynamics of the schoolchild's mental development in relation to teaching and learning [32, p. 204] (emphasis added)
Excerpt	"the distance between the actual developmental level as *determined by* independent problem solving and the level of *potential* development as *determined through* problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers"	"the distance between the level of his actual development, *determined with* the help of independently solved tasks, and the level of *possible* development, *defined with* the help of tasks solved by the child under the guidance of adults or in cooperation with more intelligent peers"
Difference 1	determined by/through = made possible by, dependent on	determined/defined with = the activity is helpful to identifying it
Difference 2	potential development = aptitude or ability to develop	possible development = a glimpse of what might be worked toward

lying upon teaching-learning activity in the present to observe the future because, they maintain, this approach allows for only an interpretation of what might be — an interpretation that can be evaluated after development occurs, that is, retrospectively as inferred future abilities become the new present. The second issue is their further charge that Vygotsky's modeling of the future emphasized a "mere transposition" from the inter-psychological domain of individuals functioning together to the intra-psychological domain of a person functioning independently, effectively delimiting development to the transfer, or reproduction, of existing knowledge and ability rather than the creation of something new. In an attempt to respond to these crucial issues, we consider two studies reported in the second language (L2) learning research literature.

Background

1. The ZPD and L2 studies

The field of L2 studies as a distinct area of research began in earnest with the work of S. Pit Corder [9] and revolved around empirical investigations of errors produced by learners while studying an L2. Many of the assumptions of these early studies were influenced by the arguments proposed by Chomsky [8] to account for processes of first language acquisition. In his view, observed regularities of the timing and sequencing of acquisition of particular language features, as well as children's capacity to extrapolate patterns from impoverished instances of language use they encounter, could only be explained if language acquisition obeyed a set universal constraints determined by our biological endowment. Although Chomsky had little to say regarding L2 development, others (e.g., [35]) proposed a relationship between L2 acquisition and universal grammar that eventually relegated the role of teachers to providing input necessary to set in motion internal processes of L2 acquisition.

As scholarship in L2 studies grew, other theoretical accounts of L2 development gained traction, but the assumption that the field ought to be exclusively concerned with processes internal to individuals predominated. For instance, it was proposed that all learners regardless of first language or whether learning occurs inside or outside of classrooms, adhere to specific developmental sequences as they acquire particular features of an L2 (e.g., German word order, English negation) [22]. Some researchers insisted that L2 development was an internal cognitive process and therefore proposed that the study of L2 acquisition should be considered a subfield of cognitive science [11].

Against this backdrop interest in Vygotsky's theory grew among L2 researchers, beginning with its introduction to the field through the work of Frawley and Lantolf [12] and continuing with a robust series of studies through the 1990s that employed concepts and principles drawn from Vygotsky's writings to explicate processes of L2 development. A study of L2 English tutor-learner interactions [1], and discussed in more detail later, has been particularly influential in specifying principles of mediation and learner responsiveness when their performance breaks down. While L2 Vygotsky scholars have carried out studies examining approaches to mediation with diverse populations of learners in a range of instructional contexts [for a recent review, see 19], they have yet to fully explore its implications for future performance — the topic of the discussion that follows.

2. The ZPD and future development: A paradox and a conundrum

In their analysis of Vygotsky's discussions of the ZPD (or ZBR in Russian), Valsiner and van der Veer submit that his use of the concept in the situations we have reviewed were each predicated upon a single "underlying causal system" of development, a system that in their view he did not fully specify [25, p. 45]. The system in question is imitation as reflected in the ideas of Baldwin on *persistent imitation* [3]. Vygotsky understood imitation not as a form of copying or mimicry but as a creative act [32]. For example, a person with no musical training might carefully watch the movements of an orchestra conductor and reproduce them, but it cannot be said that this person is conducting. Without an understanding of the meaning behind the various movements made by a conductor — the direction of strokes, their timing, the musicians to whom they are oriented, and so on — the person is only copying what the conductor has done and cannot go beyond it (i.e., offer direction to a real orchestra as they play the same piece of music or indeed a different one). Imitation, continuing with this example, would pertain to an apprentice conductor honing his/her abilities through careful observation of the master's moves, and observation with an understanding of the signification of each move. By imitating the master, an apprentice conductor gains experience leading an orchestra and through this process develops his/her ability to conduct other pieces and other orchestras in the future. It may also be that the apprentice conductor introduces variations that the master did not produce, leading the piece to be performed in a recognizable but distinctive manner.

Creative experimentation that transforms the model is a crucial feature of development as it is what enables individuals to function in changing circumstances and to meet as yet unknown problems and challenges. It is also central to Vygotsky's commitment to dialectical thinking, in which change entails a merging of thesis and antithesis and the emergence of something new, a process that brings the present into the future in a manner that retains elements of what has been while creating what not yet is. However, it is precisely in this way that Valsiner and van der Veer believe that the ZPD "falls out of the [sic] line with most other ideas of his [Vygotsky's] theoretical heritage" [25, p. 48]. Those authors describe what we term a paradox and a conundrum in Vygotsky's analysis of the ZPD and how it reveals the future.

The "methodological paradox" concerns the matter of predicting future abilities based on observable performance in the present [25]. To be sure, predicting the future is of interest to psychologists and educators, but the originality of Vygotsky's proposal is that the evidential

basis for making predictions is expanded beyond observations of learner independent performance to include their performance guided by someone else. Focusing on the implications of the ZPD for education, the authors note that teaching-learning (*obuchenie*) was proposed by Vygotsky as the central driver of development, the activity that must precede development such that it targets abilities that are ripening and pushes them toward maturity. In their view, while *obuchenie* creates the ZPD in the present, "there is no way in which anybody can study that process directly, within the present" [25, p. 46]. Moreover, while "it is relatively easy to observe the presence of those psychological functions that are well formed," functions "that are only in the process of approaching their recognizable final forms" cannot be observed directly [25, p. 47]. Those latter psychological processes can only be explicated as the present shifts to the nearest past and the nearest future becomes the present. Valsiner and van der Veer point out that because of the irreversible nature of time empirical research can only be conducted in the present and any efforts to understand the future occur only as predictions that cannot be evaluated except retrospectively. The inability to locate "where development happens" resulted in what Valsiner and van der Veer characterize as a "crisis in psychology" [26, p. 152].

Vygotsky recognized the crisis and consequently established as a "methodological imperative" that diagnosis of development cannot be limited to analysis of actual development (i.e., it fruits) but it must also analyze what is in the process of emerging (i.e., it buds and flowers), with the link between *obuchenie* and the ZPD seen as the key to realizing the imperative [26, p. 157]. Accordingly, Vygotsky proposed that it is possible to "get a glimpse" of emerging development by investigating the process of joint problem-solving activity whereby collaborative "guides the functions involved toward their final forms of the future" [26, p. 159]. As far as we can determine, Vygotsky did not provide explicit evidence of the methodological imperative at work. The only predictions that he made were in conjunction with his frequently cited research regarding IQ and the ZPD [33] which represented a purely quantitative interpretation of the concept [26, p. 158]. Van der Veer and Valsiner point out a problem with regard to the predictability of the quantitative interpretation [27]. A child with a chronological age of 4 and a mental age (determined by IQ test) of 4.5 and who is able to solve problems with hints and prompts at mental age of 7 the child was considered to have a ZPD mental age of 2.5, meaning that within 2.5 years that child's independent performance would match her collaborative performance at age 4 [27, p. 342]. The problem is that Vygotsky assumed that despite the passage of time, everything in the child's life remained as it was when she was 4. Presumably, however, others would continue to interact with the child and by the time she reached the age of 5, the collaborative performance of the child could have presumably improved resulting in a ZPD mental age beyond the original projected mental age of 7.

We would like to propose a possible way of addressing Vygotsky's "methodological imperative" based on some research carried out in second language development. Before doing so, we will first discuss the Valsiner's and van der Veer's conundrum, which is related to the predictability paradox of the ZPD.

The conundrum arises as Vygotsky's examples of adult-child or teacher-learner interactions appear to limit development to approximation of the target or ideal model that is provided and do not take adequate account of creativity [25]. Indeed, Valsiner and van der Veer read Vygotsky's depiction of internalization as a "mere transposition from the interindividual to the intraindividual domain," a process in which "no dialectical construction of novelty is implied" [25, p. 48]. They continue, "the nearest-future state of development cannot be predicted from the child/social context interaction, although the latter undoubtedly plays a role in the synthesis of (unpredictable) future of the psychological functions" [25, p. 48]. In what follows, we draw on evidence from two studies of L2 teaching and learning to offer a possible resolution of the paradox and a viable way out of the conundrum. We are not asserting that our proposals are ironclad; however, we believe that they are worth considering and could serve as a basis for additional research and commentary.

Predicting the Future and the Methodological Imperative

While not directly addressing the prediction paradox, Aljaafreh nevertheless formulated a procedure that we believe has some promise in achieving its resolution [1]. As a first step in our proposal, consider the 'hierarchy of mediation' (see Table 2) deployed by Aljaafreh [1] and reported in Aljaafreh and Lantolf [2]. The hierarchy, arranged from most implicit to most explicit, reflects the various types of mediation Aljaafreh used when interacting with three ESL learners as he helped them revise some of the written work required in their ESL course. His assumption was that the quality of mediation is as important, if not more so, for diagnosing and promoting learner development than is quantity of mediation. In this regard he concurs with researchers [see 4; 39; 26] who suggest that the quality of assistance provided by others may be the most significant feature in promoting development in the ZPD, as reflected in the following comment: "The quality of mediation matters: For one person a slight prompt or hint is sufficient while another has to have things clearly shown and explained" [4, p. 52]. Our proposal with respect to the methodological imperative is that the quality of mediation may not only promote development, it may also serve as a means of glimpsing the future.

For the most implicit level of mediation 0 the learners were asked to locate and correct any errors in their texts prior to a tutorial session, while for the most explicit level (12) the tutor illustrated correct use of a given language feature. The justification for counting level 0 as mediation is predicated on the assumption that without such a request from the tutor, the learners most likely would not have reviewed their work prior to a session.

Level 1 is also quite interesting, because learners would often state that they could not find errors when asked to do so prior to a session, but once they sat next to the tutor but before any interaction was initiated some were able to identify and even occasionally correct an error. This indicates that a learner's orientation to the text changed once the social situation changed from doing something alone to the opportunity to collaborate with another person [1; 29].

Learners who produced appropriate language as a result of more implicit mediation were considered to be more advanced in their linguistic development than were learners who required more explicit mediation [1]. Aljaafreh devised a schema for ranking the developmental trajectory of learners based on their responsiveness to mediation. This schema is presented in Table 3 below.

The column marked as Level indicates what Aljaafreh considered to be the developmental state of a given learner for a given language feature ranked from 1 lowest to 5 highest. The next column shows whether or not learners were able to notice or identify errors they produced in their original performance. Level 1 learners were unable to notice an error, while those at levels 2 through 5 did so. The third column indicates whether or not a learner was able to correct an error with level 1 and 2 learners unable to do so, while those at levels 3 through 5 displayed the ability to make a correction. The final, and most revealing column, indicates whether or not the learners were able to respond appropriately to a tutor's mediation. Level 1 learners were unable to respond in anyway to tutor mediation, while those at the remaining four levels were capable of correction under appropriate mediation.

To fully appreciate the significance of learner performance reflected in Table 3, it is necessary to read across the four columns. Thus, a learner at level 1 was unable to notice or correct an error even with mediation whether implicit or explicit. This implies that at this point the feature is not within the learner's ZPD. A Level 2 learner was able to notice an error, but could not correct it even with explicit mediation. The implication here is that the learner was at the very early stage of development. In Vygotsky's ZPD metaphor, the feature was just beginning to bud. A learner at Level 3 was able to notice an error and correct it but only with a high level of explicit mediation, while a learner at Level 4 noticed and corrected an error in response to implicit mediation. Finally, Level 5 learners functioned independently in that they noticed and corrected an error without mediation. The process reflected in this category in terms of Vygotsky's metaphor manifests full flowering of a plant but does not yet bear full fruit because learners are still incapable of error-free performance. Nevertheless, when they do falter, they can detect and correct a problem.

To illustrate how the schema given in Table 3 figures into predicting a learner's developmental future/trajectory, consider the evidence concerning use of Tense by learner N given in Table 4 and the same learner's use of articles presented in Table 5.

Learner N clearly had problems controlling English tense marking and required a good deal of mediation from the tutor to identify and correct his performance. The key column in terms of future development is the ZPD column, where the numbers correspond to the levels presented in Table 3. Indeed, the mean of this learner's performance is 2.6, which means that control over the feature of tense was only in the budding stage. Therefore, we would predict that independent performance for the tense feature for this learner is not in the near future. On the other hand, if we now consider the same learner's

Table 2

Hierarchy of mediation [2]

0. Ask learner to find and correct errors prior to session
1. "Collaborative frame" prompted by presence of tutor as dialogic partner
2. Focused scan of utterance with error
3. Tutor indicates something is problematic in sentence, clause, line...
4. Tutor rejects unsuccessful attempts at identifying error
5. Tutor narrows focus — repeats or points to segment with error
6. Tutor indicates nature of error — "something wrong with tense marker"
7. Tutor identifies error — "you can't use auxiliary here"
8. Tutor rejects learner's unsuccessful attempts at error correction
9. Tutor provides clues to help learner arrive at correct form (It is not really past but is still ongoing)
10. Tutor provides correct form
11. Tutor provides explanation
12. Tutor provides examples of correct use

Table 3

Responsiveness to mediation [1]

Level	Notice	Correct	Intervention
1	-	-	-
2	+	-	+
3	+	+	+ (high)
4	+	+	+ (low)
5	+	+	Self-repair

performance regarding use of the English articles, given in Table 5, we see a greater degree of control over this feature when compared to tense. Again, the key evidence comes from the ZPD column in which the learner scores 4 and 5 with a mean of 4.3, a clear indication of more advanced development, or in Vygotsky's terms, not just a bud but a full flower that is close to producing fruit.

An important aspect of the proposal regarding prediction of future development has to do with how development is conceptualized. It has been generally assumed that development is manifested only in terms of change in an individual's independent performance in a particular domain, whether it be language, mathematics, or musical ability. However, the claim that we are making with regard to the ZPD is that development can also be observed in changes in mediation required for learner performance to improve. In other words, improved performance resulting from implicit mediation is indicative of greater development than is performance that requires explicit mediation. This is documented in the comparison between Tables 4 and 5. Learner N's responsiveness to implicit mediation with regard to English articles shows that his development was more advanced than tense, which required more explicit mediation. If we determine development solely on the basis of independent performance, it is likely that we would miss the opportunity to observe the future in the making, because N's independent performance with regard to tense marking and article selection was by and large problematic. The key to observing the future then rests on how individuals respond to mediation.

As for the matter of how to evaluate a prediction other than retrospectively, it is our view that responsiveness to mediation in the present is a likely indicator of the future in the making. Recall that van der Veer and Valsiner suggested that Vygotsky seemed to assume a static environment when he made his predictions regarding IQ and ZPD [27]. One could make a similar assumption

with respect to the current proposal. However, we must also keep in mind that Vygotsky linked the diagnosis of development in the ZPD with *obuchenie*—the teaching-learning dialectic that should occur in educational settings. If indeed instruction is organized to take account of learners' ZPD [see 32], teachers will continue to guide development based on the maturational level displayed by learners. In the case of learner N, because his ability to use tense appropriately is less mature than his ability to use articles, instruction will need to be more explicit and take up a longer span of time for the former than the latter feature of English. In other words, a possible way of realizing Vygotsky's methodological imperative to glimpse the future is through the quality of mediation necessary to support learner performance. In terms of the gardening metaphor, for N tense is budding while articles are flowering. Of course, future empirical research will need to verify our proposal.

Transformation and Creativity

In this section we address the conundrum of predicting the future and at the same time allowing for transformation and creativity to emerge. We begin with a quote from Vygotsky that shows his commitment to the importance of creativity for what it means to be a human being: "It is precisely human creative activity that makes the human being a creature oriented toward the future, creating the future and thus altering his own present" [31, p. 9]. The basis of creativity is imagination, which is what enables "artistic, scientific, and technical creation" [31, p. 9]. Creativity is the result of "forms of imagination that are directed toward reality", whereby the "boundary between realistic thinking and imagination is erased." In fact, an accurate cognizing of reality requires an "element of imagination, a certain flight from the immediate concrete, solitary impressions in which

T a b l e 4

Leaner N tense performance [1]

Tense	Week	Moves	Move Sequence	Resolution	ZPD
	1	8	2,3,4,5,6,9,9,8	L (I will never forget)	3
	3	14	2,4,5,6,8,9,9,10,10,10 11,11,12,12	T	1
	3	1	1	L	4
	4	6	2,7,8,9,10,11	T	1
					Mean = 2.6

T a b l e 5

Learner N article performance [1]

Article	Week	Moves	Move Sequence	Resolution	ZPD
	5	2	3,6	L	4
	5	3	2,3,7	L	4
	5	1	2	L	4
	6	4	2,3,2,2	L	4
	6	0	--	L	5
	6	0	--	L	5
					Mean=4.3

this reality is presented ... the processes of invention or artistic creativity demand a substantial participation by both realistic thinking and imagination. The two act as a unity" [31, p. 49].

Creativity is not limited to works of genius as represented in the art of Michelangelo or the equations of Einstein. Indeed, everything we use in our daily lives results from the "crystallized imagination" of anonymous and "unknown inventors" [31, pp. 9—10]. Without creativity and imagination humans would be limited to "reproduction of the old" and would consequently be unable to "adapt to the future" unless it merely "reproduced the past" [31, p. 9]. It is important to note that the quality of this transformation differs from what may occur in imitation, which we mentioned earlier. While imitation is a potentially transformative process, this transformation does not result from deliberate or intentional action. One can believe that imitation of a model is accurate even if the imitative act transforms the model, as in the example we discussed of conducting an orchestra. This process no doubt plays an important function in cultural and psychological change. The type of transformation we consider in this section, however, is different because it involves a conscious, intentional attempt to create something new. We suggest this is an approach to considering the conundrum that, to our knowledge, has not been fully considered and that merits additional research. The L2 examples we provide are intended to initiate such a line of research.

Imagination/creativity does not arise as a pure flight of fantasy but is in fact strongly linked to our previous experiences of reality, which we transform by combining aspects of these experiences in novel ways [31, p. 13]. This extends from fairy tales to technical objects that make our external life easier. Importantly, however, it also includes symbolic works of art, literature, music, etc. which influence our internal intellectual and emotional life [31, p. 23].

Vygotsky did not limit what counts as experiences of reality to those that are first-person encounters with the world. He also allowed for our ability to participate vicariously in the experiences of others [31]. This occurs, for instance, in school as we read and hear about events of the past, such as the French Revolution, or about places that we are not likely to visit, such as the African Desert [31, p. 16]. Contrary to what many may believe, adults on the whole, have the potential for more creative imaginations than do children. Given that imagination/creativity emerges from our direct and vicarious experiences of reality, it stands to reason that because adults have experienced more of reality than children, they have a far richer resource to draw upon. This occurs whenever when we confront novel circumstances that we are unable to adapt to by using our existing capacities and thus face an emotional or practical need to create something (internally or externally) new [31, p. 29].

According to Vygotsky "true creative imagination in all areas of creativity belong only to those who have achieved maturity. As maturity approached [sic], the imagination also matures" [31, p. 32]. While Vygotsky had in mind the maturation that occurs when we move

from childhood into adolescence and adulthood, we propose that the concept of maturity also applies to the accretion of conceptual knowledge that takes place in any domain as our experiences of that domain grow and expand. As an example, consider the process that unfolds in gastronomic development. Knowing how to fry an egg or follow a recipe, does not make one an expert chef with the skill to prepare novel culinary dishes. To do so minimally requires deep knowledge of how various ingredients combine to enhance taste, texture and appearance. This can only be achieved, with few exceptions, through a great deal of experience and education. Applying for a chef position in a restaurant, normally entails a demonstration of one's culinary ability. This includes a demonstration of such a basic skill as making an omelet as well as the ability to create a quality dish from a set of ingredients not seen prior to the job interview. To become an expert chef, as in any domain of human endeavor, requires an accumulation of experience that begins at the novice level where basic abilities such as following a recipe are established.

Analogizing from the culinary to the language domain, we argue that before one is able to use language with imagination it is necessary to first establish understanding of, and control over, the features and concepts of the language. To prepare a creative linguistic offering entails control over its essential concepts. In fact, verbal creativity indeed requires "a very high level of accumulated experience" [31, p. 43]. An indispensable contribution to the accumulation of necessary experience is made by formal education [31, p. 50]. Accordingly, education has the responsibility to build the foundation for creativity, which means it must broaden what a student "sees, hears, and experiences" because the more students experience the more productive will be their imagination [31, p. 15].

As an example of what we have in mind with regard to linguistic creativity we consider some evidence from a classroom study on the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language in a U.S. university setting. The study by Yáñez-Prieto [38] engaged a third-year (low-advanced) Spanish class focused on the relationship between everyday and literary language, including how figurative and creative language is used in both domains. One of the topics addressed in the course was how verbal aspect, a typically difficult area for speakers of English to master, can be manipulated to create emotional effects on interlocutors or readers of texts. To appreciate this process, we first provide a brief account of the conceptual meaning of verbal aspect as manifesting different temporal perspectives on events.

The key to verbal aspect is the concept of "boundedness." Objects and events in the world are said to be naturally bounded or unbounded. Thus, water, by its nature is an unbounded entity because it does not have specific boundaries. It can, however, become bounded when it is put into a container, such as a glass, bottle, river, or lake. It takes its form from the container. On the other hand, an object such as an apple, by its nature, is bounded by its outer skin. If we place apples in different containers, the individual apples retain their original form regardless of the shape of the container. Similarly, events that

occur in the world are by their nature either bounded or unbounded. Thus, walking and talking are unbounded because they do not have an inherent end point or conclusion. In theory, one could walk or talk ad infinitum. Events such as throwing an object or jumping are by their nature bounded because they have a definite end point. In the act of throwing a ball, for example, the act is completed as soon as the ball leaves the throwers hand.

Spanish, along with many other languages, not including English, grammatically marks the distinction between bounded and unbounded events with different verbal suffixes. Thus, unbounded events are marked with grammatical forms referred to as imperfect endings, while bounded events are marked with grammatical forms referred to as perfective (or preterit) endings. This distinction, however, only holds when referring to past time events. Spanish does not mark the distinction for present or future events. To indicate that someone engaged in the activity of walking in the past, an imperfect suffix is normally used, as in Ayer, Juan camin*aba* por el parque 'Yesterday, John was walking through the park', where -*aba* indicates that the event is unbounded. To communicate that a bounded activity such as throwing a ball occurred, a preterit suffix is used, as in Juan tir*ó* la pelota 'John threw the ball'.

Although verb endings often match the nature of events (i.e., imperfective for unbounded and preterit for bounded events), speakers and writers manipulate grammatical markers so that naturally unbounded events are treated as if they were bounded (similar to putting water into a glass), and bounded events can likewise be expressed as if they were unbounded (analogous to smashing an apple against a wall, resulting in its loss of boundedness as it smears across the surface of the wall). Thus, a speaker/writer can impart the fact that John walked to a particular place by combining a preterit suffix with a naturally unbounded event, thereby placing a boundary around the activity of walking, as in Juan caminó a la escuela 'John walked to school'. In a similar way, a speaker/writer can express the fact that John was in the act of throwing a ball, and therefore uses an imperfect suffix with a naturally bounded event, as in Juan tir*aba* una pelota 'John was throwing a ball'. Things become a bit more complicated in this case, as the example can mean either that John was in the act of throwing or that he threw the ball repeatedly (against a wall or with a friend).

Yáñez-Prieto [38] first presented her students with a visualized explanation [see 18] of the meaning of aspect followed by a one-page short story written by the Argentinian author Julio Cortázar. In the story, Cortázar plays with verbal aspect to create a different sense of how events can be made to unfold in ways that draw readers into the story in imaginative and unexpected ways. The short story demonstrated the fact that language features can be manipulated to produce particular effects on interlocutors/readers and that one does not need to always reproduce so-called "correct forms." Indeed, in his discussion of the grammatical and psychological structure of speech, Vygotsky presents a quote from a Pushkin poem to illustrate his belief that "what is a mistake from the perspective of [grammatical] language, may have artistic value if it has an original source: 'Like rosy lips without a smile, I would not love Russian speech, without grammatical errors'" [33, p. 252].

Below is an excerpt from a story produced by one of Yáñez-Prieto's students with the pseudonym Emma that illustrates creative use of aspect. In the excerpt Emma's mother and father reveal to their children that their mother has been diagnosed with a serious illness. In the first part of the excerpt Emma uses imperfect aspect where one would normally anticipate use of preterit aspect. We translate the story into English and indicate verbal aspect with words instead of morphological endings:

But that night, my dad *did-imperfect* not bother us with his questions and my mom did-*imperfect* not even raise her eyes from her plate. That night silence was-*imperfect* not comfortable; it was-*imperfect* heavy and strong. It filled-*imperfect* the room, sinking my family, and my sisters and I crossed-*imperfect* worried glances. Something was-*imperfect* not right.

In the second part of the excerpt Emma recounts going to visit her mother in her room following dinner. In this case she used a mixture of imperfect and preterit suffixes:

I went-*preterit* down the stairs slowly, without feeling the treads under my feet. With each footstep towards her room my heart beat-*preterit* louder. When I arrived-*preterit* at her room, it was-*imperfect* dark and quiet and my om was-*imperfect* in bed, with her eyes closed.

Emma explained her use of aspect as follows:

Although a lot of my paper could have been written in either imperfect or preterit, I tried to use each tense [sic] strategically to convey different meanings. For example, when I was talking about the moments when we were in the dining room in silence, I used imperfect to depict everything as if the reader was there in the middle of the action, seeing everything as it was happening. When I went to my mom's room to see her after I found out that she was sick, I used preterit for all the verbs. This time I wanted to show each action as a complete act.

Emma's use of aspect in the second excerpt is closer to what we might expect from a speaker/writer relating a typical story. She used the preterit to describe her movements toward her mother's room and the imperfect to describe the state in which she found her mother.

Commentary from another student reveals the insight he had regarding how grammar entails more than using 'correct' forms and that it can be manipulated creatively to tell stories:

It's kind of funny how you can have a grammar st … the gram … grammatical structure actually tell a story. I'd not really noticed that or seen that before. I mean, the words are telling the story and the grammar is telling the story, which is kind of weird. Yeah, I'd never seen that before. Interesting.

The comment from yet another student evidenced the conflict some experienced between reproduction, in which students are indoctrinated to believe that language use is about rule-following behavior, and creative ways to express oneself as intimated in Pushkin's poem:

This week we learned about aspect and perspective. I feel that I am starting to understand that there are many more uses for the preterit and imperfect than those in-

troduced in textbooks. It is *confusing* however to grasp the idea that the preterit can be used to describe something in the past, when we have been taught the "rules" that the imperfect is used for description in the past.

Discussion

Reconciling the paradox and the conundrum

The question that we are left with is how to reconcile the conflict between predicting future development while at the same time promoting imagination and creativity. We believe the answer lies in understanding the dialectical relationship between the two processes. A dialectical relationship entails a "a union of two or more internally related processes that are simultaneously supporting and undermining one another" [19, p. 49]. On this view reproduction is in conflict with the creative use of language in that creativity undermines yet depends on reproduction, for without the latter process there would be nothing to transform. On the other hand, creativity produces new possibilities of use that are potentially appropriated and reproduced by others in a constant developmental cycle. Reproduction is "a form of moveability by which one practice is constantly rebuilt and reproduced from its former form, with the variations" similar to our conductor example [17, p. 367]. A key moment in this process is what Hegel labelled *Aufhebung* 'sublation' in which components of the contradiction are simultaneously retained and transformed as a new totality emerges [17, p. 369]. As Vygotsky states:

the essential feature that distinguishes imagination from other forms of mental activity is that it does not repeat combinations of accumulated impressions but builds a new series of impressions from them. The very foundation of the activity that we refer to as imagination is the introduction of something new into the flow of our impressions, the transformation of these impressions such that something new, an image that did not previously exist, emerges. [33, p. 339]

Earlier we observed that Vygotsky considered a key to creative development to reside in the educational process. We argue that Yañez-Prieto's project represents an important and to a degree successful attempt to realize Vygotsky's contention. In her case, the experiences were provided by the reading of literature and then linking how language is used by recognized authors to how language can be used in everyday communication. It is essential to highlight that to move students to the creative stage of language use, Yañez-Prieto first had to guide them into understanding the meaning potential carried by verbal aspect, and to mediate them into reproducing how it is typically used in everyday spoken and written communication. Then she exposed them to creative variations and how these can be used to impart an array of impressions of reality to interlocutors and readers. As a final step the students were provided with the opportunity to experiment with how the meaning potential can be manipulated to create particular impressions during communicative activity.

Clearly there are other means open to educators to promote creative language use, including the use of drama [see 10; 23], especially improvisational theatre [see15]. Through dramatic and improvisational theatre, the disturbances in equilibrium that Vygotsky saw as essential for stimulating imagination can lead to the emergence of creative activity. If there are no challenges confronting an individual there is no basis "to exercise creativity" because the individual would be "perfectly adapted" to the environment and "would not have anything to strive for, and, of course, would not be able to create anything" [31, p. 29].

Implications

In our view, the dialectical contradiction between reproducing and transforming the future argues for a reconceptualization of the ZPD as comprising two components: a reproductive component and a transformative, or creative, component. While this goes beyond Vygotsky's statements concerning the ZPD, we believe that he had to understand that the ZPD could not have been limited to reproduction, especially given the importance he assigned to imagination and creativity in an individual's development. At this point, it is not clear that the two processes must occur in a fixed sequence such that in language development complete reproduction of all features of a language must take place before creative thinking and performance can emerge. It could be that instruction might focus on reproductive ability for a set of features while at the same time focusing on creative use of another set of features. How a diagnosis of development, the aim of DA, might take account of both reproduction and transformation, is another matter in need of further consideration. It may be that eliciting learner verbalization of reasoning underlying their performance might provide an opportunity to jointly explore possibilities for creative language use. Only future research can resolve this important issue.

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Зона ближайшего развития, изучение второго языка и диалектика транспозиции/трансформации

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Зона ближайшего развития (ЗБР) имела «большое практическое значение» для образования, поскольку показала, как обучение может оптимально влиять на развитие учащегося — путем ориентации опосредования не на полностью сформированные способности, а на те, которые только формируются или «созревают» [30]. Несмотря на то, что это одна из самых известных и влиятельных идей в работах Выготского, она тем не менее подвергалась критике. Например, некоторые авторы предполагают, что Выготский ввел «методологический парадокс» при формулировке ЗБР [25]: ЗБР фокусируется на ближайшем или будущем психологическом функционировании, действуя через обучение в настоящем. По их мнению, это означает, что прямое эмпирическое исследование ЗБР невозможно, так как оно может быть выведено только ретроспективно, как только будущие способности станут новым настоящим [25]. Более того, Валсинер и ван дер Веер [25] утверждали, что описание Выготским ЗБР не согласуется с его приверженностью диалектическому мышлению, поскольку эта концепция не допускает создания чего-либо нового, а подразумевает «простой перенос из интериндивидуальной во внутрииндивидуальную область» [25, с. 48]. Подкрепляя наши аргументы примерами из исследований в области изучения второго языка (L2), мы предполагаем, что внимание к изменениям в характере опосредования, которое требуется учащимся в рамках ЗБР, позволяет нам наблюдать за будущим по мере того, как рассматриваемые способности переходят из «созревающих» в статус «развитых». Таким образом, будущая самостоятельная деятельность учащегося переносится в настоящее в диалектическом процессе, в ходе которого противоречие между фактическими способностями учащегося и требованиями задачи разрешается посредством сотрудничества между посредником и учащимся. Мы видим этот процесс как способ реализации «методологического императива», к которому стремился Выготский [26]. В завершение мы рассматриваем важность взаимосвязи между переносом учащимся идеальных языковых характеристик, представленных в процессе обучения, и развитием способности творчески манипулировать этими характеристиками, чтобы формировать то, как другие конструируют объекты и события в соответствии с личной точкой зрения пользователя.

Ключевые слова: зона ближайшего развития, методологический императив, динамическая оценка, прогноз, трансформация, транспозиция, креативность, диалектика.

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In Search of Methodology for English Medium Instruction

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English Medium Instruction (EMI) — teaching/learning of content through English at a university — is currently gaining momentum worldwide, albeit it still lacks consensus regarding conceptualization and efficacious pedagogy and encounters a myriad of challenges at the implementation level. The latter prompted a host of researchers to voice concerns about its possible negative effects on content learning and overall educational quality. Current EMI conceptualization is primarily informed by the applied linguistics perspective. Drawing on the dialectical unity of language (word) and cognition (thought), the article presents recent and fruitful applications of Vygotsky's ideas to foreign language teaching/learning praxis and suggests a symbiosis of two theoretical perspectives — the cultural historical theory and systemic functional linguistics — to inform teaching/learning in English-mediated contexts. The article shifts the focus from the most researched area in the EMI acronym, which is E (dealing with the English language issues), to I (Instruction) to suggest a potential conceptual and pedagogical solution to the EMI conundrum.

Keywords: cultural-historical theory, systemic functional linguistics (SFL), Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), English Medium Instruction (EMI).

Introduction

The increased pace of higher education internationalization over the course of the past 20 years has resulted in proliferation of English medium courses and stirred various debates centered on the nature of the English Medium Instruction (EMI) phenomenon and its most applicable pedagogy. Defined as 'the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English' [22, p. 4], the practice has encountered a myriad of implementation challenges at the classroom level which include, but are not limited to, insufficient teacher and student language ability [6; 8; 12; 17; 22; 35; 50; 56], lack of professional development programs for teachers and empirically proven pedagogical principles of organizing teaching/learning process in such settings [4; 12; 16; 50], old transmission models of teaching [8; 23; 29; 37], heterogeneous student language proficiency [3; 17; 56] and most importantly an unwillingness, or rather mere inability, of content teachers to be language teachers [5; 23; 24]. All of the above issues have prompted a host of researchers to voice concerns about the adverse effects of English mediated programs and courses on content

learning, which, in their view, impede deep learning [6; 35; 45].

To tackle these challenges and facilitate EMI's efficacious implementation, various conceptual frameworks and pedagogical approaches were introduced, which primarily stem from the applied linguistics perspective and thus entail diverse forms of language support and development [18; 19; 20; 43; 45; 49; 59]. The main idea of this article, on the other hand, is to problematize the EMI phenomenon from a different vantage point by drawing on the cultural-historical theory (CHT) and present a case for a symbiosis of two theoretical perspectives. To this end, the aim of the article is threefold: 1) to provide an overview of the EMI phenomenon, its current conceptualization and key problem; 2) to cite recent examples of CHT applications in second and content-based language teaching/learning; 3) to present arguments in support of the relevance and wider adoption of CHT to alleviate some of the challenges inherent in EMI.

Origins of the EMI phenomenon

Teaching content through English is not a new phenomenon. Some European universities in the Netherlands

and Sweden boasted English mediated courses as early as the 1950s [9]. One of the first undergraduate programs fully conducted in English was introduced at Maastricht University in 1987 providing a concurrent language support program, which involved a joint course development between a language and a subject expert to boost students' linguistic competence. Thus, the English language acted both as a medium and as an educational goal [72].

The first PhD thesis describing the EMI phenomenon was successfully defended in 1995 and was devoted to the investigation of the Dutch engineering education. This pioneering study outlined the key challenges and research vectors that still remain relevant nowadays. Despite some limitations with regards to the sample size, Vinke [68] confirmed that a medium of instruction affects the process and outcomes of teaching and learning. The surveyed instructors, who were proficient users of English, stated a decreased ability to improvise in English and pointed to a slower pace of lecture delivery. Additionally, student learning outcomes demonstrated that the change of the medium of instruction had a moderately negative effect on content learning. In her conclusions, Vinke [68] pointed out that in order to teach effectively through English, an adequate level of English proficiency should be exhibited by both teachers and students and suggested to introduce language improvement programs for instructors and concurrent language support programs for students.

Indeed, learning subject matter mediated by a foreign and, more importantly, academic language poses a challenge for many university students since many of them are not familiar with the genre of scientific texts, corresponding 'lexicogrammar' or 'different ways of organizing meaning' [32, p. 12]. Recent quantitative studies demonstrated that only academic English proficiency is a statistically significant predictor of successful performance in EMI courses [14; 58; 74]. Unsurprisingly, most current EMI conceptualization frameworks reflect various roles of language support in teaching subject matter though a foreign language starting from pre-sessional, adjunct and finally to fully integrated models.

In fact, the debate about the best way to achieve content and language integration is the key issue and at the heart of most content-based language teaching approaches, including Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) that took off in the European Union in the 1990s and which is often used interchangeably with EMI. Despite a major difference related to the stated goals of these approaches — CLIL is 'a dual-focused education approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language' [13, p. 1], whereas the EMI's definition does not contain explicit language goals — both approaches share a lot in common. Currently, most researchers of the English mediated teaching/learning phenomenon view EMI as a CLIL variety and designate CLIL as an umbrella term [2; 36; 41]. EMI is thus located on the content-driven end of the content-based language learning continuum, where content objectives dominate and which is dubbed 'hard' CLIL as opposed to language-driven, 'soft' CLIL approaches [24].

Current EMI methodology: systemic functional linguistics and literacy

Perhaps the strongest argument in support of the compatibility of EMI and CLIL is Halliday's tenet of the inseparability of language development and learning, which is based on his theory of language-based learning. He views human learning as 'linguistic activity' and 'languaging' [32, p. 1] and states that

'...it is a process of making meaning — a **semiotic** process; and the prototypical form of human semiotic is language. Hence the ontogenesis of language is at the same time the ontogenesis of learning' [30, p. 93];

'...it seems appropriate that a general theory of learning, interpreted as "learning through language", should be grounded in whatever is known about "learning language" [30, p. 113].

Based on this theory as well as on the applied linguistics interdisciplinary focus to solve 'real social issues and problems in which language plays an important role' [51, p. 3], a host of researchers advocate the application of linguistic theories to guide the implementation of English-mediated programs. According to Morton and Llinares [51], four sub-domains of applied linguistics have gained momentum in CLIL/EMI research — second language acquisition, systemic functional linguistics (SFL), discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. But it is systemic functional linguistics (SFL) developed by Halliday and informed by his language-based theory of learning that is currently suggested as the most suitable theory to ground EMI [7; 41; 52; 55].

According to SFL, language 1) makes meaning of the world and is 'a way of thinking about the environment' [32, p. 4] (the ideational metafunction); 2) is instrumental in mediating interactions with others and is 'a way of acting in the environment' [32, p. 4] (the interpersonal metafunction); 3) 'serves to assemble the ideational and interpersonal into cohesive and ordered texts' (the textual metafunction) [41, p. 2]. In SFL, the unit of analysis is texts (both oral and written) — 'language functioning in context' [31, p. 3]. Not only does SFL approach the language through linguistic analysis, but it also emphasizes its meaning-making potential and provides tools for literacy development. The notion of literacy associated with language development is particularly pertinent to CLIL/EMI contexts.

According to Halliday, children go to school to acquire educational knowledge, which is associated with reading and writing, as opposed to commonsense knowledge, which is mostly limited to speaking and listening [32]. To a large extent, current tertiary practices also primarily favor knowledge development through reading and writing. These language aspects used to be the original focus of literacy studies [53], while lately the concept of literacy has gradually evolved into a more complex notion of 'the ability to appropriately participate in the communicative practices of a discipline' [1, p. 3]. It is important to distinguish between disciplinary and content area literacy because the former underscores discipline specific ways of 'how discipline experts read and how language is structured in disciplinary texts', not

just general reading strategies [61, p. 14]. For instance, historians identify the author and the source of information and interpret the reading with the historical events in mind, while chemists emphasize various representations to understand the concepts fully, whilst mathematicians focus on discovering possible errors [60]. Hence, to become disciplinary literate, students require explicit guidance from subject experts to discuss exemplar texts and reasoning behind them to produce their own texts as a result [61]. Disciplinary literacy also presupposes mastering various modes of knowledge representations, such as graphs, formulae, diagrams, in other words, it is multimodal [1].

The emphasis on literacy development and grounding CLIL/EMI in SFL have resulted in the development of several pedagogical approaches, namely cognitive discourse functions (CDFs) proposed by Dalton-Puffer [18; 19; 20; 53] and Pluriliteracies Approach to Teaching for Learning devised by a group of international experts (The Graz Group) [49]. However lately, in the quest of identifying 'the best pedagogical practices to teach and learn content and language in integration' [41, p. 4], the attention has been drawn to the cultural-historical theory [25].

Contribution of cultural-historical theory to contemporary research

The cultural-historical theory (CHT) was a response to a crisis in psychology at the turn of the 20th century. Having drawn on Spinoza, Hegel and materialist dialectics, Vygotsky propounded 'internally consistent and monistic' [15, p. 68] cultural-historical theory of development, which investigated the origin and development ('the becoming') of higher psychological functions and set out to investigate the ontogenesis of consciousness and personality development. The former was addressed in his *Thinking and Speech* and the latter resulted in elaborating the concepts of 'critical periods', 'social situation of development', 'neoformation', and 'perezhivanie' [15, p. 58]. Vygotsky's theory is an exemplar of development per se — he commenced with the investigation of mediation, shifted his focus to the study of sign meaning, introduced the concept of sense — 'the unity of affective and intellectual processes' [15, p. 198] and in his last years selected *perezhivanie* as the unit of analysis to study 'consciousness as a complex, developing phenomenon' [15, p. 197].

The cultural-historical theory is holistic because it is 'a system with a precisely defined subject-matter, research methods, a complete set of laws, and a system of basic interconnected concepts and principles' [67, p. 109] and it is also a 'non-classical' psychological theory as it 'aims toward theoretical explanation and experimental investigation of the very processes of mental development of the human being' [63, p. 89]. It is 'non-classical' because 1) it defines development as 'a qualitative reorganization of the system' [63, p. 84] and 2) it 'defines social environment not just as a factor, but as the source of development' [63, p. 84]. 'The interaction between real and ideal forms explains the moving force of development' [63, p. 85]. The interaction itself is mediated by signs, which in the cultural developmental process undergo the transition from being external tools to becoming internal, mental ones [63]. The developmental process of higher psychological functions takes place according to the general genetic law which states that

'...any function in the child's cultural development appears on stage twice, that is, on two planes. It firstly appears on the social plane and then on a psychological plane. Firstly, it appears among people as an inter-psychological category, and then within the child as an intra-psychological category' [69, p. 145 as cited in 63, p. 87].

By having developed an experimental-genetic method for the reconstruction of the process of development of higher mental functions, Vygotsky overcame the theory-praxis gap [15]. Therefore, the cultural-historical theory 'does not belong to the history of psychology only, but rather it is a living and powerful theory which informs contemporary research' [67, p. 107] and provides both a theoretical framework and a coherent method. The genetic research methodology or the genetic method affords the study of higher mental functions in the process of theoretical and experimental reconstruction of the very process of their emergence and development in phylogenesis and ontogenesis [64] and is distinguished by the following three characteristics, according to Veresov [65]: first and foremost, the method is concerned with the analysis of the genesis (the emergence and development) of higher mental functions and not their mature forms; secondly, the genetic method is not preoccupied with visible manifestations of psychological processes, but rather with uncovering true dynamic cause-and-effect and genetic connections which underlie these visible manifestations; finally, the method yields the experimental investigation into psychological processes in such a manner as to reveal the differences in their psychological nature hidden behind their observable (phenotypical) similarities.

Vygotsky's ideas were furthered among others by P.Ya. Galperin and V.V. Davydov. Galperin meticulously described the transformation process ('the system of interdependent characteristics') [27, p. 6] from the external plane and material (materialized) forms present in the social activity to the internal, psychological form. He operationalized 'what actually occurs in the zone of proximal development and the teacher's role of instigating and supporting student learning and development' [28, p. 1]. Complete, but constructed by learners orientation 'reveals the essence of learning' [27, p. 8] and enhances learners' 'agentic capacity to be in control of their own learning' [27, p. 9]. A teacher takes on an active interventionist stance by designing and facilitating students' learning and agency [26; 42], not simply observing 'what happens in the classroom but examine ways to create, manage and control the process of learning' [28, p. 2].

The continuity of the cultural-historical tradition was manifested in the works of Galperin's student, V.V. Davydov. His guiding principle was 'theoretical thinking: a process of taking the learner from the

abstract to the concrete' [27, p. 7]. To that end, he advocated teaching concepts and developing 'generalised understanding of the materials being studied' [27, p. 7] as the first step of a subject matter learning process. To overcome rote learning students need to be exposed to various learning tasks as part of their learning activities, which reproduce 'the micro-cycle of the ascending from the abstract to the concrete' [21, p. 5].

Recent applications of CHT to foreign language pedagogy

Due to its potential in resolving contemporary educational challenges and despite problems associated with translation [47; 66; 67], Vygotsky's ideas became very popular in the field of (second) language learning, where his theory is referred to as sociocultural in the western research literature. Beginning from 2003 an increasing number of language development studies have adopted the sociocultural approach [38] in their pursuit of elaborating coherent pedagogical guidelines. For instance, van Compernolle & Williams [11] ponder on the notion of pedagogy from a sociocultural perspective. They view pedagogical interventions as 'theoretically informed teaching techniques' and as 'part and parcel of further developing the theory' [11, p. 277]. In their expanded view, 'pedagogy is about creating the conditions for, and supporting, development (i.e. internalization of psychological tools), and while this often involves a physically present human mediator, not all aspects of pedagogical activity require it' [11, p. 278].

Negueruela-Azarola et al. [54] write about the 'dialectical connection between social interaction and personal intra-action' and advocate a transformative pedagogy, which 'centers on learners mindfully engaging with psychological tools in conceptually meaningful activities' [54, p. 233]. Their study presents 'a concept-based teaching approach to second language (L2) learning, development and interaction', which employs 'conscious conceptual mediation' and 'meaning-making activities that promote verbal consciousness through communicating with the self' [54, p. 242]. Teachers, who utilize this approach, need to develop 'a brief and coherent' explanation of 'a conceptual category of meaning', create 'a visual representation of the targeted concept' and finally 'the learner needs to engage in social interaction with self that leads to intra-action' [54, p. 243]. If these 'pedagogical sequences' are followed, they result in improved levels of understanding as reported by students.

The challenges of adopting concept-based instruction are reported in Williams et al. [73] and range from aversion to risk to lack of confidence in implementing a new approach and misalignment of curriculum, instruction and assessment, when expert/novice instructors are faced with making a decision about rejecting or adopting new didactics. Conversely, Mahn [46] provides an inspirational account of a practical and efficacious application of the ZPD concept in the classroom discourse, which became known as the Academic Literacy for All (ALA) project. The project was built on the 'guiding principle' elaborated earlier by Hedegaard [33] of 'how the discourse, inquiry, and interaction between students and teachers created zones of proximal development, helping to 'understand how the dialectic relationship between abstract and concrete aspects of a conceptual system can be combined with personal experience to become part of a person's conceptual understanding' [46, p. 253]. The project entailed the creation of the protocol (a sequence of activities), which ensured gradual elevation of the everyday concepts to the level of the academic concepts by means of creating prompts and 'opportunities for dialogic interaction' [46, p. 260], posing questions and providing necessary linguistic input.

Van Compernolle's research [10] also examines the emergence of L2 sociolinguistic competence in classroom interaction from the CHT perspective and utilizes concept-based instruction. The research design employed various tasks: 1) monologic and dialogic verbalized reflections; 2) the use of 'cooperative appropriateness judgment tasks where the tutor assisted them [the students] in using the concepts to solve communicative problems and strategic interaction scenarios 'to bridge the gap between their conscious knowledge of language ... and performance abilities' [10, p. 278].

More recent applications of the cultural-historical/sociocultural approach to foreign language teaching are found in Mandili [48] and Poehner & Infante [57]. In her PhD thesis Mandili [48] investigated conditions for developing English language speech among Saudi Arabian school children. She observed and documented various examples of interactions between ideal and present forms as well as teacher strategies employed in the ZPD (collaboration, interaction) and outlined a host of specific activities conducive to English speech development. She drew on the concepts of the ZPD and interaction of ideal/real forms. On the other hand, the case study presented by Poehner & Infante [57] employed different concepts — those of scientific/everyday concepts and mediation through dialogic interaction — and applied them complementary to develop the conceptual understanding of the English tense-aspect system and regulate second language use by a learner. The proposed Mediated Development (MD-L2) is informed by 1) Galperin's model of step-by-step conceptual knowledge internalization (material form, perceptual form, verbalization, and finally an internal plane) and 2) mediated learning experience as propounded by Feuerstein and which entails a structured approach to learner interaction with a mediator and specific psychological actions such as comparison, labeling, verbalizing to help internalize the meaning. The guiding role of the instructor and the use of psychological tools resulted in the learner's enhanced language functioning.

A recent trend endorsed by a host of researchers [40; 41; 52] is to combine linguistic and cultural historical approaches to effectuate teaching/learning in CLIL/EMI contexts. A pioneering instance of merging sociocultural theory, systemic functional and cognitive linguistics approaches is the study of Hill [34] conducted in the Japanese tertiary CLIL settings. Eleven students were split into experimental and control groups. The former worked

in pairs (one of the students in pairs was a higher-level learner) and jointly constructed the meaning of polysemous, genre-specific lexis. The latter group worked individually. This empirical research interweaved the concepts of the ZPD, everyday and genre-specific concepts with Galperin's theory. In the experimental group the extension from everyday to genre-specific lexical meaning was highlighted, which led to statistically significant development in comprehension, development in usage and enhanced comprehension of genre-specific meanings by lower-level learners working in pairs. The author concludes that the merger of three approaches holds promise for CLIL/EMI pedagogy.

Discussion

In CLIL/EMI tertiary settings students are concurrently inducted into scientific concepts and a new language of science by being exposed to content mediated by discipline-specific genre features of texts and new lexis, the so-called 'apprenticeship into literacy' [71, p. 65]. As adults with a fully developed mother tongue, their initiation into academic language transpires as a downward process (similar to the appropriation of scientific concepts). The academic language they are exposed to is not learnt by 'osmosis' — it needs to be taught [32]. However, in reality subject teachers often simply frontload the vocabulary devoid of context, failing to highlight the relations between the language functions and the content [25].

According to the cultural-historical perspective, language development is not a mechanistic process (focus on form or rigid scaffolding) [62], but rather unfolds contextually and collaboratively, by interweaving new language with students' existing knowledge and expanding its meaning and interconnections in dialogic interaction. Moreover, this appropriation of meaning cannot transpire in every social interaction, but only in the social situation of development, when students are faced with a challenge (drama/collision) [63] and provided with developmentally appropriate tools and expert support [11, 46] and where the so-called 'potentiating' environment propels learners forward [26].

Unfortunately, all too often a content teacher's role in CLIL/EMI contexts is reduced to simply 'professing' knowledge, which is frequently attributed to their insufficient language ability [5]. Language proficiency is undoubtedly crucial for CLIL/EMI subject specialists (as they represent the ideal forms in interaction), but the creation of the social situation of development is even more so. In the classrooms, where in excess of 80% of talk is conducted by subject specialists [50], the opportunities for verbalization and triggering the development process in the ZBR [66] are inherently lost. In fact, in light of the cultural-historical theory, heterogeneous language proficiency of students, which is frequently cited as one of the main hurdles to interaction in EMI learning contexts, can be turned into an opportunity by organizing expert/novice pair and group work tasked with various language and cognitive discoveries, as demonstrated in Hill [34].

Another concerning fact is presented in the study of Johnson & Picciuolo [37], which established that 80% of questions asked during CLIL/EMI classes are simply progression markers (such as ok? right?) rather than being open-ended and referential ones that afford language and concept development as well as make students' thinking transparent [46]. To facilitate meaning construction and sense-making in the ZPD, teachers need at least to learn to ask the 'right' types of questions and at best

'to create a site where it is legitimate for all participants to ask for and be asked for reasons for the claims they make. In this way sense making is made visible and learners are encouraged to explore the implications of their current understandings and test their implications as they engage with public meanings' [26, p. 159].

Furthermore, echoing Davydov's focus on tasks, Edwards suggests the four-quadrant model of task sequencing, which includes two intermediate quadrants affording learners sense-making opportunities in safe and engaging environments to exercise their control over the concepts [26], while Donato calls for engaging academic tasks tying together purposeful language and content outcomes as the task goals [25].

Conclusions

The teaching/learning principles outlined by Vygotsky and further developed by his associates and followers provide a solid methodology to design and guide collaborative learning activities in English-mediated tertiary contexts, while the knowledge of systemic functional linguistics enables teachers 'to select useful texts for instruction and to identify the contextualized language focus of content-based lessons' [25, p. 43]. SFL understands the language needed 'to construct particular discursive practices' [25, p. 35] and 'makes visible the relationship of content to language as a meaning-making resource in a particular disciplinary genre' [25, p. 36].

Moreover, Wells [71] points to the congruence and complementarity of both theories — they both adopt a genetic approach and underscore the use of developmental tools. Halliday was a linguist whose primary focus was studying texts as part of various discourses and mental functions as they are realized externally in speech and writing, hence, his interest in genre and register. Conversely, Vygotsky was a psychologist who was concerned with 'the ways in which language influences mental functions and in the way it functions in inner speech' [71, p. 73]. Both Halliday and Vygotsky believed that teaching/learning is about development and construction of meaning.

Grounded in applied linguistics, current CLIL/EMI conceptualizations primarily address language concerns, where content and language integration is enacted by raising language awareness among teachers and language proficiency of students, and team-teaching alliances of language teaching and content specialists are seen as a way forward [2; 4; 39; 44; 45]. However, a few researchers voice the need 'to use theoretically-informed models that go beyond a focus on language 'only' and un-

derstand content and language as two sides of the same coin' [41, p. 2]. In the same vein, Donato [25] draws on Vygotsky when he posits that to address the challenge of content and language integration means to understand 'that thought is not simply expressed in words; it is realized in them' [70].

Finally, Pecorari [56] has recently referred to EMI as a phenomenon, not a pedagogical approach unlike CLIL, thus underscoring EMI's idiosyncratic nature, whereas Macaro [45] has long referred to its 'elusive' nature citing the lack of consensus on the applicable theory. A reconsideration of EMI conceptualization as a symbiosis of the cultural-historical theory and systemic functional linguistics may hold promise, alleviate some of its most vexing issues and furnish the answer to the question what *in essentia* EMI is.

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В поисках методологии обучения дисциплинам на английском языке в вузе

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Английский язык как средство обучения — преподавание/изучение научных дисциплин на академическом английском языке в университете — приобретает все большую популярность во всех странах мира, невзирая на отсутствие консенсуса в отношении концептуализации феномена и применимых к нему принципов преподавания, а также несмотря на множество практических вызовов, с которыми сталкиваются преподаватели и студенты в аудиториях. Именно эти вызовы подтолкнули ряд исследователей образования высказать опасения по поводу потенциально негативного влияния англоязычных программ на освоение содержания научной дисциплины и, как следствие, на качество получаемого образования в целом. Разработанные и предлагаемые в настоящее время методологические и педагогические подходы к данному феномену в основном опираются на прикладную лингвистику, что и логично, учитывая, что обучение проходит на иностранном (неродном) для преподавателей и студентов языке. Однако в данной статье, опираясь на диалектическое единство речи (слова) и сознания (мышления), а также недавние примеры успешного применения идей Л.С. Выготского в обучении иностранному языку, мы предлагаем расширить теоретический подход, используя симбиоз двух теорий — культурно-исторической и системно-функциональной лингвистики. Статья смещает акцент с наиболее исследованной темы в изучении феномена — английского языка — на процесс об-

учения с целью предложить потенциальное методологическое и педагогическое решение существующих противоречий.

Ключевые слова: культурно-историческая теория, системно-функциональная лингвистика (СФЛ), предметно-языковое интегрированное обучение, английский язык как средство обучения.

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Overcoming the Semantic Barrier and Developing the Ability to Use Communicative Tools Part I. Issue. Method

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The article is devoted to the problem of the functional structure of communicative action. Based on theoretical analysis and many years of pedagogical experience of working with children with affective pathology (autism spectrum disorders), the author recreates and refines the studies of cultural-historical theory and answers its main question — a method problem: the influence of holistic interfunctional analysis on overcoming semantic bias (central defect and syndrome-forming factor of psychopathology) and the development of a more universal communication form — verbal communication in non-speaking children with autism spectrum disorders in preschool age (by means of restructuring the way the impaired function is realized). The described conditions can be taken into account when constructing an intermediary (lively communicative action) both in the practice of general education (to prevent the occurrence of motivational disorders and increase the age limit) and in working with children with affective pathology (especially with children with autism spectrum disorders).

Keywords: developmental psychology, experimental genetic method, mediating (live communicative) action, activity approach in education, emotional volitional disorders, autism spectrum disorders.

> "In the beginning was the Word." The Riddle is
> from the first lines. Did I understand the hint? ...
> "In the beginning, there was a Thought." Here is a translation.
> It conveys this verse the closest...
> "There was Power in the beginning." That is the point.
> But after a little hesitation
> I reject this interpretation.
> As I see, I was baffled again:
> "In the beginning was the Deed" — the verse reads"

Faust, by Goethe

The modern practice of working with children with affective pathology (especially with ASD children) and motivational disorders presents a very multi-sided picture: a kaleidoscope of approaches and correction technologies becomes a prism of the specialists' subjectivation, makes it possible to satisfy a wide social request, but does not always solve the main issue — the need to provide quality assistance to a child and their families. The replication in the national educational space of the crippled foreign methods based on psychoanalysis [5], behavioral analysis [44—47], biologization direction in science [1; 26; 28; 33]; the impossibility of recreating the meanings inherent to the interdisciplinary field of knowledge — developmental psychology, result in failure to fully realize a child's cultural potential. After all, the evidence-based practices, albeit based on big data, a double placebo-controlled study, in the absence of completeness of meaningful theoretical analysis, do not take into account the individual history and context of the child's development, complex intrafunctional connections and relationships that are formed in this situation, also fail, in contrast to a holistic systemic cross-functional analysis that subordinates the analysis of external manifestations and makes it its integral part, but not limited to it. As, for example, in the non-classical paradigm of education, which makes it possible to personify learning on a

more complete basis and even build alternative routes [11, p. 105]. The practice also demonstrates such limitation. So, for example, in behavioral therapy, the formed child's actions are situational, incomprehensible, formal, limited only to robotic (mechanistic) execution, and in some cases, children show an aggressive reaction, but in the worst cases — an autoaggressive reaction in response to the instrumental nature of communication. After all, behavioral therapists, unlike the followers of the activity approach — the developmental psychologists, do not pay due attention to the experiences, the subjective world of the child, their personal history, context, but focus only on external (formal) performance. They organize their work based on a primitive and easily replicable functional analysis without paying attention to complex interfunctional connections and relationships that allow building alternative routes of the development, so many children with a lack of verbal communication remain users of alternative communication. The followers of the psychoanalytic direction put the child mirroring at the forefront, but it is also insufficient for the completeness of their development and the formation of an existential component. In this context, it is possible to recall N. Chomsky's criticism of F. Skinner, about a distance polemic of L. Vygotsky with Z. Freud, which reached the stage of rivalry between scientific programs back in 1932, when the possibility of rethinking classical psychoanalysis in the context of the ideas of L.S. Vygotsky, namely, the idea of consciousness as a dynamic semantic system, the idea of a semantic field, was discussed [17]. The popular biologization direction also creates a deceptive impression of helping a child, while stimulating the child's natural activity, it does not in any way formulate its semantic content. Notwithstanding the fact that a decisive step in resolving these methodological contradictions was made by L.S. Vygotsky back in 1927 in his work "The Historical Meaning of the Psychological Crisis" [17], despite the need to study the conditions leading to the prevention of motivational disorders, the normalization of the state under emotional-volitional disorders, the experts have not yet realized the possibilities of non-classical psychology — developmental psychology, and "clinical developmental psychology which has arisen on the verge of developmental psychology and child psychiatry is in the period of its formation. Though the first studies in this area began to appear more than 100 years ago" [8, p. 3]. The stressed topics allow to hope that the spontaneously formed supporters of foreign technologies who are based on fragmentary, not always specialized training[1] will critically treat their experience and the inert routine nature of the practices introduced, and their focus on systemic cross-functional analysis and interdisciplinarity of knowledge, in-depth study of the historical context in resolving the issue, a reflexive dialogue with scientific schools will lead them to under-standing the ideas outlined earlier by domestic researchers [4; 9—14; 25; 31; 37—42]. The choice of a work method should be determined not by its newness, modernity, foreign origin, and majority, but by the work content, the way to achieve a given result, the productive and negative effects of work, the formation of consciousness and regulatory forms of activities in combination with speech communication, not only imitative (reflected), formalized child's activity and alternative communication. After all, the key question — to be or not to be? — is central in the the theory of L.S. Vygotsky and arises before us when interacting with other people and before the experimental genetic method[2], it is especially acute for ASD children as resolving unsuccessfully in most cases due to the unformed subjectivity (consciousness (mental model)). So far it has not been problematized, as evidenced by the conducted experiments [33], although it was earlier indicated by L.S. Vygotsky as a method question [13, p. 25]. Let us illustrate the statement with a typical example from the practice: the primary visit of a primary school Grade 4 student with his parents. The child copes with the program requirements, but, mostly due to mechanical memorization. The parents have traditional and predictable complaints of his aggressive behavior: "we learn the program, but the situation with behavior it is very bad, he got out of hand". A child, seeing that a specialist opens a math textbook in front of him, begins to shout, throw everything off the table, push the specialist, looking into his eyes, and repeating in a reflection: "Vova, what do you want?", "Vova, what do you want?" — a phrase repeated by his mother in confusion in such situations. Needless to say, the parents themselves did not know what the child wanted. Or they didn't want to know: in their opinion, the substantive results are more important. However, the child with preserved articulation capabilities and readiness to recite the multiplication table, could not say anything: he was never taught the most important things. Inconsistency in relationships, insufficient conditions for personal self-determination and sense generation led him to a conflict with the world, fencing off, which is a non-existance.

The ASD children of preschool age require special attention, since their development is characterized not only by the contact specificity, but also by a decrease in the level of development of speech understanding, as well as by a practical absence of communicative tools (approximately 65% of ASD children in preschool age do not speak) [2]. It should be noted that their communication is very specific. The following is observed in a number of cases: the action of an adult's hand, vocalizations or a bird's language that do not carry a semantic load. The affect of inadequacy [31, p. 21], which is expressed in screaming, crying, aggression, autoaggression or in the isolation of children (autostimulation) is more often observed. The close ones, when characterizing the interaction with such

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[1] It would be more correct to say that this work includes parents who have learned from foreign experts, replicating the technology of work according to a certain template without correlating this technology with other scientific data (that is, without a holistic methodological analysis) and, often without practical work experience with children.

[2] Here the words of A.A. Puzyrei ring the bell: "cultural-historical psychology is a possible thing, but not inevitable" [30, p. 10].

a child, say: "got sick again", "flew away", and often call these children as "foreigners", "aliens". The special literature characterizes a contact of such children as inadequate, negativistic, absent, and formal. How else can you characterize them when hear from a five-year-old kid: "I am here in Russia ... you are great that you live in Russia ... an elevator ... an elevator." Gradually, human relations and the social world for such children cease to exist, since they ceased to exist for this world: blind imitation to foreign experts working within the framework of quantitative reflexological concepts that have long lost their relevance led to the fact that only reflective thinking was formed in children, but "the seven-star crisis symptoms" [12, p. 374] were built up, revealing its new features. Until we see the child's personal action, we do not form his "self-action" [40, p. 163], associative and reflexive thinking [9], we will not provide them with the opportunity to experience the joy of experience from designing the reality [24], -we will not be able to grow up a Human, Personality focused not only on self, but also on Another: complex forms and motives of cultural behavior are not formed in reflexological work, primitive motivation aimed at manipulating the child's needs will only aggravate the emotional-volitional defect. A child's life will be accompanied by a conflict of contradictions[3] [25, p. 273], which each of us can become a hostage under a situation of the conflict of interests or a situation of the collision of two internal motives reflected in consciousness in the form of independent opposite values. The conflict of contradictions in ASD child is aggravated by the syncretic nature of his[4] thinking (unformed speech generalizations), insufficient development of the "concept comprehension field"[5] [19, p. 221] and is critically enhanced by the presence of a semantic barrier [31, p. 10]. After all, it is difficult to understand a child with ASD, even a speaking one. To understand him/her, it is necessary to know the history of their development, to see what they have "absorbed from the entire context" [9, p. 347]. Then, instead of the phrase: I am here in Russia ... you are great that you live in Russia ... an elevator ... an elevator", one can catch: "Hello, I came, let's go play, let's build an elevator from soft blocks again." Considering that speech syncretes used by a child with ASD are captured on the basis of random similarity ("I am here in Russia ..." and "Hello, I am here ..." — as a sign of greeting, meeting with a loved one), external closeness ("shoe " — "boot "), emotional reaction ("The postman" instead of "has frightened" in a situation where the child is frightened by a stranger (the postman), and the mother designates the situation as the "postman", but not with the word" frightened"), it becomes clear that "there is a sense in his nonsense" [19, p. 224]. Therefore, "I am here in Russia" has a completely different meaning for a child than for an adult. The meaning of this phrase will be clear to anyone who studies his personal history and social context. A child, like a word, "acquires the meaning only in the phrase, and the phrase itself — only in the context of a paragraph, a paragraph — in the context of a book, a book — in the context of the author's work" [9, p. 347]. Addressing an adult: "I am here in Russia ... you are great that you live in Russia ... an elevator ... an elevator," the child expects an answer. If we analyze his personal history, it will become clear that the described dialogue is constantly repeated by him with his closed ones, and then they pay attention to him, laugh, repeat his words, give him an answer, but without correcting his addressing and setting a pattern of action. Meanwhile, the child's activity, like "... the meaning of the word, is a complex phenomenon, mobile, constantly changing in connection with the circumstances" [9, p. 347]. However, the child does not change here because of the context as a social situation is unchangeable, not adapted to the child specifics, and due to lack of special conditions and a communicative model given on behalf of the child and approved by the adult. The personal history of each child is unique, as is the situation in which he lives and acts. The mediator must "read" this peculiarity: "The success of the educational influence can be ensured only if the real reason for this or that act (offense) is established ... in many cases, aggravating it ... Limiting himself to external manifestations ... the teacher often acts "by trial and error", not eliminating the cause of deficiency, and in many cases exacerbating it ... One and the same manifestation ... may have different reasons and require different effects" [31, p. 9]. A holistic analysis of the social situation and developmental history of a child with ASD helps the mediator in rethinking the child's message, allows the child to be given an adequate orientation in the use of a communicative tool, prevents the emergence of a semantic barrier [31] and the formation of a semantic bias [29] which aggravates affective disorders, making work with children not evidence-based and imitation, but a truly personified practice. It is important to remember in this work about the conflict of insufficiency [25, p. 273], which may also lead to an affective explosion. We talked about it when "the subject is not able to perform a difficult task, especially if he considered it achievable for himself. It is as a result of the collision of an attempt to act with the impossibility of performing it a state arises that is characterized by confusion, affect and disorganization of behavior" [25, p. 273], rejection of activity, and passive aggressiveness. The impossibility of performing an action is due to the lack of orientation [14, p. 278] in the methods of its implementation or the impossibility of its implementation (overload, leading to satiety

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[3] The term used by A.R. Luria, but transformed into the mutually exclusive tendencies in behavior in his work "The Nature of Human Conflicts: An Objective Study of the Disorganization of Human Behavior." The conflict of contradictions accompanies the daily life of the ASD child and manifests itself when the parents want to intensively get rid of the painful manifestations of the child, which the child does not consider painful, but are HIS individual NORM. In situations where the ASD child cannot fulfill a requirement (for example, not able clapping hands), the conflict of contradictions is aggravated by the insufficiency conflict: the disorganization of the child's behavior becomes more marked.

[4] Syncretism of thinking is the initial stage of the generalization formation. The term was introduced by Claparede, and P.P. Blonsky called it "the incoherent connection of children's thinking." The study of the thinking formation stages (from syncretic thinking to thinking in complexes, and then to thinking in concepts) is described in the methodology for studying the development of concepts by L.S.Vygotsky - L.S. Sakharov.

[5] The term first used by L.S. Vygotsky, which will later be transformed into the concept of the semantic field.

of the child, mismatch of requirements, etc.) [20]. Considering the fact that ASD is a spectral disorder with a wide range of manifestations, and any child from this spectrum is disharmonious in his/her development, the search for opportunities for the formation of his/r orientation is impossible without a holistic cross-functional analysis. What can become a pier for one is not at all suitable for another, therefore the use of template technologies and functional analysis in work with ASD children, like a mix of approaches, is unacceptable from the viewpoint of scientific theory and systemogenesis[6], because the interest concentration on individual, although very significant work aspects with a child turns out to be unjustified from the viewpoint of the generally recognized systemic methodology and results in the under-disclosure of the child's resources and the aggravation of affective pathology. The conflict of insufficiency is most often found in the process of the "act of mediation" [37, p. 123] — in situations of teaching a child to use a communicative tool. Introducing an ASD child with a communicative tool (photography, writing, speaking), it is important to take into account the fact of his being in symbiosis with a parent (the "Pra-we" situation according to Vygotsky [12, p. 300—310]). A child in this situation, as a rule, acts with the hand of an adult, or without highlighting it at all climbs over it to reach the object of his need. It is important for the mediator in this situation to set a boundary for the child's action (for example, not to complete his action), forming in him an awareness of the limits of his capabilities and the need to turn to the mediator. When forming "self-action", it is important to ensure that the child has formed the idea of "his action in the situation as an action with the situation" [37, p. 123] based on a communicative tool (photography, writing, speaking). The adult's response to the child's speech (at the level of sound, syllable, word, phrase) solves this problem.

The dialogism of non-classical theory opens additional horizons in overcoming the effect of inadequacy [41]. The nature of the construction of a mediating (living[7] communicative) action as a "method to include and involve an individual into a life situation" [4; 38; 39] influences not only the appearance of qualitative neologisms (of verbal communication [2; 24], not alternative communication[8], comprehension), but also the child's experiences: it can either encourage openness, mutual communication, increase the boundaries of one's capabilities, or cement the child's obsession on some action, form an emasculated, formal performance or lead to an affective breakdown and refusal of action. To build up an appropriate dialogue

with the child and prevent the emergence of "crisis symptoms" [12, p. 374], it is important to consider the "transitions between different forms" [38] of the work: it should be constructed with a view of a contact dosing at its early stages with a gradual intensification of the interaction in subsequent stages with an increase in the activity of the mediator through the variability of his tentative-orientational actions and the regulation of conflicts of insufficiency and contradictions, and aimed at building a common space and forming the cultural behavior forms. The adult's insensitivity to the child's responses leads to the fact that the disorganization of his behavior only intensifies. In some cases, for example, when a child's endurance reduces, he may demonstrate an aggressive response to addressing or, even worse, an autoaggressive reaction (as a response to excessive pressure from the outside world, inconsistent or uncoordinated attitude from the social environment [20]). Transformation of the child's personal action into "self-action" [40, p. 163] is often difficult. Not only parents, but also practitioners do not go out of the clinical paradigm into the developmental plane, saying about the child: "he does not want anything at all" or "he agrees with everything (disagrees)", "I do not know what he likes ...". Moreover, the child himself, with a rigid external organization of behavior, can demonstrate opposite tendencies, adjusting to the environment. In this situation, we are helped by a reference point for analyzing the child's activity and reading his response to the proposed interaction options. At the same time, it is important to observe ethologically important characteristics of the child's behavior: facial expressions, gestures, locomotions, vegetative reactions to events while correlating them with the child history and the social situation of his development. After all, a conversation with parents does not always reveal the completeness of the problem and, more importantly, the possible piers of development. In the process of development of the child's "self-action", it is important to change the nature of the child's/adult's[9] thinking (from mirroring to reflexive/transformative, from functional to interfunctional) [24] and to form a way of using a communicative tool/method, as well as to form a conditioned position[10], planning a transition from egocentrism (centralization) to decentration (when a child with ASD, leaving the position of "Pra-we", begins to indirectly (through a communicative tool) influence the mediator, initiate his actions, reflexively refers to them, developing the completeness of orientation in the situation, comparing the result with an image standard, to understand a different way of acting and limiting self

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[6] Systemogenesis is a selective maturation of functional systems and their individual parts in the process of ontogenesis. The term was introduced by P.K. Anokhin: Systemogenesis as a general pattern of the evolutionary process. Bull. exp. biol. and med. 1948, V. 26, No. 8, p.

[7] L.S. Vygotsky called it "melting down" [10, p. 109], and V.P. Zinchenko - "a live movement" [21, p. 255].

[8] It is important to note that the replicated examples of successful work with children within this technique are based on the functional children category (potentially speaking children): a child with apraxia will never be able to talk based only on alternative communication, they need the qualitatively different ways of working to help overcome also a defect.

[9] As to thinking of adults, we judge by their assimilation of the mode of action, and of a child - of the speech tool.

[10] D.B. Elkonin has been writing about the possibility of overcoming cognitive egocentrism. His students and him realized a special experimental program for the formation of a conditional position - the ability to move arbitrarily from the factual to the conditionally admitted point of view. According to the book by B.D. Elkonin "The Introduction to the Developmental Psychology" (in the tradition of the cultural-historical theory by L.S. Vygotsky). M .: Trivola, 1994. 168 p., Ill. [10, p. 109].

due to which the process of reality perception acquires a meaningful character, and the dialogue is built on the basis of positional vision and a spatio-temporal model, and the parents are motivated not by a clinical diagnosis, but by the content of a social situation.

The preliminary data obtained allow us to draw a positive conclusion that the work within the framework of "melting down" [10, p. 109], "living movement" [21, p. 255] gives good results: taking into account the semantic component allows us to form a child as a subject of his own activity, with a reflexive attitude to what is happening, while forming cultural forms of action and difficult motives [18, p. 279]. Later we will give a description of psychotechnics: It should be clear to the mediator which factors of the pedagogical element need to be fixed and put under control. Indeed, the child is no longer a "prisoner standing in the middle of the freest and widest of the roads, He is a Passenger ... a prisoner of the Passage." But "the land to which his ship will moor" is already known [34, p. 32].

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Преодоление смыслового барьера и развитие способности к использованию коммуникативных средств
Часть I. Проблема. Метод

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Статья посвящена проблеме функциональной структуры коммуникативного действия. На основе теоретического анализа и многолетнего педагогического опыта работы с детьми с аффективной патологией (расстройствами аутистического спектра) автор воссоздает и дорабатывает исследования культурно-исторической теории, отвечая на ее главный вопрос — проблему метода: влияния целостного межфункционального анализа на преодоление смыслового смещения (центрального дефекта и синдромообразующего фактора психопатологии) и развития более универсальной формы коммуникации — речевого общения у неговорящих детей с расстройствами аутистического спектра в дошкольном возрасте (посредством перестройки способа реализации нарушенной функции). Описанные условия могут быть учтены при построении посреднического (живого коммуникативного) действия, как в практике общего образования (с целью предупреждения возникновения мотивационных нарушений и повышения границы возраста), так и в работе с детьми с аффективной патологией (в особенности с детьми с расстройствами аутистического спектра).

Ключевые слова: психология развития, экспериментально-генетический метод, посредническое (живое коммуникативное) действие, деятельностный подход в образовании, эмоционально-волевые нарушения, расстройства аутистического спектра.

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APPLYING CHT AND ACTIVITY APPROACH
FOR FACING CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES
КУЛЬТУРНО-ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ПСИХОЛОГИЯ
И ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТНЫЙ ПОДХОД: ОТВЕТЫ
НА СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ВЫЗОВЫ

Mastering Way of Action as an Integral Indicator of the Development of Intellectual Abilities in Learning: to the Problem of Constructing an Activity Diagnostics of Abilities

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The papers describes results of theoretical within activity approach analysis and experimental monitoring research of developed in educational institutions abilities. Authors propose theoretical conclusions that ability is determined by the individual acquisition of the ukturl way of action in joint activity when solving an educational problem. But at the same time ability is not identical with the revealed and reconstructed way of action on that it is based. It is the abilities under formation that are being mastered by the student in the educational process represent one of the leading mechanisms, the protagonists of the development of human subjectivity. The papers presents results the monitoring diagnostics of the ability to understand in different age groups of schoolchildren. Diagnostics of the ability to understand was considered on the basis of students mastering 6 different methods and techniques of understanding. Authors claim complex activity diagnostics of the development of understanding, along with diagnostics of other abilities (reflection, theoretical thinking, mutual understanding, goal-setting, self-determination, etc.) makes it possible to assess the quality of national education.

Keywords: ability, activity approach, the way of action, thought act, joint activity, thought activity, ability of understanding, the monitoring diagnostics.

1. What and how is assessed in education

The issue of assessing educational success and the effectiveness of teaching methods is associated with the diagnostics of the results achieved by students on the basis of the developed indicators. As a rule, the developed indicators are based on the assessment of the performance of tasks by students or answers to questions.

In one case, these are correct or incorrect answers to the presented test, the problem to be solved, the task being performed, or the question asked. In the second case, it is the interpretation of errors when performing tasks, based on the analysis of which a conclusion is made about the strength of the assimilated material and about the depth of their development and consistency. In the third case, this is a reconstruction of the

way the student acts when solving a problem, setting of a problem, or fulfilling a task.

Three possible approaches to diagnosing learning outcomes are based on different ideas about what is formed and developed as a result of learning. In one case, it is a specific skill or practiced ability to answer accurately a question asked, perform an operation or apply a rule in a given specific task context. In the second case, it is the assessed competence of the student, the presence and level of development of which is agreed by the teachers or school supervisor evaluating it. In the third case, it is a formed and developed intellectual ability.

In the first case, the language of description of the units of the content of education being mastered coincides with the language of description of what the student has mastered and what he has formed. In this case, it is assumed that the student masters exactly what the teacher explains and shows to him. Whether it be the division operation, the rule for multiplying fractions, or the formulation of Ohm's law. In the second case, the assessment is based on mutual recognition that the student has mastered a certain communicative universal learning action — for example, the ability to enter into a dialogue and conduct it, taking into account the peculiarities of communication with various groups of people. In the third case, the subject of assessment is the student's way of action, for example, deepening the understanding of a certain meaningful version by understanding the versions of "others" in the context of interaction and collective communication, thanks to which the level of development of the individual ability of understanding is assessed.

The fundamental point of assessing the learning outcome is that in the latter case, not one, but three different ways of describing the result are used:

1. Description of what is being mastered in the form of subject material;

2. Description of educational content units presented through a certain way of action;

3. Description of what is shaped in the students themselves as new mental formations.

Obviously, the ways of describing learning outcomes do not coincide, although they should be integrated with each other. Units of educational content are mastered by students in the form of ways of action — setting of a problem, modeling action, schematization of understood data, etc. In this case, one must proceed from the fact that they develop intellectual abilities of understanding, reflective thinking, goal-setting, etc.

The generalization of the mastered methods of action is the main indicator of the development of abilities. And the meta-subject learning outcome is the formed intellectual abilities based on certain general (universal) types of activity. The need to distinguish and at the same time connect three ways of describing learning outcomes (the language of subject learning material, the language of methods of action, and the language of abilities) characterizes a fundamentally new approach to building a system for diagnosing learning outcomes.

The view on the learning outcome as the mastery of generalized methods of action by students was deeply worked out by V.V. Davydov [16]. According to V.V. Davydov, the teacher should organize the educational material in such a way in a situation of searching for a solution to the educational problem so that, working with it, the student would discover a new way of action and the corresponding system of concepts. To do this, the student must perform special educational activities — modeling, schematization, formulating a research hypothesis, putting forward a design concept, etc.

In our opinion, the meta-subject result is associated both with the development of a generalized method of action, and with the development of the corresponding abilities and cannot be reduced only to universal educational actions. This is impossible, if only because the action itself must be reflexively distinguished and its features studied. To do this, students need to form the ability of reflective thinking, which in its structure is more complicated than all universal skills and the development of which depends on the age of the children. Thus, we are faced with a kind of paradox: in order to consider educational skills as an achieved meta-subject result, a student must form a general ability (reflective thinking), which in its content is more complicated than these skills.

It is inappropriate to transform universal learning activities and abilities into a fixed set of learning units for students to master. By including the child in solving specific educational problems and tasks, one cannot close the opportunity for him to master a fundamentally new way of action, tracing the conditions for the origin of knowledge, or initiate conditions for the emergence of new abilities. The way of action is not given before its implementation, and the ability is mediated by the process of students' search for a common way of solving problems. Therefore, it is impossible to form abilities without building a zone of searching, transforming action. In numerous works of L.V. Berzfai [4], V.V. Rubtsov [20; 21; 23; 24] and N.G. Alekseev [2; 3], it is shown that the development of a general method for solving a problem:

1) is based on search and testing actions that reveal the meaning of the educational task and the principle of performing the action in the situation of the educational task;

2) is inextricably linked with the very form of organizing the joint action of the students themselves, students and the teacher, which is the initial and predetermines the individual actions of the participants in the situation,

3) is provided by reflection of the form of organization and implementation of collective action

4) requires constructing an idea of collective action and analyzing the conditions for its implementation.

2. Way of action as the original unit of ability

The transforming action is carried out in all spheres of human activity. We can consider action in the ideal reality of thinking with an indefinite set of ideal operations (V.V. Davydov, V.P. Andronov [15]), study action in communicative-dialogical processes (V.V. Rubtsov [23; 24], R.Ya. Guzman [20], A.A. Margolis [22], Elvira S. Akopova, Olga I. Glazunova, Yury V. Gromyko [1]),

and finally, consider the features of constructing action in a situation of uncertainty and unstructuredness of collective interactions (O.I. Glazunova, Yu.V Gromyko [9]).

In his famous work Thinking and Speech, L.S. Vygotsky emphasized that "thinking and speech have completely different genetic roots" [5]. Following L.S. Vygotsky, it is legitimate to assert that thinking, communication and action have different origins. V.V. Davydov [14] identified the structure of the act of thought. G.P. Shchedrovitsky [31] and V.Ya. Dubrovsky [18] described the structure of the act of action. John Langshaw Austin [19] and John Rogers Searle [26] identified the communicative act providing special conditions to implement actions.

Abilities, respectively, are manifested in three different acts (thinking, communication, act of action) and have different forms of implementation. Moreover, the actor action is included in both thinking and communication. Such abilities as reflexive thinking, understanding, imagination, goal-setting, modeling, schematization, putting forward a design concept in the project action, the advancement of a research hypothesis are determined by the context of solving the problem in which they are implemented. This means that the ability is realized in the form that is specified by the search conditions for a general way of action that single out a certain class of action tasks. In other words, abilities are organized differently depending on the form in which the way of action with the content of the object of the task is implemented in thinking, communication and, in fact, in the situation of action.

Analysis of works in the field of the theory of human activity and learning activity allows us to consider ability as a dynamic integrity of states of consciousness, connecting object of activity with the meaning of situation and providing a systematic search for a way of action [1; 9]. This dynamic integrity of states of consciousness organizes the way of action and is characterized by special dynamic transitions (casts). It is these transitions that connect the three acts described above: the act of thought, the act of communication, and the act of action. The transitions unfold in the range from grasping the ideal principle in thinking to identifying a "living" difference in communication of one's own subjective vision of this principle and the vision of the possible action of another participant in the situation, and then to the implementation of the principle in a specific situation of collectively organized action. The ideal, individual subjective, collective-subjective and joint-objective become constant points of reference and a space of mutual mediation in the structure of "living" ability. In Fig. 4, the top line uniting zones 1 and 2 conventionally denotes the sphere of objective. The bottom line, uniting zones 3 and 4, denotes the sphere of subjective. The column on the left uniting zones 2 and 3 is the sphere of collective, collaborative. The column on the right uniting zones 1 and 4, is the sphere of individual.

In a number of works [33; 34], the situation of a group solution of a learning problem is considered as a combination of the results of individual actions. Therefore, mastering the content (object or situation) is described schemat-
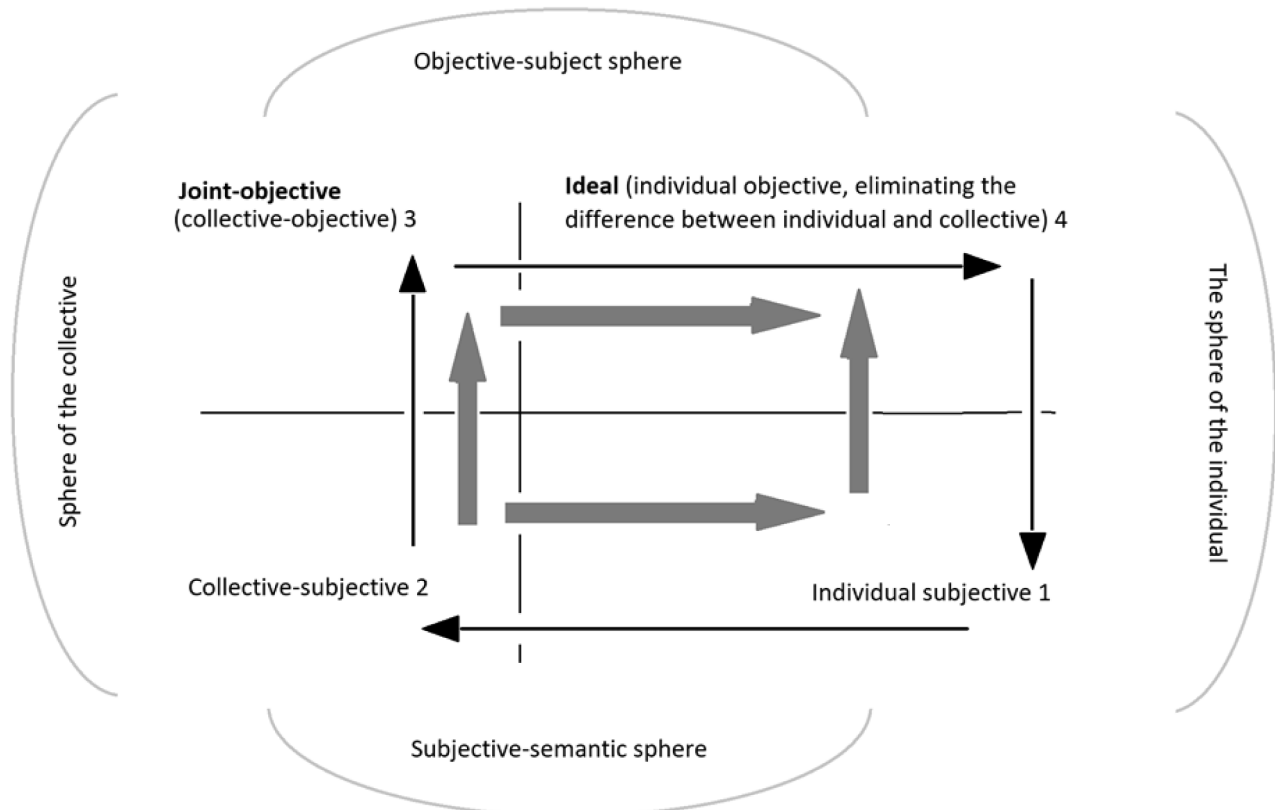

Fig. 1. Ability as a system of mediated transitions of 3 interrelated acts: act of thought — act of communication — act of action (conventional image)

ically (thin arrows) in the form of a process that begins in zone 1, then the transition to zone 2 based on the co-organization of individual actions into a joint action, then goes into zone 3, where the general method of collective work is objectified and symbolically consolidated, and finally exit to zone 4 based on the assignment of the results of joint educational work by each member of the study group. The process of collective solution of an educational problem is considered in a completely different way in the works of V.V. Rubtsov [23], G.P. Shchedrovitsky [31], O.I. Glazunova, Yu.V. Gromyko [9] and others. These works show that joint action does not consist of the addition of individual actions of individuals. The statement of the problem is determined by the form of organization of collective thought activity. The joint form of organizing action when setting of a problem between students and the teacher is the initial one. Therefore, the movement starts from zone 2 (thick arrows). Then, through the cognitive-affective conflict, transitions are made simultaneously from zone 2 to zones 3 and 1 on the basis of highlighting the objective content of the collective task and the form of individual participation in a conflicting collective action, and from zones 3 and 1 to zone 4, where there is a solution that removes the conflict. The individualization of the content being mastered with such an approach is not a primary, but a secondary process associated with the reflection of the form of organizing joint action and one's participation in it. Thus, an important step has been taken in considering the ability as an integrative unit of a person's activity capabilities, linking the development of cultural modes of action and the individual form of implementing these methods in a situation of collective interactions [26; 1; 9].

It is also obvious that the ability in the considered approach differs from skills, abilities, competencies, and techniques of action, in essence. Skill, in contrast to ability, is associated with mastering and automating operations in human behavior that are externally presented and fixed in the form of procedures and their clearly defined sequence. Ability is built on the basis of the implementation of flexible reflexive control of the execution of operations and their sequence in accordance with the allocated specificity of specific situational circumstances. Competencies characterize an external coordinated (conventional) assessment of the effectiveness of the employee's performance of his professional function without identifying the mode of action and means of organizing the action. Finally, intellectual technique is an element of an individual ability that characterizes the semantic connection of the objectivity of the action, the characteristics of the situation and the elements of the action in the form of operations that are distinguished in mind. In the structure of the ability, as follows from our reasoning, there is an integration of the subjective-semantic, energetic, connected with meaning of situation and objective side of the action being built.

3. Abilities and state of consciousness

It appears that the state of consciousness is an important condition for organizing the ability, as opposed to skill, ability and competence. It is the state of consciousness that provides a dynamic (mobile) character in the organization of the ability. This is due to the unavoidable subjective orientation of the ability. An ability cannot be reduced to a known set of operations, since the most important characteristic of an ability is the isolation of operations in an action being taken. These operations do not exist outside the direction of consciousness that distinguishes operations.

G.P. Shchedrovitsky [30] discussed that consciousness is nothing more than a specific mirror reflecting the content of thinking and the object of action. The new content is expressed by symbols, signs, schemes in the processes of semiosis (the generation of signs), and consciousness only reflects the signs themselves and what the created signs determine. Continuing this thought, it can be argued that ability is a kind of representative of the world of consciousness, which determines the complicated optics of a reflecting mirror — its convexity or concavity, focus on a reflected object, a magnification in the reflection of some details and a demagnification in others, etc.

Thus, the considered ability differs from the psychical function, since the ability is determined by the context of the action and is realized in action on the one hand, and on the other hand, it is determined by the mechanisms of the work of consciousness. It is abilities, not psychical functions, that emerge from the world behind the looking glass of consciousness onto the stage and become the acting actors in the drama of limitations, which are faced by the reversing action of the drama, which largely determines the situation of the student's development in the conditions of his interaction with others in the process of joint collective activity.

Therefore, we should return to the well-known statement of L.S. Vygotsky that "a mental function appears on the stage twice, once as an interpsychic process between people, and another time as an intrapsychic process within a person", "Every function in the cultural development of a child appears on the scene twice, in two roles, first — social, then psychological, first between people, as an interpsychic category, then inside a child, as an intrapsychic category" [6, p. 145].

At the same time, a point to keep in mind is that in the development of human subjectivity, the key role belongs to the mastered ability. The ability is exteriorized and socialized, acquiring competence characteristics due to external assessments of a person's actions, and is individualized and subjectivized in the process when a person guides his own behavior. From this perspective, consciousness creates an opportunity for a person to be involved in interactions with other people and to exercise regulation and subjective guidance of the ability itself individually. Continuing the thought of L.S. Vygotsky, we can say that ability appears on the stage twice: first, as a spellbinding and initially inaccessible action of a skilled person — an adult or older child, and then as the child's own action (mine). Someone else's skillful action is observed from the outside and at the same time is measured as possible, that is, future own action. One's own trying action is associated with inner experiences and regulation, but at the same time, it is the subject of

communication with other skillful and trying unskillful ones, with an attempt to look at one's own action from their positions and through their eyes.

The restoration of the real drama of human subjectivity requires the selection of the entire set of acting characters in the form of mastered objective abilities (write, read, add, subtract, multiply, substitute numerical values into the formula, etc.) and meta-objective abilities (understand, communicate, carry out reflexive thinking, solve a problem, schematize, form an action plan, etc.). This circumstance is interestingly revealed in the works of V.V. Rubtsov [23], V.I. Slobodchikov [27], E.E. Shuleshko [29]. It is in these works that the formation of ability acts as a process of entering the child-adult educational community of skillful (read, write, solve problems), since the exercise and realization of the ability is supported in various forms of the community of the teacher and students, realizing and mastering this ability (V.V. Rubtsov [23; 24], Yu.V. Gromyko, V.V. Rubtsov, A.A. Margolis [11], Yu.V. Gromyko, V.V. Rubtsov [13], O.I. Glazunova, Yu.V. Gromyko [9]).

Personal guidance of ability is based on special activity techniques. Such techniques are associated with methods of self-organization, with control over one's own states and its implementation, with the allocation of significant elements of action in the form of operations, with an acceleration or delay in the rate of implementation of an action, and the ability itself is neither a technique, nor a way of action, nor an operation, nor a means of organizing an action. Ability is a special mode of conscious regulation of action, when the state of consciousness, orientation in the situation and the object-operational part of the action are integrated into a system that save the opportunity to build and guide one's own action in the conditions of a community being organized and interactions with others. In this case, the internal states of consciousness unfolds in external action, and the action itself is characterized through the way of perceiving the situation and the object of the action being mastered.

Such a fusion and unity of the state of consciousness and the operational component of the action brings us back to the understanding of abilities as spiritual forces and spiritual power of a person (mental powers). These mental powers are manifested in the energy of consciousness: in the sense-baring energy of sustained interest, in maintaining attention, that is, in the intentionality of consciousness, in the intensity of experience. These energetic characteristics determine the characteristics of both the orientational and the executive parts of the action. The way a person, mastering and realizing the ability, sees and understands the situation of action, belongs to the very structure and implementation of the ability. Therefore, there are no processes of perception and attention in themselves, which Wundt psychology proposed to study. The perception of the situation and the intentionality of consciousness are included in the general structure of any practical ability (skill), the principal centers of which are the state of consciousness and the operationalization of action. Operationalization of action is a form of realization of the ability, manifested outside, and the state of consciousness is its inner core.

The connection between the orientational component of the state of consciousness and the operational structure, which ensures the implementation of the ability's work, is manifested in the fact that the state of consciousness observes and orientates the implementation of the ability in specific circumstances, in a specific situation. To a certain extent, it resembles the phenomenon "the mind of a bishop" described by the famous religious scholar and philosopher S.S. Khoruzhy — a concept introduced "in the mature late-Byzantine hesychasm" [28]. This concept, as it may seem strange at first glance, is very close to L.S. Vygotsky's understanding of higher abilities. Speaking about the development of higher mental functions, Vygotsky built a hierarchy of steps of behavior, and in this hierarchy he singled out the formation of self-governing abilities as a particularly important point. L.S. Vygotsky: "...a person himself creates connections and paths for his response. He rebuilds the natural structure. He subordinates to his power with the help of a sign the processes of his own behavior. We find it surprising that traditional psychology did not notice this phenomenon at all, which we can call mastering our own reactions, mastering our own actions" [6, p. 118].

Here it is important to pay attention to the state of the observing consciousness, as the most important component of the core of the ability, in addition to the signs that organize the action, as its kind of auxiliary scaffolding and tools. The emphasis on signs and tools does not allow one to notice this most important element of the observing episcopal consciousness (in ancient Greek, bishop means observer), to which both attention (intentionality) and perception and the tension associated with overcoming what has been achieved are subordinated.

It is this observing energetic state of consciousness that holds the entire structure of operations of the executive part of the action in the form of a kind of single-point convolution and determines the boundaries of the sequential implementation of the intended operations. Is it not in this energetic state of consciousness that internal codes of action (the subject of V.P. Zinchenko's reflection [25]) are contained, which are as internal as they are external? Such a possibility of the observing state of consciousness to keep the realization of the ability in the form of a simultaneously realized structure (emergent (self-arising) act) and at the same time the planned sequence of operations performed allows you to delay, slow down the realization of the ability. Thanks to this, the ability has the quality of resisting any automatism, any unconscious realization.

According to the outstanding modern Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben, such an opportunity to delay the implementation of a seemingly mastered and already automatically realized action, to de-automate the action in order to rebuild each time, is the basis of creative acts. In his opinion, "Someone who possesses the ability — or has the appropriate skill — may or may not use it. Ability — and this is a genius, despite its complete obviousness, Aristotle's thesis — in fact, is determined by the possibility of its unfulfillment. An architect is capable to the extent that he can build nothing. ... Based on the fact that ability is a temporarily unrealized action, Aristotle

draws a conclusion about the fundamental mutual involvement of ability and inability.... Adynamia, inability, does not mean here the absence of any ability, but rather the ability-not (to go over to action), dynamis me energein. The ability released by the act of creation must be an internal ability inherent in the act itself, just as the act of resistance must be inherent in it. ...A living and existing one in the image of ability is capable of his own inability, and only in this, he has his ability. He can exist and act, because he maintains his attitude to his own non-being and non-doing" [32, p. 35—36].

Crucially, expanding his vision of the problem of ability and inability, Giorgio Agamben connects the mechanism for the realization of the ability with the act of creation, with the inner possibility of the act itself, which is a quantum of non-automated processes of human consciousness.

This defining characteristic of the quantum nature of consciousness and theoretical thinking is deeply comprehended and described by V.V. Davydov using the example of the analysis of a thought act, which is a cell of the ability of thinking in the theory of thought processes [14]. Our analysis of this fundamental theoretical statement shows that V.V. Davydov, describing the structure of the thought act, determined the sociogenetic basis of thought, including:

1. A holistic prototypical structure of any act of thought, presumably reproduced in all types of thinking (learning, play, research, project, management) in specific forms;

2. A concept in the form of an act of thinking, revealing the process of the origin of subject knowledge;

3. Core learning actions (specific actions, modeling actions, model transformation actions), based on which the most important components of the thought act in the joint activities of students and the teacher are imitated

4. Reflective consciousness, capable of highlighting and fixing the object of thought (content of thinking) and the form of thinking [10; 12].

4. Development of the ability to understand in schoolchildren as the most important educational result of general secondary education

The concept of the structure of the ability as a mode of action was implemented by us in specific monitoring studies of the development of a number of basic abilities of students. In this case, the subject of study was the ability to understand.

As it is known, the development of students' ability of understanding and mutual understanding is one of the most important educational results. It is understanding that creates the sense-baring sphere in which the acts of thinking are carried out. Understanding determines the perspectives and material basis for acts of thinking in the form of emerging semantic structures. At the same time, according to a number of studies, in the conditions of modern mass school, the ability of understanding develops in students below the capabilities that modern

children have. This is due to the fact that schoolchildren read little, they are not taught enough to understand texts and express their own thoughts in texts. [O. Glazunova, 7].

The basis of our research was a series of specially developed diagnostic techniques that allow us to assess the level of development of children's understanding ability at different stages of schooling. The diagnostic series was aimed at assessing the ability to understand at different age stages of schooling: over-fives (6—7 years old), students: 1st grade (7—8 years old), 4th grade (10—11 years old), 5th grade (11—12 years old), 9th grade (15—16 years old) and 11th grade (17—18 years old). The study was carried out in 2007—2013, it was attended by schoolchildren of about 40 schools, mainly from Moscow. In total, about 10,000 children took part in the monitoring survey.

We proceeded from the fact that the result of understanding is the appearance of the meaning (semantic version) of the text.

At each age stage, the presence and level of formation of methods and techniques of understanding was checked:

— building a general meaningful version of understanding;

— understanding stemming from the logical basis of the text;

— understanding through considering the symbolic basis of the text;

— understanding of the author's position (reflective understanding);

— deepening the own meaningful version by understanding the versions of others in collective communication;

finding a way out of a situation of misunderstanding.

This set of understanding techniques is somehow mastered by students of Russian schools through work on the entire set of academic subjects. Depending on the nature of the text and the situation, one or another understanding technique may be used.

Based on a certain composition of levels of formation of methods and techniques of understanding the text, for each technique, a scale for assessing the level of development of the corresponding aspect of the ability to understand was developed. For example, when assessing the general meaningful version of understanding, the following scale was used:

0 points — no answer; retelling the text instead of fixing its meaning; fixing an arbitrary meaning that cannot be attributed to the read text in any way.

1 point — fragmentary version of understanding — the meaning of the text refers to its small peripheral, arbitrarily chosen fragment, while the student believes that this is the meaning of the entire text as a whole.

2 points — incomplete version of understanding — the meaningful version grasps the text as a whole, but it can be shown that there are fragments of the text that, from the point of view of this version, are not needed or fall out from it.

3 points — full meaningful version — the version of understanding corresponds to the text as a whole and it is

impossible to show a single fragment of the text that would not fit into the proposed version of text interpretation.

The materials of understanding included in the diagnostic series were texts selected by expert teachers. The complexity of the text corresponded to the developmental age of the students. To diagnose each of the specific understanding techniques, a specific text and corresponding questions were offered.

Here is an example of assessing the level of the meaningful version of text comprehension when working with students. So, when working with pupils of the 6th grade (12 years old), they read the story of V. Dragunsky Big Movement on Sadovaya. Before reading the text individually, the children were asked the following question: "What is the meaning of this story? What did the author want to convey?". The answers were given individually.

Two children said that the meaning of this text is how good it is to do something together — to fix a bicycle and then ride it. This is a fragmentary version with a score of 1. The overwhelming majority of children expressed two types of meaningful versions. The first type was clearly articulated by one of the girls: "You shouldn't entrust your valuables to the care of strangers." This is an incomplete version, with a score of 2. It comprehends the entire text, but fragments remain in it that do not fit into it. Another type of meaningful version was expressed by another group of children: "It is not good to offend little ones, to deceive them and take things away from them." It is also an incomplete version, with a score of 2, although it is deeper than the previous version of understanding for this text. We have never met the full version, estimated at 3 points, which would take into account the ending of the story and the question addressed to the reader about what is most terrible here, as well as the understanding that this is a child's loss of trust in adults as a result of deceptions.

Based on the data of the research that we conducted over 6 years (2007—2013), we can state the following:

1. The development of the ability to understand in children did not acquire the character of a gradual evolutionary increase. The corresponding position is reflected in Fig. 2.

The decrease in the level of development of the ability to understand in this diagram does not mean that the texts that the child understood in preschool age, he understands in the future worse and worse and completely ceases to understand by the 9th grade. This is due to the fact that the level of complexity of the texts in our methods increases, corresponds to the age capabilities of students, while the principles of assessing the results of understanding remained unchanged. The data presented in the graph indicate the fact that with an increase in the complexity of texts corresponding to the age (according to experts), the level of understanding of texts relatively decreases.

In general, the overall picture of the continuity of the development of children's abilities in school conditions was that, in fact, in every school there were "zones" where an increase in the level of development of the ability to understand took place, however, in no school did such a zone extend to the entire period of schooling.

At the same time, it is obvious that the achieved level of development of the ability to understand is much lower than the age capabilities of students. At the same time, the additional potential for the development of this ability is manifested when using activity educational technologies, which requires special discussion. Without the use of such technologies, students master mainly stereotyped schemes for interpreting the texts of fiction, which do not provide an understanding of their meaning. According to our data, among the ways we have identified the text at a lower level, children develop a technique for finding a way out of a situation of misunderstanding, associated with the ability to ask a question to an adult, a peer or oneself. For the rest of the techniques, the situation is also unstable.

Analysis of the formation of individual techniques of understanding during the period of study at school shows that, like the integral level of understanding, it does not have a gradual successive form of development. In addition, the formation of individual techniques is not coordinated with each other and occurs as if out of order. This happens because there is no directed and methodically structured teacher's work on the formation of the ability to understand. This ability and its individual
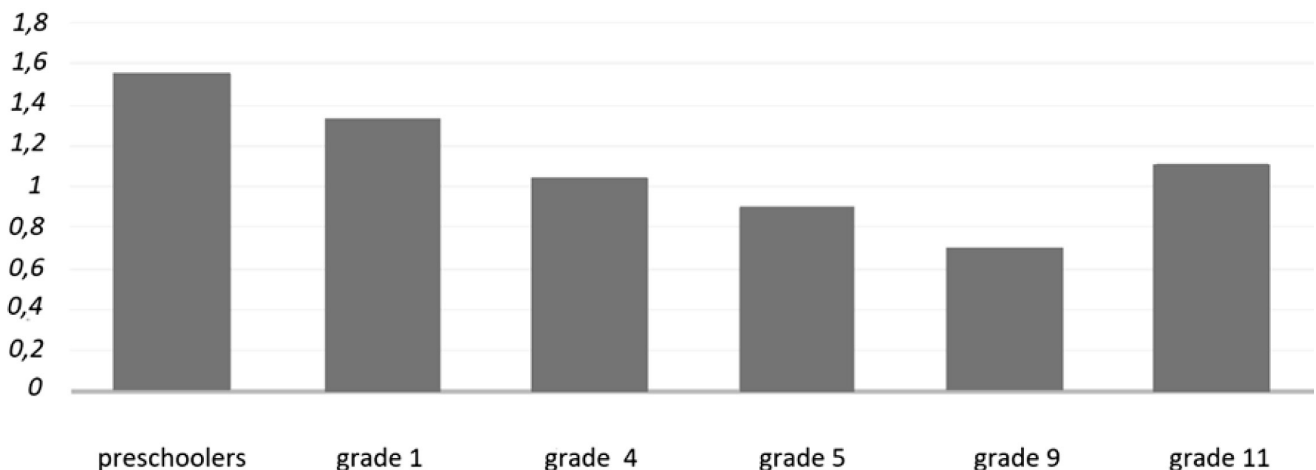
Fig. 2. The dynamics of the development of the ability to understand at different age levels of schooling

techniques develop naturally in the process of subject learning and school life of the child.

This is what a more detailed analysis of the data from the study shows in terms of zones of increase and decrease in the level of development of the ability to understand.

Analysis of these data made it possible to determine some patterns in the development of various aspects of the ability to understand. Thus, a consistent increase in the level of development of understanding with aging occurs in children only in one aspect of this ability — the understanding of the author's position. The dynamics of the development of understanding of the symbolic basis of the text, as well as the logical basis of the text are presented in approximately the same way. Starting from the 1st grade, there was a rather sharp drop in the level of development of these methods of understanding up to the 9th grade, and then by the 11th grade, the level of development of these methods increased. Moreover, for the way of understanding the logical basis of the text, this increase reached the level of grade 5, and for the way of understanding the symbolic basis of the text, the level turned out to be higher than all previous stages of learning, except for grade 1. The dynamics of the development of the level of the general meaningful version was reflected in a sharp drop between the preschool level of education and the level of grade 1 in elementary school. This aspect of the ability to understand remained unchanged, then increased in the 5th grade, fell in the 9th and again increased in the 11th, slightly exceeding the initial level of preschoolers. Finally, the way out of the situation of misunderstanding has invariably remained at the same low level, and in elementary school this level is slightly lower among children than among high school students.

It is obvious that the use of pedagogical technologies by the teacher for the development of the ability to understand allows him to increase his level. Without the use of such technologies, students mainly master the stereotyped schemes for interpreting the texts of fiction, the reliance on which does not provide the proper level of understanding of their meaning.

5. Conclusion

The performed theoretical analysis and experimental monitoring research allow us to draw the following conclusions:

1. Ability is determined by the individual acquisition of a joint way of action when solving an educational problem. At the same time, the structure and regulation of the ability is not identical with the revealed and reconstructed mode of action, on which it relies.

2. Abilities are a dynamic integrity of the observing energy-sense bearing mobile state of consciousness and the mastering way of action.

3. It is the abilities under formation that are being mastered by the student in the educational process (reflexive thinking, understanding, mutual understanding, imagination, goal-setting, modeling, schematization, the formation of the concept of project action, the advancement of a research hypothesis) represent one of the leading mechanisms, the protagonists of the development of human subjectivity

4. In this article, we describe the monitoring diagnostics of the ability to understand in different age groups of schoolchildren. Diagnostics of the ability to understand was considered on the basis of students mastering the following methods and techniques of understanding:

— building a general meaningful version of understanding;

— understanding stemming from the logical basis of the text;

Fig. 3. The dynamics of the development of certain aspects of understanding in children at different stages of schooling (2010—2011 academic years)

— understanding through considering the symbolic basis of the text;

— understanding of the author's position (reflective understanding);

— deepening the own meaningful version by understanding the versions of others in collective communication;
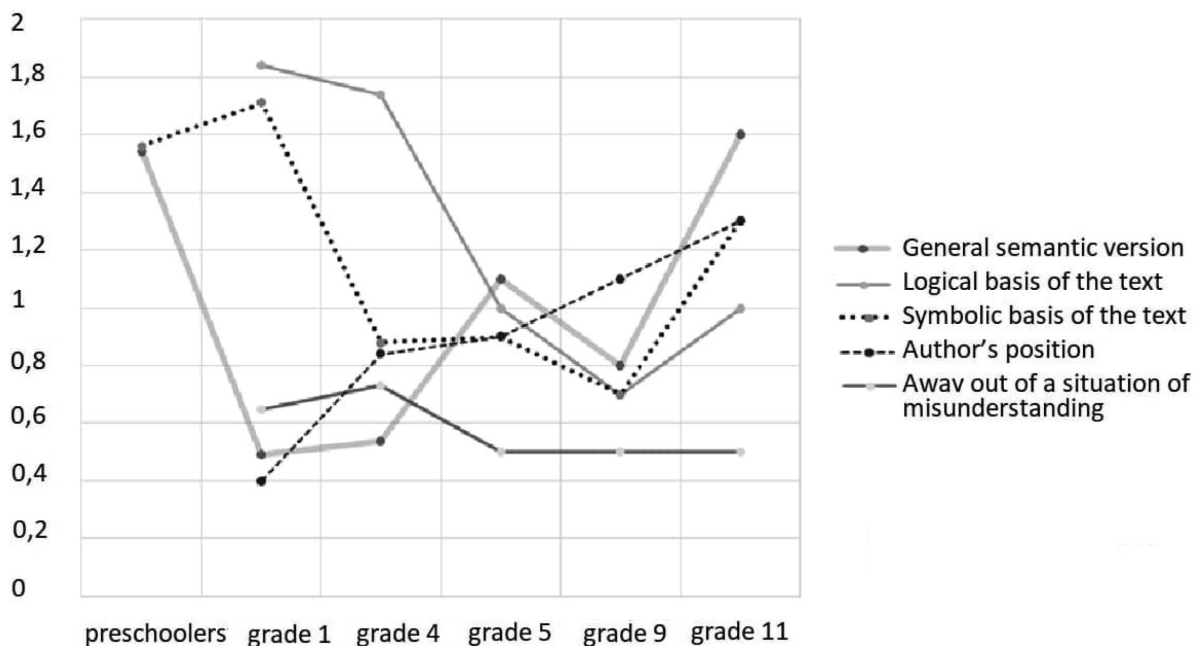
— finding a way out of a situation of misunderstanding.

Monitoring diagnostics of the level of development of the ability to understand in different age groups of schoolchildren makes it possible to assess the developmental effect of traditional education. When a specially developed activity content of education and new methods of work of a teacher with students are not used, this developmental effect is much lower. There are reserves for increasing the level of development of understanding of students in the modern education system, but their implementation requires the introduction of methods of thought-activity pedagogy in education.

5. Complex activity diagnostics of the development of understanding, along with diagnostics of other abilities (reflection, theoretical thinking, mutual understanding, goal-setting, self-determination, etc.) makes it possible to assess the quality of national education on the basis of revealing the achieved level of development of students and, most importantly, their potential for reaching a new level of opportunities in mastering the content of developmental education and the most important types of activity (full-fledged research activity, design activity, management).

6. To conduct a sovereign educational policy, we need an original national system for assessing the development of abilities based on the Russian methodology of the cultural-historical approach and developmental education.

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Освоение способов действия как интегральный показатель развития интеллектуальных способностей в обучении: к проблеме построения деятельностной диагностики способностей

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В статье представлены результаты теоретического анализа в традиции деятельностного подхода и экспериментального мониторингового исследования развиваемых в образовании способностей. Теоретические выводы авторов состоят в том, что способность определяется индивидуальным присвоением культурного способа действия в совместной деятельности при решении учебной задачи. Сама же способность не тождественна выявляемому и реконструируемому способу действия, на который она опирается. Осваиваемые и формируемые в системе образования способности являются одним из ведущих механизмов, «протагонистами» развития человеческой субъективности. В статье представлены результаты проведенной мониторинговой диагностики способности понимания у школьников разных возрастных группах. Диагностика способности понимания рассматривается на основе освоения учащимися шести различных способов и техник понимания. Авторы утверждают, что комплексная деятельностная диагностика развития понимания наряду с диагностикой других способностей (рефлексии, теоретического мышления, взаимопонимания, целеполагания, самоопределения и др.) позволяет оценивать качество национального образования.

Ключевые слова: способность, деятельностный подход, способ действия, мыслительный акт, совместная деятельность, мыследеятельность, понимание, мониторинговая диагностика.

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From Interpsychological to Intrapsychological: Developing Students' Agency

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This paper starts from the contradictions that permeate the Latin American democratic context to discuss how psychology can contribute to expanding students' agency in public schools located in vulnerable contexts marked by poverty and social exclusion. The contributions of Cultural-Historical Psychology and German Critical Psychology are articulated to substantiate the importance of building participatory spaces for human development. The authors were inserted in a public school from the year 2015 to the year 2017, holding class assemblies with primary school students. The content discussed in these meetings was recorded in field diaries, from which three narratives were selected for analysis. The first narrative deals with a discussion of physical education activities; the second presents a student sharing his suffering in the face of bullying as he cries in class; the third reports a discussion about the theft of a pencil. It is concluded that guided by critical perspective, psychology can contribute to the strengthening of subjects, collaborating to the expansion of their agency.

Keywords: student participation; agency; cultural-historical psychology; German critical psychology; school democratization; child development.

Introduction

This paper discusses the role of psychology in promoting student participation in everyday decisions in Brazilian public schools. This discussion occurs in a political and social context marked by socioeconomic inequalities and power relations, which permeate the entire history of the Latin American continent and make it difficult to achieve genuine democratization of institutions such as schools.

This unequal power relations have its origin in the fifteenth century, a period in which European navigations arrived in America and began exploratory colonization. According to Quijano [14], this period establishes a new pattern of world power; the modern/colonial Euro centered capitalism, which is based on two axes: the construction of the idea of human races, in an attempt to justify the exploitation and genocide of native people, as well as of African people brought to America to be enslaved; and the new social hierarchy of labor, which links

labor and the social role to this supposed race. Thus, wage-earning labor is reserved for white people. In contrast, Black and Native American people can be exploited by slave labor and subjected to all sorts of violence for almost four centuries.

This process culminated in different consequences for the constitution of Latin American countries because even after the end of slavery, native and freed black people were not the target of public policies to include them as citizens [16]. Instead, the liberation of black people was a threat for power elites, which oppressed them for centuries. Consequently, they chose to bring European workers to occupy wage-earning positions and whiten the Brazilian population, leading black people to a growing exclusion [1]. Pockets of poverty were formed, which gave rise to the well-known Brazilian «favelas». In these places, poor (and predominantly black) populations live without adequate housing, sanitation, culture, education, leisure, etc., until the present time [11].

This unequal reality produced different countries for populations that shared the same territory: for some, the rights linked to wage work and an advance in improving their quality of life; for others, the conduct of everyday life based on the struggle for survival. According to O'Donnell [13], these inequalities led to a problem faced during the period of independence and the constitution of Latin American nation-states: the non-recognition of populations as members of the same nation. According to Maranh o and Teixeira [8], in the 1930s, marked by the Great Depression, Brazil changed this scenario on a national scale for the first time. Under Get lio Vargas' government, the Land's industrialization process has expanded; the urban population has tripled; and different social movements have emerged in the struggles for land reform, gender equality, racial equality, labor rights, etc.

The growing popular participation in social movements during the Cold War put the capitalist elites on alert. Together with the military, they organized a coup that installed in 1964 a civil-military dictatorship in Brazil. Following the dictatorships in different Latin American countries, the Brazilian dictatorship progressively used force and violence to block projects claimed by social movements [8]. The dictatorship period came to an end after 30 years of hard popular struggles in the late 1980s. Only in 2010, through a presidential decree, was a commission organized to investigate the crimes against human rights committed during that period: the National Truth Commission. In its reports [2; 3; 4], crimes such as illegal or arbitrary arrests; torture; summary, arbitrary or extrajudicial execution, and other deaths attributed to the State; forced disappearance and concealment of corpses; sexual violence, gender violence, and violence against children and adolescents are highlighted.

Despite all the apparatus of violence and repression used to silence and cut any political participation at the root, popular pressure led to democratic reopening. These movements drove the construction of the 1988 Constitution. According to Gargarella [5], different political forces have acted in the building of this Constitution, some seeking to maintain control over the population and prioritizing the interests of the wealthiest elites, and others establishing initiatives for popular participation and advances in social protection. The advances related to participation from the 1988 Constitution were so significant, it was called the Citizen Constitution. The increase in the supply of participatory practices has been materialized in the regulations that followed and established public policies on health, welfare, and social protection.

Contributions from Historical-Cultural Psychology and German Critical Psychology

In a place where there aren't concrete conditions for the development of participatory people, formal Democracy does not concretize [10]. This understanding is based on Cultural-Historical Psychology (CHP) contributions, which explicit the laws of development of higher mental functions, elucidating the paths for forming participatory subjects. Vigotski criticized the conception of development as changes in isolated parts of the mind resulting from organic growth or maturation [17]. Instead, development would be driven by a culture historically systematized by human work and transmitted in social relations. In this sense, every higher mental function is mediated by the sign, and it is established, initially, as an inter-psychological category, on the social plane, and then as an intra-psychological category [19]. In explaining the meaning of «category» in this context, Veresov and Fleer [18] point to a specific type of social relationship capable of promoting development: dramatic relations. Thus, as the child establishes relations with the social environment and experiences dramatic situations, new crises require the reorganization of the psychological system to develop and complex the personality.

Such foundations shed light on the importance of social situations, such as the experience of participation, which can be configured as a social situation of development. Vigotski [20] explains the social situation of development as an initial moment that reveals dynamic changes in the development process, establishing a way for social relations to constitute personality. In a social situation that promotes participation development, it is necessary to consider elements related to the action.

German Critical Psychology (GCP), based on Alexei Leontiev's constructions, turns its gaze to human action. Holzkamp [7] postulates that in the face of possibilities for action organized from a specific social structure and presented to the subjects by the structure of cultural meanings, people have subjective reasons to act in one way or another that can only be understood from their perspective. Participation in the conscious and predictive determination of social living conditions, which transcends individuality, has been called «agency» by Holzkamp and its colleagues [12]. Holzkamp [7] points out that agency may present itself in a restrictive alternative, in which action does not seek to expand control and expand the possibilities for action so that the root of social contradictions remains intact. The other option is a generalized agency, which collectively seeks to increase control and the conscious generalized prediction of individually relevant living conditions.

In an articulated manner, the GCP and CHP complement each other and provide an important foundation for us to understand that, without the experience of participation in the inter-psychological sphere, it will be difficult for subjects to act collectively to expand their possibilities for action. This is a great challenge when we consider the historical context of a country's constitution in which popular participation is seen as a threat and not an object of interest by the dominant power. In this scenario, the contributions of GCP and CHP provide an important theoretical framework on which psychology can understand the phenomenon of political passivity. These theories also provide ground to plan interventions that enable the development of participatory people, who can lead their everyday lives from a collective agency to overcome the barriers imposed by the unequal social structure.

Method

The authors enrolled in a municipal primary school for three years (2015 to 2017). In addition to the authors, two psychology undergraduate interns joined the project for one school year each. Every week, the psychology team made a four-hour visit to the school, and part of this time was dedicated to class assemblies with nine classes from 6th to 9th grade. These classes were composed of about 30 students each. In Brazilian public schools, there is diversity concerning race. Still, almost all children's families are part of a low social class, as they live on the outskirts of the school, located in a peripheral and impoverished area of the city. The students were teenagers from 12 to 14 years old, and most of them had never joined an assembly. Therefore, it was necessary to establish techniques that would lead them to learn how to participate. These techniques involved some steps:

1. Explanation of what is an assembly and what are the minutes to register the discussions;

2. Collective construction of operating agreements[1] in the first assembly of each year and record of the agreements in minutes;

3. One monthly assembly per class. The assemblies lasted 1 class hour (50 minutes) and were divided into: the choice of topic, discussion to clarify what characterizes the problem, and proposals for addressing the issues. In the end, all students signed the minutes.

4. One meeting with student representatives to discuss the assemblies held during the month. Students, teachers, and school principals attended this meeting.

Psychologists' role was facilitating the assemblies, and teachers who provided their class time for this work were invited to participate, but not every teacher remained in the room.

This procedure was based on Participatory Action Research principles, which point to the insertion of researchers in the field for the collective construction of knowledge and practices for social change [9]. All assemblies were recorded in field diaries by members of the psychology team, pointing out their comprehensions and describing students' actions and speeches. This paper selected three field diaries with narratives that illustrate how psychology praxis with the students can build conditions for expanding their agency.

Results

Many themes were discussed over three years in the school, and there are numerous interesting reports in the field diaries analyzed on the process of building a participatory space. For this paper, we sought situations that illustrate student discussions and how Psychology has constructed mediations aimed at expanding the possibilities for student action. Thus, three scenes will be presented: in the first, students discuss the activities developed in physical education classes and establish a dialogue with the teacher; in the second, the students discuss bullying and the suffering resulting from it; and, in the third, psychologist hold an assembly to prevent a case of theft at school from being referred to the police.

Scene 01: Beyond football

This class has a very peculiar dynamic: it is a very united class, and almost every student (girls and boys) love to play football. They brought this up because we asked if there was good friendliness, and some responded yes and others no. When we asked them why, they said that they always play together and make fun of each other and that they only fight during the games, but soon they are at peace. (...) One of the students said that she and four other girls hate football, but the classes are always limited to playing football and very rarely another game. The teacher lets them play something else in the corner, but they stand still, which seems to bother the class. They said the girls do nothing, even when the teacher lets them do whatever they want. One of the girls answered that it's not very cool because there are only five girls you can't make an interesting game, so they get discouraged and bored. We asked them if they couldn't alternate the games, and the class answered that it's Democracy: most of them like football, so they always play football. I asked how democratic this is: they always do what they want, and the girls never do. Then the discussion developed. The students showed concern for the girls on the one hand because they ended up being marked as absent and got low grades. Still, on the other hand, the class was annoyed, because the girls were the only ones not to take part in football and when they took part they didn't do anything — or score against their team. The student stood up for herself, saying that she doesn't like football, so she doesn't know how to play and that it was bad because every time she picked up the ball, people complained about it or cursed at it. They closed the deal she suggested: since most of them like football, the more extensive classes on Wednesdays would be dedicated to football, and the ones on Thursdays, which are smaller, to another activity. The students agreed to take a test, as long as the girls accepted taking part in football, and they did (but only two out of the five girls were present).

Then one of the students said that the next class was physical education and asked if we wanted to accompany them. Since we had finished the assemblies, we decided to go and see them talking to the teacher about the arrangements in the class. When we got to the court, the class was sitting in the bleachers with the standing teacher talking. We asked for permission to talk about the assembly plans, and the teacher agreed, seeming to be a bit on edge. I explained that physical education was the assembly topic and that we collectively discussed the

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[1] The agreements were established to make it possible to hold the assemblies, and involved some dimensions: organization agreements (order of speech, for example), relationship between the participant's agreements (respecting what the other spoke, for example) and involvement agreements (being attentive and fulfilling what was decided in the collective, for example).

solution to a problem that the assembly identified, so I asked the representatives to talk about the discussion. By coincidence, the student spokesperson for the girls who don't like football was the vice representative and spoke about the agreement. Honestly, the teacher's reaction frightened even the psychologists. He ironically shouted that he has already made this discussion in class, but people did not manifest. Also, that he already tried to bring other sports, but, for example, «those boys» (he pointed to the front row where that were only boys) «have no imagination; they will always want to play football». But as he only pointed at the boys, the girls were offended and said, «Hey, nor us either!», meaning that they also had no imagination and only wanted football. The teacher replied: «I'll get to you; I'm talking about them for now». Then he said that the girls asked the boys to consider that they were playing together and «take it easy» in the assaults. And he praised the class, which is the only one that can play mixed-gender football. Finally, he accepted the student's proposal, but he showed that he did not believe that the five girls, who did not like playing, would participate in the class. After this agreement, we asked permission, and we left the court. (DCd6).

In this account, it is possible to observe the unity of the class around the football game, which even seems to configure a collective identity. The presence of students who don't appreciate football generates contradictory reactions in the others who, at the same time, sympathize with how much the girls are harmed. Still, they also feel bothered because the girls represent a break in this identity. The assembly made it possible for the class to openly discuss issues felt and resented by everyone for some time, but individually. Thus, students could hear the girls' perspectives, and those who were proud of the class unity could no longer ignore the annoyance of their colleagues.

It is interesting to note that the students dealt with the contradiction of their feelings towards the girls by justifying themselves that this was democratic and, therefore, they were right. It turns out here that the suffering of the excluded girls was a practical consequence of distorted conceptions about Democracy. However, the psychologist's questioning initiates a crisis in this certainty of the students: is it democratic for one part of the class to always doing what they feel like and the other part never doing so? The students could reflect and rethink their possibilities for action from this question, concluding that they could use the shorter class for another activity.

Although the students made important advances in thinking about more inclusive and democratic practices for their daily school life, the report shows that the conversation with the teacher was not very easy. Even though the teacher accepted the proposal, he did it with suspicion and hostility and used his authority to blame the students for the situation and label them unimaginative. On this occasion, the project had been developing assemblies for less than a year, and such circumstances showed that it was essential to start working on these issues with teachers. Subsequently, it was done throughout various meetings for the teachers to understand the proposal, not as a strengthening of the students against them. Instead, it was a means to democratize relations and to the construction of improvements for everyone who shares school as a living space.

Scene 02: Boys don't cry

The most voted topic of discussion was «Bullying». One of the students helped by writing the discussion points on the blackboard, and I asked the class to characterize the problem. Victor[2] raised his hand and said that he is constantly bullied because he is above the weight. Other students pointed out another boy, as he suffered for the same reason. I asked if they knew what bullying was and explained the difference between that and a single offense. Then I asked them to raise their hands on who had already been a victim (5 people), the aggressor (13 people), and the audience (12 people). Initially, almost everyone raised their hand for the audience question, but when I explained that the audience acted as an incentive for the fight to continue, many retreated. The only girl who did not raise her hand to the audience was Sara, who then came to talk to me. We discussed a little about how the audience can encourage the fight to continue. And I exemplified with another class' student without mentioning his name, but I said he was a boy who made beautiful poetry. Still, he bullied others with his colleagues, even though he didn't think it was right, because that was the only way he felt respected and admired by his colleagues. They were a little impressed with the story. So, we started talking about how they felt. One of the boys said that he's afraid to expose his feelings, and when colleagues do something bad to him, he has to pretend it's okay, even if he's going to suffer afterward because otherwise, the teasing gets worse. Many students agreed with this placement, saying that they have seen people quietly suffering because they cannot show that they are affected. I asked if the boys could show feelings, and the group was divided; some said it was obvious, others said they would be teased if they did. Victor said that he couldn't hold back the crying, and sometimes he cries in front of people. At that moment, some of the boys commented halfway with mockery, «Well, but are you going to cry?» So, we discussed how much this prejudice against crying isolates people with their sufferings. I asked what they suggested for referrals. Student Sara was the first to say that she thinks people should think twice before acting. I asked if it was cool for them to keep acting as an audience, and they said they would try not to play this role. One of the boys said that sometimes he makes interventions, getting people to stop making fun of others, but he gave an example like this: «Hey bro, are you going to keep doing that shit? Do you have any mental issue?». Even if he wants to help,

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[2] All names used in this paper are fictitious in order to preserve their identities.

sometimes the students do it aggressively. Finally, I asked if it was helpful to ask the person to stop, and many said that's where it gets worse. So, we addressed this issue by agreeing to «respect the request to stop the teasing». (DCd27).

In the narrative, it is possible to identify that, at some level, students saw the assembly as a safe space for expressing their feelings. By initially asking to talk about bullying, the class can deepen their understanding of the topic and reflect on the roles each one has played in these situations. However, it is possible to see some cultural issues such as prejudice against overweight people and, above all, some consequences of sexism hidden under the cloak of the term bullying. Santos and Dinis [15] discuss the pressure suffered by adolescent boys to act according to socially established practices as codes of framework to the male gender. In this way, cultural manifestations related to the feminine, such as crying, are excluded from their field of action. When the student Victor confesses that he cannot hold back the crying, the other boys mock him, even though they also revealed their difficulties hiding their feelings.

In the passage that describes the speech of a student who tries to defend the victim, it is possible to verify that the student does it aggressively. He questions if the aggressor has «a mental issue», which is another problem discussed by Santos and Dinis [15], the violent behavior of those who do not adjust to the norms. Thus, if I have to ask the other person to stop beating up, I cannot do it respectfully because that would sound less masculine, making me vulnerable to being the next victim. Without enough time to go into these issues, the psychologists try to establish a collective referral for the resolution of that particular situation, so the class agrees to respect the request of the other to stop the aggression.

In this scene, the different types of conflict between students are explained, which can be worked through collective actions such as assemblies, as these collectives become safe spaces for their manifestation. The fear of dealing with more sensitive issues, such as the example, is overcome by the bonds between psychologists and students. The expressions create conditions for the production of critical reflections on different situations. However, psychologists must be attentive so that the manifestations of students are not used against them later by other colleagues. That is why it is necessary to emphasize the importance of respecting the agreements to build a safe space for everyone's manifestation.

Scene 03: The theft of the pencil
The subject of «theft» was discussed, starting with defining the difference between theft and robbery. When I asked who once had something stolen at school, 13 people raised their hands in a class of 26. I pointed to the size of the problem, which reaches half of the group, and some students began to report previous situations of theft. Two black students (William and Alan) said that when there is theft, people always accuse blacks.

This line led to a clash in the room because there was one black student who said he had never been accused of theft, and this was not related to skin color but their usual bad behavior. William complained that all the bad things are attributed to him because he's unruly, and they've already asked him to open his backpack to look for something. We discussed that this was not right; one cannot open another's backpack, only the owner can do that. Then some referrals were made: the first is «look before judging». Many times, things can disappear because we lost, so we argued that it was not to judge colleagues in any way, and before announcing a theft, the person should check if he was not in the room or in «lost and found». The second guideline was that when someone finds something in the school, they will ask who the owner is, and when they don't find the owner, they will hand it over to lost and found. I staged it with Douglas's case, putting it on top of a chair and saying «finders keepers, losers weepers,[3]» and taking it for me. I wondered if it was theft; most said it was. When I interpreted it differently, saying, «look, I found a case, whose is it?» a third of the room raised its hand, claiming it was theirs. So, they explained that when someone asks, a lot of people indicate they own it. I asked if it was theft, and they said it was. The third referral was that everyone would open their backpacks for the teacher to see if necessary. I asked if they would agree to show the bags, and they said if everyone agrees, they would also. Finally, I talked about the theft of the pencil and how disrespectful it was to Daniel [a student who had his pencil stolen]. He said that a fourth referral would be the person who took it to return his pencil by tomorrow. So, they objected: «if the person has already stolen, why would he give it back?» I did a round of interviews, consulting one by one on whether they would return it. To my surprise, some were very sincere and said no, or «it depends on what», «it depends on the person», «it depends on where I found it». «If I found it outside the room, for example, I wouldn't give it back, not even if it's something very nice or if it's from someone I "don't like"». We discussed each one of these possibilities, and Peter said that «it's a fool who finds something very "cool "and gives it back». Some students said that it was dishonesty. We took the minutes to the guidance counselor, saying that this was the document she should show Daniel's father, signaling that the school had made arrangements and dealt with the situation. (DCd12).

When we left the class, student William looked for one of the staff psychologists and asked, «Do I have to sign anything?» Since his question was out of context, no one could understand what it was about. The psychologist said she didn't understand, and the student ran into the classroom. She went after him to understand what he had said and returned with the understanding that the student was asking if he would need to sign anything by returning the pencil to the school manager. (DCg6).

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[3] In original Portuguese this expression is literally translated: «what is found is not stolen».

The report describes an assembly explicitly held to address a situation of theft that occurred at school. That day, the pedagogical coordinator had mentioned to the psychology team that a father had gone to school to threaten, saying that if his son's pencil didn't show up by the end of the day, he would call the police to school and solve this problem. The particularity of the event justified the father's fury: last week, his son's pencil was stolen. Then the father bought a new one. The next day, the person who stole it swapped the old pencil for the new one, and his son showed up at home with the old pencil.

Learning about this case, the team went to the class to prevent the problem from becoming a police case and take preventive action: even if the police solved the problem, their role is not educational, so that it would possibly occur again. At the beginning of the conversation, it turns out that this is not an isolated problem: many students have already had their belongings stolen. At the same time, the discussion elucidates the students' perspective on the problem. It indicates that many students take the items they find in school for themselves, especially if it is something of economic or social value. In this discussion, many students were able to identify that this was also a form of theft (as well as claiming that an item found was theirs, when in reality it was not), and some possibilities of action were delimited for future analogous situations.

In addition to theft, the issue of race is also discussed in this assembly. While some students claim to be accused of theft because they are black, others point to their usual stance because they are often involved in school problems. As we needed to build referrals to theft, there was not enough time to work in-depth on such an essential issue as race relations, but having identified this need, the Psychology team had other opportunities to address it. In the end, one of the students asked quite discreetly about how he should proceed to return the item, indicating that the assembly somehow made sense to him and made him rethink his attitude. We handed the minutes with a record of agreements signed by students to the pedagogical coordinator to show the document to the father. There was no longer a need for the police since psychology was present in that school.

Final considerations

The complex historical process that characterizes Brazilian Democracy builds important challenges for the study of participation. When we act to strengthen public school students, we create conditions for black and poor children to access knowledge and develop their psychological functions to act collectively and generalized. These same children have been the target of policing (as the narrative on pencil theft explains) and, more recently, of a public policy that hands over the management of their schools to the military [6]. It is justified that only by discipline and submission to the authorities would it be possible to control the violence of these students, improving the quality of the schools.

Contrary to these understandings, the foundations of Cultural-Historical Psychology and German Critical Psychology explain the importance of concrete conditions and democratic relations to develop people capable of acting collectively and generally. This perspective of psychology can convince people about the importance of participatory spaces. If schools reproduce authoritarianism and practices of student passivation, it will be impossible to move towards genuine society democratization.

The reports show how the relationships established in class assemblies can build and elaborate dramatic situations, demanding from the students the argumentation, dialogue, knowledge about how things work, solidarity, and collective construction of proposals for dealing with problems. Psychology can develop foundations and practices that collaborate with the strengthening of subjects, and this is even more important when dealing with a historically marginalized public. This can be revolutionary if students move towards a critical analysis of situations and collectively build a Land that is, in fact, everyone's Land.

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От межпсихологического к внутрипсихологическому: развивая субъектность у школьников

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Опираясь на описание противоречий, которыми пронизан латиноамериканский демократический контекст, в статье обсуждается вопрос о том, как психология может способствовать развитию чувства субъектности (agency) у учащихся государственных школ, расположенных в так называемых неблагополучных районах, характеризующихся бедностью и социальной изоляцией. Вклад культурно-исторической психологии и немецкой критической психологии осмысляется с позиций обоснования важности создания пространства для совместного активного участия, необходимого с точки зрения развития личности. Авторы статьи работали в государственной школе с 2015 по 2017 год, проводя встречи с учениками начальных классов. Содержание этих встреч записывалось в журнал наблюдений, из которого затем были отобраны три повествования (нарратива) для анализа. В первом обсуждаются уроки физкультуры; в центре второго — ученик, который опасается буллинга, потому что часто плачет на глазах у всего класса, и делится своими переживаниями; в третьем рассказывается о случае кражи карандаша. Сделан вывод о том, что с опорой на критическую теорию психология может поддерживать школьников, способствуя укреплению их чувства субъектности.

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Unexpected Connections: Cultural-Historical Psychology in a Community Mental Health Setting?

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This paper will reflect on the influence of Vygotsky and Luria in my work as an occupational therapist in the community mental health setting of an 'Activity Centre' in the National Health Service, between 1991 and 2001. The paper will discuss a limited study, referencing Vygotsky during that period, with the benefit of hindsight and subsequent developments in the field of cultural-historical psychology. The original study raised the questions of what evidence could be found to support the application of Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) with a mixed group of adults in a community setting, and how this process of learning might be assessed and evaluated. At the time, these questions were informed by literature sources no later than 1998, and learning theory was often absent from professional training in mental healthcare. However, I will propose that some models of practice in mental health — particularly those founded in psycho-analytic group therapy and occupational therapy — could be enhanced by a deeper understanding of Vygotsky's ZPD, Luria's model of field research, and the discussion of some less established connections in psychoanalytic praxis.

Keywords: Community Mental Health, Vygotsky, Luria, Mediation, Agency, Dynamic Assessment, Ezriel, Occupational Therapy.

Introduction

Cultural-Historical psychology has offered a wealth of ideas about theory and innovative practice in recent years. These exciting developments inspired me to reflect on my earlier career as an occupational therapist, working in a community mental health setting in the National Health Service (NHS). I was especially driven to review a limited study, undertaken in 2002, following records of increased levels of social and creative activity at an 'Activity Centre' over the decade 1991-2001. This was a period of great change in the NHS provision of mental health and social care, when thousands of patients were moved from the hospitals where they had lived for many years, to receive care in the community. The Activity Centre was set up to provide a meeting place and optional activities for people transferred to care homes in a small seaside town. Reflecting on our shared experience of collaborative learning, as part of my teacher training, my study referenced Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and Luria's model of field research in the early 1930s, as an attempt to explain the unplanned positive outcomes at the Activity Centre. While these ideas were well received in teacher training, they did not readily connect with the medical model of psychiatry dominating much of NHS practice and professional training, which was often

similarly resistant to models founded in psychoanalytic theory. So, it is very much with the benefit of hindsight and the freedom to pursue independent research that I now hope to reach a deeper understanding of the potential of ZPD in community mental health, and to explore its unexpected resonance with a less well-known model of psychoanalytic intervention.

Background to the 2002 study and discussion of operational policy in an NHS Trust

In the context of my NHS employment from 1991 to 2001, the workplace to be discussed was an occupational therapy department, but as such it functioned with an unusual degree of autonomy, located miles away from the hospital base, and in a house indistinguishable from neighbouring residential properties. This unusual setting, which began as part of a rehabilitation project for long term psychiatric patients, undoubtedly influenced attitudes towards the service it provided, from the perspectives of both service users and NHS management. To potential clients it looked like the kind of place where you might meet friends and drink tea, but I was once told by an NHS Trust publicist that the client's drawing of the premises we were using for our service description did

not meet the required 'corporate image.' This perceived requirement was probably founded in changing management systems, following successive government policies to advance privatisation of the NHS, which like many large organisations is itself full of contradictions. Public relations departments quite rightly promoted 'client centred' and 'evidence based' practice, 'service-user involvement' and consultation, but these ideas were not fully realised in practice. They existed alongside human rights issues around stigma, social inclusion, capacity for active, informed consent, and the availability of choice vs. compliance with treatment. So, funded by and appearing on the fringe of a psychiatric institution, we experienced many of the challenges described by Daniels [5] in his discussion of multiagency work, which often extended to inter-disciplinary relations. Nevertheless, we succeeded in developing and writing an operational policy, which was agreed and approved by the local NHS Trust. In this policy, our Introduction and stated aims were as follows:

This policy is being written in consultation with staff and clients from February 2000 and may be reviewed and revised.

The Activity Centre is part of the Trust's Occupational Therapy Service within the Adult Mental Health day care provision for the community. It is a converted house in the town centre and is open from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. from Monday to Friday, including most Bank Holidays. It serves a mixed group of about 80 people who attend "because they want to" at an average rate of 30 per day.

Aims/Philosophy

We (staff and clients) manage the Activity Centre together on a day to day basis, and share responsibilities as far as possible. We aim to provide a friendly, informal atmosphere where people are encouraged, but not directed to take part in planning and decision-making processes, and to participate in activities where clients and staff can teach and learn skills from each other.

We aimed to apply the principle of mutual learning to social interaction, as well as practical and creative activities at the Centre, and there are precedents for such an approach in NHS mental health care provision. For instance, there is the therapeutic community (TC) model of care, in which clients "have a significant involvement in decision-making and the practicalities of running the unit." [3, p. 365] and where the "promotion of belongingness which is likely to be a substantial feature of integrated treatments" can have "an independent effect on well-being and mental health" [29, p. 636]. Here TCs look to the field of psychology [2] and to psychotherapy, to promote service users' agency as a force for development [1]. However, the situation of TCs in the NHS has often proved problematic, as has their representation and/or reputation; not only regarding the history of particular units [14], which vary greatly in their intake of service users and methodologies [17], but also within their own network [36]. Some of these issues might well reflect the inherent difficulty of sustaining a collective model of care, given the medical hierarchy integral to the organisation of the NHS.

However, the Activity Centre faced less of a challenge in this respect — making no claim to TC status and situated in a management structure where several professional disciplines were represented. In addition, the medical cover we required was shared between a number of consultant psychiatrists based in the local mental health clinic and hospital. Around 2000, this arrangement was extended to allow doctors in general practice (GPs) to refer directly to the Activity Centre. This offered easier access and choice to potential service users, insofar as their self-referral could be supported by a nearby GP surgery without waiting for an appointment with a consultant psychiatrist, or indeed reaching a point of crisis in their mental health which would lead to urgent psychiatric intervention. At the same time, this more open referral system shifts some of the responsibility for initial assessment to the service provider. This is advantageous to both potential service-user and provider in terms of their mutual assessment of the suitability of therapy on offer, but in some cases, access to further information, such any relevant social care, medical or criminal history is necessary for effective risk management. Where good communication prevails within the multi-disciplinary teams and between the care agencies involved, this information is obtained in advance of a meeting on site, as was generally the case at the Activity Centre. However, before discussing the study, and in the interests of demonstrating the consistency our approach, the following extract from our Operational Policy describes the referral and assessment process through to treatment:-

REFERRALS
Introduction and/or first visit can be informal, but assessment and registration requires medical referral by a psychiatrist of GP. Clients' Planning Group to be given notice of new referrals — Client friend/mentor to look after each new client on 1st day.

ASSESSMENT
Assessment interviews to be offered within two weeks of referral. Assessment is a mutual process and begins with an interview between a staff member and potential client, who jointly write and sign an agreement, which should include a check-in day.

TREATMENT
Each client's agreement with the Centre names a staff member to monitor their care. Treatment is activity-based and founded on effective working relationships between staff and clients — to be mutually assessed on an on-going basis. The core activity is social — working together as an informal group and maintaining a friendly atmosphere.

Although a multi-agency assessment process cannot be wholly dynamic, the psychodynamic interaction between a service-user and provider during an assessment interview, is a crucial factor in the development of any future therapeutic relationship. This can be fraught with complications. For example, if the general psychiatric and/or social 'Care Plan' of a potential client stipulates compulsory attendance of day care, then their choices are seriously limited. So, when one young man with such limited options, and a history of reported 'challenging behaviour' made an informal visit to the Centre, he expressed

understandable reservations. In response to his guarded statement that he "might" attend, I told him not to do us any favours and emphasised that people attended our place because they wanted to. Thankfully, this young man proceeded to an assessment interview, attended regularly, and became keen on growing plants. He also self-diagnosed his autistic spectrum disorder, after watching a television documentary on Asperger's syndrome. The next day, on arrival at the Centre, he declared, "I think I might be artistic." Our view was that he might well be autistic *and* artistic, since in addition to experiencing relationship difficulties, he had already shown appreciation of the use of imagery and self-reflection. This young man's insight into his own problems with socialising proved to be enormously helpful to our mutual learning and relationship building at the Centre thereafter.

The ZPD at the 'Activity Centre'?

The project 'Vygotsky — Social Learning, Theory & Practice' was submitted in my teacher training for a Post Graduate Certificate of Education in 2002. The core problem, as defined in 2002, was to understand how a selection of positive, but unpredicted outcomes of teaching and learning amongst a mixed group of adults were achieved, with reference to these research questions:

The following indented text is copied from the original study, with References inserted —

• What evidence can be found to support the application of Vygotsky's theory of social learning with a mixed group of adults in a community setting?

• How might the process of learning, determined by "problem solving ... in collaboration with more capable peers" [41, p. 86] be assessed and evaluated?

The student/client group

The individual participants at the Activity Centre range in age from 18 to 75, and in educational background — from the personal and social isolation and/or deprivation associated with years of institutional life and mental health problems, to the relatively fulfilling experiences of post-compulsory education, professional training and employment. There are approximately 90 clients registered at the Centre. All are former psychiatric patients with a history of between 5 and 45 years of treatment beginning with hospital admission, and continuing in the community, where the majority are living in residential care homes, with NHS mental health provision co-ordinated by teams based at the local psychiatric hospital and/or other agencies, such as mental health and social care centres. Clients attend the Activity Centre on an entirely voluntary basis, describing it as an "informal meeting place for people who attend because they want to". The average daily attendance of 30 conveniently coincides with the health and safety limit for the premises. There are four occupational therapy staff members — all committed to further education and training within and beyond the Activity Centre, and throughout any given year, there is a succession of under-graduate O.T. students on fieldwork placement. Like the staff, they have

access to in-service education sessions at the Centre, and elsewhere in the NHS Trust

The student/client group of the original study included 4 professional staff and a succession of 1 or 2 students in training throughout the period 1991-2001. The clients themselves were a largely self-selecting group with diagnoses ranging through schizophrenia, bi-polar disorder, depression, anxiety, learning disabilities, autistic spectrum and personality disorders. It is important to acknowledge the socio-political context for psychiatric patients in the late 20th century in the UK, when there was a shift from long-term hospital confinement to 'Care in the Community'. This was particularly life changing for former psychiatric patients with severe and enduring mental health problems, many of whom had been institutionalised for decades. Regarding this cultural shift, Luria's approach to field research in the 1930s [26] was an inspiration, in that the lives of the people he was meeting were also experiencing change, albeit on a grander scale, in the wake of a revolution. With great wisdom, sensitivity and good humour, Luria met with his subjects in locations such as fields, tea houses and cafes, where a sense of belonging, and continuity with their social lives would promote good communication and, as far as possible — equal status between the visiting researchers and members of the host communities. The sense of belonging associated with such environments resounds with that promoted in the therapeutic communities discussed earlier. Furthermore, it was in the cafes, lounges, and outdoor spaces on the sites of the old psychiatric hospitals that patients, visitors and sometimes staff would mix convivially. So, the perception of the Activity Centre as an informal meeting place, resembling a café, contributed to its potential as a social space for learning.

Following the research questions, our stated aims were "To explore the implications of Vygotsky's ideas for post-compulsory education and occupational therapy" in mental health, and "To assess the relevance of social learning theory to the experience of adults with diverse learning and teaching needs." The matter of finding evidence to support the application of Vygotsky's theory of social learning in a mixed group of adults was addressed primarily with reference to Vygotsky [41], Luria [26] and Kolb [20], in *Experiential Learning*, which was inspired by Vygotsky. Additionally, there were the contemporary sources of Kozulin [21], on the sociocultural approach to language development, including its use with immigrant communities, and Daniels [6], examining individual experience in mainstream education. Our supporting evidence was drawn from records spanning 10 years of practice, during which time we developed an operational policy. This reflected our commitment to shared learning, by encouraging clients' active participation in the day-to-day management of the Centre, planning activities *with* them rather than for them, and interacting with a view towards co-operation, rather than correction. With hindsight, this is what we would now describe as a mediational process [30], in keeping with sociocultural theory [22]. During the period 1991—2001, we observed a steady climb in referral and attendance figures and a marked increase in service-users' participation in the activities we had organised together. We associated these positive outcomes with the

changes we had made In the management of the Centre with our clients, and with an improved view of ourselves as lifelong learners, as well as therapists alongside our clients.

To summarise, again from our Policy, activities at the Centre included:

• A weekly planning meeting led by clients and minuted

• Paid cleaning duties (NHS Trust cleaning contract)

• Cooking

• Gardening (includes access to allotment)

• Arts and crafts

• Using the computer (with supervised internet access)

• Writing and publishing a poetry magazine [35]

• Weekly keep fit sessions

• Video-making

• Snooker

• The website project and poster 2000

In the original study, these activities and others were presented as a 'Table of Collaborative Achievements since 1991'. Activities initiated by individual clients were listed as "Client-lead sessions (in the Centre) and included: Teaching Basic Navigation, Teaching Latin, Tap dancing, Keep Fit and Dressmaking & Beading. In addition, all clients had daily opportunities to take on work, which would benefit the group, and receive tokens exchangeable for lunches, or craft items, in the Credits for Work initiative from 1997. The study featured another graphic illustration, attempting to show the progressive transfer of agency from staff to clients, with a time scale over the decade to 2001. However, client records of attendance and engagement with operational changes or clients' initiatives were not sufficiently detailed or dated to achieve this with sufficient validity. Nonetheless, prior to 1991, the daily life of the Centre was programmed by former staff and included craft activities such as woodwork and candle-making, under their direction. Many clients showed no interest in these activities, remarking "The staff are making candles again", and preferring to use the Centre to socialise and enjoy the lunch provided there. Between 1991 and 1995, 'under new management', this lack of participation was addressed by inviting clients to elect a chairperson for a Clients Planning Group, and offering new activities and opportunities for clients to teach sessions themselves. Hence, in respect of timing, we saw a distinct 'before and after' progression in service-users engagement with activities at the Centre. As evidence for consideration, given this outcome, the study claimed that:

The clients' motivation to initiate and or negotiate activities indicates their sense of empowerment, to the extent that roles were reversed — most strikingly in the case of client lead sessions and the Clients' Workshops, where a group were invited and paid to visit the University to teach undergraduate O.T. students, from 1999 to 2001 [24].

Two individual case studies, with related session plans on 'Learning French' and 'Reading Greek' were also included, and raised interesting possibilities for further development, with reference to second language education [30] and to the model of case studies pioneered by Luria [27; 28] and later advanced and examined by Sacks [33].

Towards the study's conclusion, it was argued that positive learning outcomes had emerged:

For instance, practical teaching resources — in the form of videos, essays and articles have been produced by students and clients. These are the tangible outcomes of peer group learning. Work from the Centre, presented by staff and students in O.T. training, and at conferences has stimulated invitations for the clients and students themselves to become facilitative teachers.

However, despite the evidence supporting social learning in a mixed group of adults, in relation to the study's first research question, the second question regarding assessment and evaluation was not fully addressed. It is here that developments in the field of cultural-historical psychology since 2000 may offer new ideas and offer a deeper understanding of Vygotsky's thinking and recover meanings, which have literally been lost in translation.

Reviewing the past in relation to current research and praxis

Hardman reminds the reader that, "For Vygotsky (1978, 1986), teaching and learning are dialectically related. In fact, the Russian word *obuchenie*, which he uses to discuss teaching, is best translated as teaching/learning" [16, p. 4]. She attributes this recognition to Daniels [7] and cites Fleer and Hammer [11] for their exposition of Vygotsky's use of the concept of *perezhivanie*, to unite emotion and thinking. The latter is strikingly appropriate in the general context of mental health, as is the dialectical connection between teaching and learning. With reference to the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), Kozulin offers an enlightening exposition of its three facets, and the Russian scene, in relation to the growing diversity of dynamic assessment [23]. Furthermore, Valsiner and van der Veer expose an interesting cultural-historical connection by reviewing their 1993 definition of Vygotsky's *zona* as "*essentially a field-theoretical concept*" [38, p. 148]. There, they acknowledge the "gargantuan efforts by Kurt Lewin to adopt topology for purposes of psychological discourse." [39, p. 36]. In 1947, Lewin explored the 'Frontiers in Group Dynamics' [25] and following a ground-breaking examination of social factors contributing to change, presented "Three Steps: Unfreezing, Moving, and Freezing of Group Standards" [ibid. p. 34]. Only a few years later, in 1951, psychoanalysts, Stengel [34] and Ezriel [8] simultaneously published papers discussing 'The Scientific Testing of Psycho-Analytic Findings and Theory', with Ezriel proposing the psycho-analytic session as an experimental situation. Questions of any communality of purpose between Lewin, Stengel and Ezriel and of the compatibility of their ideas with Vygotsky's ZPD are worthy of further discussion; as are the implications for Zavershneva's work on Vygotsky regarding the problem of consciousness [45], and her comprehensive exposition of 'Vygotsky vs. Freud' [46]. However, it was Ezriel's model of intervention, which influenced my reflections on our work at the Activity Centre, despite its absence from the 2002 study.

As I have written previously [36], Ezriel described his psychoanalytic peers' response to his early papers

as working against the 'art' or 'spirit' of psychoanalysis. However, he was employed by the Tavistock Clinic in London, in the 1960s and ran supervision groups there, prior to his retirement. In 1952, Ezriel wrote about 'Psychoanalytic Group Therapy' [9], having developed a method of intervention defining three kinds of relations in 'here and now' transference (i.e. thoughts and feelings towards the group and/or the therapist). In short, these relationships are described as:

1. The "*required* relationship" [ibid], maintaining a minimal level of tension in the group

2. A more anxiety provoking relationship which group members "*avoid* in external reality, however much they may desire it" [ibid] and,

3. A "*calamity*" which group members seem convinced would follow if they were to give in to their "secret desire of entering into the avoided relationship." [ibid]

In constructing such an interpretation, the analyst should echo the ideas expressed and words used by group members, as far as possible, and specify the nature of the imagined calamity. If the interpretation is correct, there is an observable shift from the required to the avoided relationship — perhaps apparent in a freer expression of avoided issues, and/or a sense of relief from tension. If on the other hand, the required relationship is reinforced and the level of tension increased, the interpretation is incorrect. In this way, group members are empowered to approve or disapprove of of any given interpretation, having engaged in what Goodburn described as a process of 'mutual research' [12]. It may be for cultural-historical psychologists to consider how the process of reaching a correct interpretation, as proposed by Ezriel, may compare with the process associated with Vygotsky's ZPD.

The relevance of psychoanalytic theory to occupational therapy, and to the Activity Centre study may be less clear. However, when my study was in progress, I discussed it with Goodburn, who was reflecting on his unpublished work on the concept of transference to the institution [13]. He proposed that in the Activity Centre, some predictable examples of Ezriel's avoided relationship in transference might be demonstrated in the social interaction between staff and clients, without ensuing calamity, in keeping with the 3-part formulation above. For instance, a recurrent dynamic associated with institutionalisation is the perceived requirement to accept leadership and follow instructions. Claiming agency and making controversial choices might be avoided for fear of a calamitous deprivation of any kind of relationship, loss of identity or existential crisis. So, if therapists show no interest in authoritarian leadership, but a readiness to learn from service-users, this may reduce anxiety and encourage clients to develop their teaching/learning skills. Interestingly, in a recent study referencing Ezriel [8; 10], Reghintovschi [32] formulated predictions such as "sibling rivalry in psychoanalytic institutions" [ibid, pp. 94—96] to be tested in interviews, with some success. However, further resonance might be found in Cultural-Historical psychology.

In his discussion of Dynamic Assessment (DA), Kozulin [23] includes occupational therapy (OT) as one of the fields making progress. DA was pioneered in the 1960s in OT by Griffiths [15], but it was then presented for the care of the elderly. Kozulin acknowledges more recent work Katz et al. [19], which can be followed by Toglia and Cermak [37], with signs of support from the field of psychiatry [43]. Additionally, in clinical psychology, Carl Haywood and Lidz [4] present a wide range of applications from children to adults and seniors, in clinical and educational settings. Kozulin hopefully predicts that all these disciplines will continue to develop their own systems of DA of cognitive modifiability and learning potential, retaining "the main postulates of Vygotsky's theory that any study of human mental processes should be done in a situation of interaction and change rather than passive observation and acceptance of the given conditions." [23, p. 143] The wider field of cultural-historical psychology has also presented many stimulating publications such as Xi and Lantolf's [44] critical examination of the relationship between scaffolding and the ZPD, Hopwood's [18] extraordinary project on Transformative Agency with children and their families, and Potapov's [31] engaging account of the use of new technology, shown to improve social, emotional communication and promote mental health amongst adolescents in education.

Conclusion

The original conclusion of the 2002 Activity Centre study owned that although there were positive learning outcomes and indications of a transfer of agency at the Centre, the second research question on assessment and evaluation was not fully addressed. Despite the inspirational work on Dynamic Assessment (DA) presented in Cultural-Historical Psychology, this remains problematic for several reasons. While Ezriel hoped to see advances in researching and testing psychoanalytic interpretations by sound or video recording therapy sessions, this would be difficult in a community centre where activities and interactions were dispersed throughout the building and on other sites such as the garden and allotment, on any given day. Also, service-users with negative experience of static testing in psychiatric hospitals may well be reluctant to give consent. In fact, on several occasions Activity Centre staff supported clients in declining a psychologist's request to conduct tests there. However, given the growing use of DA in both occupational therapy and psychiatry, it is hoped that many disciplines will work together for further developments in mental health services, in keeping with Kozulin's thinking. Sadly, these hopes are not applicable to the current service at the Activity Centre, since in 2010, the NHS Trust withdrew its staff from there, despite our joint proposals with another agency, that we should collaborate and share the premises. At that time, both staff and clients experienced the frustration which seems to be shared by many researchers in the field of cultural-historical psychology, in relation to the limited recognition of their work. However, the potential for advancement has been significantly energised by researchers, such as Hardman examining 'Vygotsky's decolonial pedagogical legacy in the 21st century: back to the future' [16]. There is a clear need to examine the hierarchical and political management of other public services, including healthcare provision, from a decolonial, anti-institutionalised perspective, for broader social change.

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Неожиданные пересечения: культурно-историческая психология в городском центре психического здоровья?

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В настоящей статье я размышляю о влиянии Выготского и Лурии на мою работу в качестве оккупационного терапевта (эрготерапевта) в центре психического здоровья «Центр деятельности» ('Activity Centre') национальной системы здравоохранения с 1991 по 2001 год. Обсуждается небольшое исследование того периода, с отсылками к Выготскому, с позиции ретроспективного анализа и последующих разработок в области культурно-исторической психологии. Исходное исследование ставило вопрос о том, какие свидетельства можно найти в пользу применения концепции зоны ближайшего развития для работы со смешанной группой взрослых людей в амбулаторных условиях и как можно было бы зафиксировать и оценить результаты этого процесса обучения. В то время, когда проводилось исследование, ответы на подобные вопросы можно было искать в источниках, изданных до 1998 года, а теории обучения зачастую и вовсе отсутствовали в программах подготовки специалистов в сфере психического здоровья. Тем не менее, я выдвигаю тезис о том, что некоторые практические приемы, применяющиеся в работе таких специалистов (в особенности разработанные в психоаналитической групповой терапии и эрготерапии), можно было бы доработать и обогатить за счет более глубокого понимания концепции Выготского о зоне ближайшего развития, модели полевого исследования Лурии, а также обсуждения менее заметных пересечений с психоаналитической практикой.

Ключевые слова: амбулаторные условия, психическое здоровье, Выготский, Лурия, опосредование, агентность, динамическое оценивание, Эзриель, эрготерапия.

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Collective Imagining: The Early Genesis and Development of a sense of Collectiveness during Infancy

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On entering formal education, infants face the demand of participating in collective educational routines and learning experiences. However, in this age period, the sense of collectiveness is still in an embryonic form. This study explored how infants enter into and experience the need for collectiveness and how teachers create the conditions for the development of a sense of collectiveness during infancy. Our educational experiment drew on a Conceptual PlayWorld, as a collective model of practice for the development of play and imagination. Thirteen infants (0,5—2 years old) participated in the study. Visual methods were used for digital data collection and analysis. It was found that, being in the imaginary situation as play partners, teachers introduced to the infants' environment the demand to align with the collective, consistently facilitated and sustained infants' motive orientation to the collective. The use of props, the embodiment of the experience and the shift from physical objects and concrete spaces to a shared intellectual and abstract space appeared to be critical. The findings inform everyday practice and policy opening up a new area of understanding about the concept of collective imagining, as an important concept for the development of a collective orientation for infants.

Keywords: infants, collectiveness, belonging, imagination, play, early years, pedagogical positioning.

1. Introduction

Collective routines and collective learning experiences have a central role in everyday educational reality in childcare centres and early childhood settings. As a common practice tradition, children along with early childhood teachers, share a collective reality that responds to collective needs, reflects on collective planning, and includes a wide range of collective activities such as joining each other during the lunchtime routine and outdoor free play or participating in team discussions and collaborative tasks. For most infants and toddlers, belonging to a group and to a class community constitutes a new social, emotional, and intellectual reality. This early experience of collective formal settings as part of the institutional practice tradition puts demands on infants and educators

as a form of continuous challenge for young children. Responding to the new reality requires new types of activity and new kinds of thinking from the child. However, in this age period, the sense of collectiveness is still in an embryonic form. The early genesis and development of a sense of collectiveness during infancy is a generally under-researched area. We do not know much about how children and early childhood teachers become oriented to collectiveness or how they develop this sense of collectiveness we see as an important practice tradition in preschools for infants. Understanding this would lead to new ways of thinking about planning and organising learning in group settings for infant and toddler development.

The purpose of this study was to explore how infants enter into, experience, and contribute to the need for collectiveness and how early childhood teachers create the con-

ditions for the development of a sense of togetherness and a motive orientation to collectiveness during infancy. The study examined the emergence and the qualities of togetherness as well as the dynamics of collectiveness for infants during a *Conceptual PlayWorld* (CPW). A *CPW* [12; 13] is a collective model of practice developed to support young children's conceptual learning and development through play and imagination. Through distinct pedagogical characteristics, the model introduces and steps the children along with the teachers through an imaginary situation based on a children's book. Within these imaginary situations, problem scenarios emerge that require the use of concepts to help solve the problem and mature the play. Being in role together, children and the teachers are trying to find a solution to the inquiries as part of their imaginary play. This is how the concepts come in service of children's play and children begin to form the concept through their imaginary play. It is argued that sharing the same imaginary situation will create the stimulating conditions for infants to come together and stepwise experience a range of early forms of collectiveness. Teachers' pedagogical positioning within the CPW as play partners is expected to introduce and support a sense of collectiveness in the infants' environment. But this kind of research has not yet been undertaken.

The paper begins with an overview of what is generally known about collective practices and experiences within early childhood settings. This is followed by the theoretical foundations guiding the study, the methodology, and the related study design. The paper concludes by discussing the findings and the theoretical insights relevant to what is the earliest developmental period — infancy in group settings.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Collective Practice Traditions
in Early Childhood Settings

Collective practice traditions are reflected in many educational curriculums for early years worldwide and the development of a sense of collectiveness in group contexts is considered a fundamental principle of early childhood education in many contemporary societies [5]. Collectiveness is conceptualized and defined here as the essence of young children being aware of, joining in, participating in, and contributing to an activity setting in a way that reflects shared meanings and understandings, constantly negotiated and converging intentions and motives as well as commonly accepted rules and roles. Collectiveness in early childhood settings is mutually constituted by the participants (institutional demands, societal traditions, and participants' motive orientation) and is guided by meaningful and purposeful actions by them. The notion of collectiveness is also conceptualized and used here in relation to the notion of togetherness. Togetherness is understood as a requirement and an early and precursor of collectiveness for young children. Research in collective practices in the early years has tended to focus on preschoolers and kindergarten students [1; 9; 10; 14; 16;17]. What we have learned from these studies is that collectiveness involves

both peers and teachers, requires supportive pedagogical strategies, and is the baseline for qualitative learning and development in early childhood educational settings. Not surprisingly, a limited number of researchers have considered and studied collectiveness as part of infants' learning and development. However, as Verba [30] argued, the beginning of the pipeline for peers' interactions reach back into infancy. Sumsion et., al [29] have highlighted the importance of understanding infants' perspective and the way they experience the collective reality they participate in. Research has shown that during infancy children start to form the ability to create and share an "intersubjective space" during their social interactions [27]. Several studies in the field [2—4] have also revealed that infants have a wide range of social capabilities as well as that the interactions and the relationships between infants, peers, and adults are complex. These insights are suggestive of infants' agency to be involved within group culture in childcare centres and early childhood settings [22; 28]. What is critical for the introduction and the emergence of a sense of belonging in group cultures during infancy is the mediating role of the adults such as parents, caregivers, educators, and teachers in supporting collective participation [24].

The overall play-based pedagogy for the early years aims to orient the child to the group and support the emergence of collectiveness [11; 26]. However, very little is known about the concrete pedagogical practices that are effective, efficient, and appropriate for infants to start building on their capacity to participate in collective experiences. The study reported in this paper seeks to address this gap by providing insight into how early childhood teachers can create the conditions for the early genesis and development of a sense of collectiveness during infancy.

2.2. Theoretical Concepts Framing the Study
2.2.1. The interrelation between the inter
and intra-psychological level

One of the ingenious achievements of Vygotsky was to bring together the individual and social plane of children's development. Considering learning as a fundamentally social activity means that all higher psychological functions appear first on the inter-psychological plane, where a person interacts with others and begins to recognise what is valued, and then on the intra-psychological plane, where the learner can perform the valued psychological functions independently [31]. How this happens for infants who embody their world through their physical interactions has not been fully theorised. However, Vygotsky [31] argued the process of development of psychological functions in an individual follows from its development in relation to other children or adults first on a social plane and this can be seen when infants move towards each other and gesture their intent. The argument is that the social and cultural environment presents the child with a variety of tasks and demands and engages children in their worlds. Thus, engagement in social activities is critical for children as it offers multiple opportunities and possibilities for learning and development. In this study, we trace and analyse how infants' participation in social activities

looks like in an early care centre and how its emergence through their actions and intentions, and how this is supported by early childhood teachers.

2.2.2. Demands, motives, and motive orientations

Building on the cultural-historical conceptualisation of learning and development [6;23;32], Hedegaard [20, p.11] has argued that a wholeness approach "focus(es) on children's activities in activity settings located in institutional practices that have history embodied in traditions and framed by societal conditions". Following this argument, observing children's activities in an activity setting gives access to understanding their motives and intentions for engaging in the activity. The wholeness approach to understanding children's learning and development considers the institutional practice and what people do in the activities within the institutional setting as the key. Emphasis is given on the broader cultural tradition, institutional practices, activity settings and children's activities. Capturing the dialectical interrelations between these aspects of a child's social and cultural reality offers a framework for studying children by focusing on their activities and the demands they meet in diverse institutional practices such as the home practice, the school practice or the day-care practice. The wholeness approach illustrates how the individual and the social plane are brought together in praxis as the child participates in and experiences diverse activity settings such as participating in class or doing homework that is formed by cultural traditions and values such as belonging to a school community or following a schedule and shaped by everyday institutional practices such as tasks assignments or family gathering. Following the above theorization, in this paper, we observed and analysed children within a *CPW* activity setting to get an insight into their motives and intentions for engaging in the activity setting as well as to better understand how the early childhood teachers' pedagogical practice and the practice tradition of the center created the conditions for infants' motive orientation towards a sense of collectiveness.

3. Methodological Framework

3.1. A Conceptual Play World as an educational experiment

The study followed the method of educational experiment introduced by Hedegaard [19]. Within an educational experiment participants and researchers work together to create a condensed form of developmental conditions for the child. *CPW* was introduced to the teachers as a play-based model of practice for teaching concepts. The structure of the model is following five characteristics: a) selecting a story that introduces a problem situation regarding a concept or a set of concepts; the drama of the story creates empathy for the characters and engages children, b) designing a space to explore the concepts in different ways; this can be an indoor or outdoor space designed collectively by the teachers and the children, c) entering and exiting the space creating collective experiences; children along with the teacher are in role pretending to be characters of the story, d) planning several inquiries, based on the story's

plot, to approach the concept or the concepts; the concepts come in the service of children's play to lead to provide a solution on the problem that is introduced by the story, and e) planning the teacher's role as he/she joins the imaginary space to interact with the children; being in role, teachers become play-partners to children. In the present educational experiment Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics concepts were explored implementing a *CPW* inspired by story of "Possum in the House" written by Kiersten Jensen and illustrated by Tony Oliver.

3.2. Study Design and Method of Analysis
3.2.1. Participants and data generation

Evidence from thirteen infants (8 girls and 5 boys), two teachers named Mei and Samantha, and one teacher assistant named Nitu from one classroom in the state of Victoria, Australia are presented in this paper. All participants are named with pseudonyms. The infants were aged between 0,5 (6 months) and 2 years with a mean age of 1,2 (1 year and 3 months). Parents and all participants provided written informed consent to be in the study. Ethics approval was gained from the university and the relevant Department.

Teachers' participated in a professional development session during which they collaborated with the researchers' on the designing and implementation of a *CPW*. Regular support in the field and a follow-up professional learning session to consolidate understandings and directions of the educational experiment were provided. Most of these sessions were digitally recorded. A total of 5,3 hours of the professional development sessions in the centre as a whole and an additional 3,9 hours of planning and interview sessions with the teachers were collected. This data source allowed us to get an insight into teachers' needs for implementing the *CPW* and better support them as part of the educational experiment.

The data collection process of the actual teaching ran over three weeks. The digital recordings captured the implementation of the *CPW*. The time of the recording was decided by the teachers regarding the flow of the everyday educational routines in the center and children's interests. A total of 17,8 hours of digital data were collected. Following the five characteristics, the teachers created a *CPW* based on the children's book *'Possum in the House'*. The story is based on an engaging scenario; a naughty possum, an indigenous Australian mammal, has entered and runs all over the house hiding in different rooms and making mischiefs. A problem situation is introduced: how to get the possum out of the house?

3.2.2. Data analysis

The analysis was based on Hedegaard's [19] *wholeness approach* that introduces three different levels of data analysis. The first level of analysis is a common-sense interpretation. At this level, the analysis was based on the researchers' comments on infants' and educators' experience. This meant viewing all the data set and extracting examples of moments where indicators of collectiveness were evident within infants' imaginary play. Examples were noted and logged. The second level of analysis is situated practice interpretation. At this level, the emergence of conceptual

links and correlations between the results obtained from the analysis at the common-sense interpretation level was undertaken. This meant clustering all those moments of collectiveness to determine a pattern of data about particular practices of the teachers' and the orientation of infants to diverse types of collectiveness. The third level is the thematic interpretation. At this level, a theoretical analysis was carried out based on the theoretical concepts that frame the study (i.e. the interrelation between inter and intra-psychological level, motives, and motive orientation). This level of analysis aimed to find a conceptual pattern that explains how teachers created the condition for the emergence of infants' collectiveness — the research question that drove our study. A set of three vignettes is presented as examples of common actions. The criterion posed for the selection of the vignettes was the identification of qualitative turning points in the way infants experience collectiveness within the imaginary situation.

4. Findings

The overall findings revealed the critical role of teachers in creating the conditions for infants' orientation to the collective. It was shown that being in the imaginary situation as play partners, teachers introduced to the infants' environment the demand to align with the collective, and they consistently facilitated and sustained infants' motive orientation to the collective as part of their imaginary play. The use of props, the embodiment of the experience as well as the focus on a shared intellectual and abstract space that goes beyond physical objects and concrete spaces appeared to create motivating conditions for the genesis and development of infants' sense of collectiveness within the *CPW* group settings. Indicative examples are presented as follows.

4.1. Vignette 1: Joining a collective experience

In Vignette 1, Mei begins to read the book *'Possum in the House'* to Olin. At the moment, Olin is the only infant awake. As Mei reads the story, she enters the imaginary situation by pretending to be a possum. She changes the tone of her voice and uses a set of objects that are featured in the story, such as cornflakes packets, wooden toys, plastic blocks, or a metal saucepan, to reproduce the sounds made by the possum running across the house and engaging with the objects (i.e. *"Crunch, crunch went the cornflakes"*). Mei encourages Olin to join her and imagine being a possum too and explore different sounds with her (e.g., *"What's the sound the hammer makes on the paper? What sound does it make on the block? Give it a try! What about the other side?"*) (Figure 1). Olin joins in the *CPW*. Olin and Mei appear to imagine together that they are both possums, as is suggested by their orientation to each other and the storyline. They both follow the commonly accepted roles of possums. A sense of collectiveness emerges. Olin embodies the idea of being a naughty possum by using different objects to produce diverse sounds. As the story continues, he explores the sound of *"crunchy cornflakes being eaten in the cupboard"*, *"clothes ripping in the laundry"* and *"pages rustling in the study"*. Mei and Olin share the same meaning of the objects they use in turns. Olin continues to embody the idea of being a possum by using the cornflakes packet as a transition object to invite Nitu into the *CPW*. He takes the packet and walks to Nitu to let her listen to the sound, thereby inviting her into the imaginary situation and expanding the sense of emerging collectiveness. Nitu responds to Olin sharing the same meaning of the object. As Mei is reading, Olin interacts with her by creating diverse sounds using a pot and imitates sounds (i.e. *"Screech, screech!"*). This is suggestive of Mei's and Olin converging intentions in using the objects as part of the imaginary situation. Olin contributes to the imaginary play by putting the baby possum to sleep next to Mei using a cot and a blanket.

The other infants wake up. Mei uses the possum puppet to say hello to the infants, Anna and Rachel, and invite them within the imaginary situation. Olin stands up and walks to Rachel. He continues to embody the idea of being a possum by again using the cornflakes packet as a transition object to invite Rachel into the *CPW*. Olin tries to make Rachel and Anna aware of the imaginary situation. He runs back to the cot, points to the baby, and takes the possum out of the cot. Anna joins the *CPW* and begins to touch the possum puppet. Rachel enters the *CPW* by using the book as a transition object. She shows the book around to her peers and the teachers and then sits down. Anna and Rachel are now both motivated towards the imaginary situation. Mei reads the book again. The whole

Fig. 1. Being in the role and exploring different sounds as play partners

group comes together to listen to the story. Everyone now appear to be motivated by the activity, as is suggested by their orientation to each other and by their orientation to the book and the related props such as the puppet, the blanket, the saucepan, and the cornflakes. Megan, another infant, join the reading group (Figure 2).

Mei, Anna, and Megan are using the props to explore together the sound with the log, hammer, and pot as if being the naughty possums themselves. All the infants are now oriented to the story. Mei shows children other materials such as paper, expanding their imaginary play and keeping them inside the imaginary situation. The children and the teacher continue to be oriented to each other, to participate in and share the imaginary situation, and to stay engaged with the group activity exploring different sounds together. The whole activity setting lasted around forty minutes.

Vignette 1 showcases how Mei's pedagogical positioning within the *CPW* oriented the infants to each other, developed a sense of togetherness, and stimulated infants' motive orientation to the group and the collective. Mei introduced the demand to align with the collective by introducing infants to the shared imaginary situation. Infants' intention to join in and participate in the imaginary play motivated them to converge their intentions and motives, accept rules and roles within the play, and develop a sense of togetherness to respond to the demand of collectiveness. Being in the role, Mei had awareness of the infants' imaginary play throughout the activity setting. That is, she was able to detect, acknowledge, and respond to the infants' activity and orient their activity towards the collective. That could be seen in the example when Mei, while she kept storytelling, noticed that Rachel was playing with the doll and the blanket and responded to her action. That led to Rachel's response to Mei's action by putting another blanket in the cot. Mei was part of the infants' imaginary play physically, emotionally, and intellectually. Thus, Mei was able to facilitate and sustain infants' motive orientation to the collective efficiently through the activity setting being inside the imaginary play as a play partner and an active member of the group. Mei oriented infants to start noticing, reflecting, and reacting to each

other's actions during the imaginary play. Gradually, infants started paying attention to each other when experiencing the same situation, realizing each member of the group had a different role as well as a different perspective to the collective experience while rules were also commonly accepted. Mutual interactions and exchanges were noticed. Mei's pedagogical positioning created the conditions for the infants to experience the same imaginary situation. Sharing the same imaginary situation appeared to orient the infants to realize the collective aspect of the activity setting, come together, be inspired, stay engaged throughout the whole activity setting, and contribute to the common experience. This suggests that the imaginary situation became meaningful for them at a personal level but at the same time a common meaning was shared and developed at an interpersonal level. A sense of togetherness and an early form of collective imagining appeared to emerge during the activity setting.

4.2. Vignette 2: Exploring in pairs

Two days afterward, Olin plays alone with a piece of paper on the floor. He appears to explore the texture and the sounds coming from the material by touching, tearing, ripping, and scratching the paper. Mei introduces a new prop to Olin that is related to the story seen earlier in Vignette 1. She brings Olin a blanket to continue exploring the texture and the sounds of diverse materials. Olin is stimulated by the new prop and starts handling the blanket, jumping on the blanket, tiling the blanket on the floor, and crawling on the blanket. Nitu, interacts with Olin, helping him to lay the blanket on the floor. Gilly, a younger child (1 year and 3.5 months old), watches Olin's play. Olin points three times at the blanket saying *"Night-night!"*. Nitu responds to Olin by asking him who is sleeping, Olin or the possum, (i.e. *"Olin night-night or possum night-night?"*) and prompting him to find the possum. This is suggestive of the way Nitu is introducing collective imagining into the infants' environment. Olin responds to Nitu's invitation. He looks around and then points to the direction where the basket with the possum puppets is. Nitu names the different possum puppets (i.e. *"Mummy possum, baby possum!"*).

Fig. 2. Being in the role and exploring different sounds as a collective

Olin enters the imaginary situation by taking the baby possum puppet out of the basket. Gilly points to Olin and the possum expressing her interest in Olin's play. This is suggestive of the way the two infants' intentions and motives begin to converge within the activity setting. Olin crawls on the carpet with the possum laughing and pretending that he is putting the possum into sleep saying *"Night-night"*. Olin closes his eyes, acting as though he is asleep. His sleeping actions are consistent with the pretend play he initiated by saying *"Night-night"*. Joint play here appears to show the early forms of child-initiated collective experiencing the story. Nitu enhances Olin's imaginary play (i.e. *"You are sleeping with possum!"*, *"Now Olin and Mommy possum and baby possum are sleeping together!"*). Gilly continues paying attention to Olin's play and when the teacher again lays the blanket on the floor, she holds the other possum puppet and climbs onto the blanket joining Olin (Figure 3).

Nitu and Mei orient Gilly towards joining the activity (i.e. *"Go, go, Gilly! Go play with the possum puppet!"*, *"Possum is going to Olin, the possum is going to Gilly!"*) at the same time as encouraging the infants' orientation to each other. This is suggestive of the way the two teachers put the demand on the infants to align with the collective and motivate infants to develop a sense of togetherness. The two teachers are both in the imaginary situation now. Olin and Gilly are now oriented to each other. They crawl together up to the blanket sharing the same meaning and understanding of the situation; that is, pretending to be possums. This is suggestive of the commonly accepted rules and roles in infants' imaginary play. Gilly tries to touch the possum. She imitates Olin as he moves and sleeps as a possum. Nitu sustains infants' motive orientation to the shared imaginary situation by showing Olin and Gilly the possum's tail. The two infants move around and across the blanket together pretending to be possums and contributing to the activity setting.

What is important here is that the activity Olin initiated evolved into a collective activity for both Olin, Gilly, and Nitu. Nitu's mediating role and the way she interrelated Olin's initiative with the imaginary situation was critical. The whole process was transformed by Nitu through the way she responded to Olin's play and she oriented Olin to again enter the imaginary situation by creating a short narrative around his play (*"Olin night-night or possum night-night?"*). Another turning point in the activity setting has been the way Nitu, along with Mei, verbally acknowledged and reinforced Gilly's entering and involvement in the imaginary situation. Olin's imaginary play appeared to orient Gilly to the activity setting. Gilly was receptive to this too. As such, Vignette 2 showcases how it is not just the teachers who are orienting the infants to a sense of collectiveness, but it is also the infants themselves. In the same activity setting, we follow how both infants entered into the *CPW*, but also how they were receptive to being together. The object play was a stimulus that gave rise to the infants' interaction in the *CPW*. However, the sense of togetherness appeared to be the moving force for the infants' rich engagement within the activity setting. The way Olin and Gilly came together and interacted as a pair of individuals held together as a system by dynamic interpersonal exchanges is suggestive of the genesis of a sense of togetherness and the orientation to collectiveness between infants through imaginary play in group settings.

4.3. Vignette 3: exploring as a group

Five days afterward, Nitu reads the book and asks the children questions (i.e. *"Where is the possum?"*). Infants are engaged and the story finishes by prompting the children to look for the possum in the room. Samantha shows Clara, Anna, and Rachel the possum footprints on the wall (see Figure 3). Samantha guides the infants to search for the possum following the paper footprints. Infants enter the *CPW* and join the group activity. Samantha follows the footprints pretending to be mummy possum by changing her voice and handling the puppet. Samantha orients the infants towards being in the same role and going on adventures together. This is suggestive of the way she introduces the demand to align with the collective. Infants appear to participate in the activity setting and become oriented to the collective. They are all following the puppet listening to Samantha in the role of mummy possum. She poses the problem that she has lost her daughter. Samantha points to the possum footprint and prompts the

Fig. 3. Pretending sleepy possums in pair

children to find the next one together motivating infants towards the collective. The infants are oriented to the collective. They walk together to look for the possums. They find the daddy possum under the desk. Samantha immediately changes the role and acts as a daddy possum (i.e. *"Where is my daughter?"*). Olin screams with delight when he finds a possum hiding in the highchair. Samantha, Anna, Amy, and Megan are oriented to each other and the collective and go to investigate too. Samantha goes into a dual role acting 'as if' she is mummy and daddy possum in search of their daughter. Megan wants to carry one of the possums, Rachel and Olin make screaming noises. All the infants appear to share the same meanings and have the converged intention and motive to find the possum. Physical proximity, eye contact, joint attention are suggestive of this sense of togetherness between the infants (Figure 4). The infants stayed engaged in the activity as a collective pretending to put the baby possum to sleep.

This vignette illustrates how through consistently stimulating and supporting infants' engagement with the imaginary situation, teachers introduced the demand of collectiveness and created the motivating conditions for the development of a sense of togetherness between the infants. Being in the role herself, Samantha motivated the infants to be in the role themselves. By continually stimulating the infants to be in role, Samantha sustained the infants' motive orientation to the imaginary situation and the collective. The narrative that she kept crafting during the whole activity setting (i.e. *"Let's keep following those footprints!"*) and the overall embodiment of the experience through the puppets facilitated infants' motivation. Entering and being together in the *CPW*, the infants realized the collective aspect of the activity setting. They participated in and contributed to the group activity, they stayed engaged as a collective around the theme of the story, they shared meanings and understandings of being in an imaginary adventure and brought in line their intentions and motives of finding the possum. What is also important here is that being inspired and motivated by the teachers positioning within the imaginary situation, the infants took imaginary play a step forward and continued to contribute to the ac-

tivity setting in their way even after the imaginary adventure was over. This could be seen in the way infants imagining together, putting the possum to sleep. This is suggestive that the motive orientation to the collective sustained as infants continued their imaginary play.

5. Discussion

In the above vignettes, it was shown that teachers' pedagogical positioning within the imaginary situation led to the emergence of a sense of togetherness between the infants as well as between the infants and the teachers and created the motivating conditions for the infants to respond to the demand of collectiveness introduced by the pedagogical practices. We identified four key ways for the genesis and development of infants' sense of collectiveness in group settings throughout the study.

First, it was found that by supporting infants' imaginary play as play partners, teachers facilitated and sustained infants' motive orientation to the collective. Rather than following the typical practice tradition of being an observer of children's imaginary play, teachers were inspired by the new practice tradition of the *CPW* and experienced the imaginary moments being in the imaginary situation themselves. Teachers' positioning within the imaginary situation was evident through the tone of their voice (i.e. vibrant tone and changes in the sound of their voice), gestures (i.e. waving hands as if showing the possum's nails), body language, and body positioning (i.e. walking slowly to avoid scaring the possum) as well as through their overall comments (i.e. *"Now Olin and Mummy possum and baby possum are sleeping together!"*). Narratives and directing talk to the infants while being in character engaged the infants with the activity and the concepts related to this. Responding to infants' initiatives, teachers expanded and extended infants' thinking about the imaginary play as well as initiated and deepened infants' interactions as part of their shared experience. Being in the *CPW* together allowed the group members to spend critical time together, focus on a common goal and action (e.g., find the possum), do parallel, and at some points, common play (e.g., put the possum

Fig. 4. Following the possum's footprints as a collective

to sleep), have eye contact, use babble and use words to describe their activity (e.g., *"Tail, furry tail!"*), share the space as they sit down together, share objects related to the activity and take turns to explore these objects (e.g., using the hammer to create sound), and imitate each other's play (e.g., the sleeping possum). With the support of the teachers, the infants oriented themselves to each other, responded to a wide range of communication challenges such as informing the group that the baby possum was finally found, and importantly, responded to the demand of collectiveness as posed within the activity setting. Acting as play partners and being in the role, teachers strengthened infants' orientation to the collective and expanded their capacity for collective participation. This was an important finding since in the playworlds literature there have been arguments about the teachers being in the centre of the activity settings, shaping children's experiences, and disorienting them from peers' interactions [12; 25].

Second, the use of props appeared to support the infants' collective orientation. During the *CPW* teachers introduced various props to the infants including the children's book, the set of puppets, the small hammer along with diverse material, the blanket, and printed footprints. Different props inspired the infants' activity in diverse ways. Infants used the objects as transition objects to enter the *CPW* as well as to invite in their peers or the teachers. For example, Olin used different objects like the cornflakes package and the branches to invite Nitu and Rachel into the *CPW*. Props also acted as a resource to inspire infants' joint actions to the imaginary *CPW*. This could be seen when handling and lying on a blanket inspired Olin and Gilly to act together as being baby possums. The action of the infants as a collective was also generated by the use of props. For example, Samantha used the puppet to bring together the infants and keep them oriented to finding the baby possum by following a pathway of footprints. At the same time, speaking through the puppets supported Samantha to be in the role. This is suggestive of the way props acted as a resource of inspiration for the teachers too. Props gave the teachers' access to the infants' imaginary play as well as kept them in the imaginary play with the infants.

Third, the embodiment of the story through role-playing seemed to orient the infants and the teachers to each other and the collective. Teachers stimulated infants to be in role with them and use their body, gestures, and their voice in the way that possums do. Embodying their experience, the infants manage to express themselves and communicate dimensions of the experience that they could not verbalize [15]. Being in the role, the infants attuned their bodily actions. That was shown, for example, when everyone acted together to imagine being possums and started running quickly in the house or when they all imagined being adventurers and carefully following footprints. Infants, along with the teachers, developed a bodily language with common characteristics such as gestures and body positioning that made sense for all the participants in the *CPW*. This could be seen when teachers and infants imitate the possum sound *"Screech, screech!"* making, at the same time, a gesture pretending they are possums. The interaction between Olin and Gilly is indicative of the development of a common bodily language. Using their body, infants and teachers found a way to orient themselves to each other and the collective. The findings provided indicators of how embodiment, expressed through the use of props and role-playing, expanded infants' experience, supported a sense of togetherness, and at the same time developed infants' collective orientation in the group setting.

Finally, through the implementation of the *CPW* teachers shift infants' focus from physical objects and the concrete spaces and orient them to share an intellectual and abstract space. The analysis of the data provided important evidence that imaginary situations got infants' attention (i.e. one after the other, the infants joined the group activity), stimulated infants to create shared meanings and understandings (i.e. *"night- night"* means that the possum has to go to sleep) over three weeks while the *CPW* was implemented, and enabled infants to transfer the content of an imaginary situation (i.e. imitating possum sounds) into diverse activity settings (i.e. reading the story, playing with a blanket, going on an adventure searching for footprints). The infants and the teachers participated in the group activity sharing their interest, excitement, and enjoyment of the story. Alongside the teachers, the infants appeared to consistently wonder and think together about the problematic situation of the naughty possum being in the house. Their actions suggest they imagined themselves, their peers, and the teachers as possums or as going on adventures. They appeared to conceptualized the diverse spaces of a house through their actions. They explored together various concepts such as the concept of sound or the concept of the biological characteristics of the possum. They used the same practice to search for the possum and finally contributed towards the common purpose of solving the problem. Teachers consistently supported the transition of infants' thinking from physical objects and the concrete space towards intellectual and abstract spaces. Describing, talking, and wondering about the imaginary story themselves, teachers stimulated infants to follow them in conceptualising the story. This could be seen for example when Nitu asked Olin, "Olin night- night or possum night-night?" making him think about and share the idea of what an imaginary possum could be doing. Encouraging infants' communication about the story, teachers provided the infants with a common space for abstract interactions and exchanges. For example, Samantha initiated a "putting possum to sleep" game, and infants started an imaginary bedtime routine for the possum. The above findings are indicators of how sharing the intellectual and abstract space created within the *CPW* oriented the infants to a sense of collectiveness that was sustained throughout the diverse activity settings.

The overall findings gave an insight into how togetherness in group settings looks like for infants and how an orientation to the collective is developed through the implementation of a *CPW*. What is important for a deeper interpretation of the findings is to understand the way the institutional practices and demands, the infant's dominant motives, and the motivating conditions created by the teachers [18;20;21] are dialectically interrelated through the infants' participation in the *CPW*.

Infants' dominating motives to interact, explore, and play with the surrounding world [24] led their activity and oriented infants in the activity settings. The new practice of participating collectively in the experiences was introduced to the infants by the teachers. This practice comes in line with the societal demands for early participation in formal educational settings and at the same time follows the institutional practices of collective participation in activity settings. The new practice puts new demands upon the infants on two levels. On the one hand, the infants were required to develop a new kind of togetherness. On the other hand, the infants were also required to develop a motive orientation to the group activity and align with the collective. Implementing a *CPW*, the teachers created the motivating conditions that offered infants the opportunity and the support to respond to the above demands. Sharing the same imaginary situations challenged the infants to gradually deepen their interactions with the teachers as well as with their peers and experience a sense of togetherness. Being in role, the infants started thinking together around the same abstract concept, making connections with the concrete environment [9]. Through the three vignettes, it was shown that the infants' thinking moved from an actual level of engagement with the teachers and the peers to a more advanced level of shared engagement and higher forms of participating in a collective experience. Collective imagination in and across the imaginary situation created the motivating conditions for the infants' early development of togetherness and orientation to the collectiveness.

At the same time, the infant's activity created new demands between them [21] Infants not only joined the group activity settings but also contributed to the activities through their active participation as well as shaped the activities in a way that was meaningful to them and the other members of the group. For example, Olin put a new demand on Gilly, stimulating her to participate in imaginary play as a play partner. This new demand initiated by Olin was verbally and physically supported by the teachers who encouraged Gilly to join in the experience. By sharing a common imaginary scenario such as a sleepy possum as well as by sharing the same objects such as puppets and a blanket, the two infants collectively explored the way that the possum sleeps. The interactions between the two infants stimulated Gilly to join in the activity and begin her engagement with the concept. Social bonds between the infants emerged and developed. This indicative example highlighted the way the social situation of the activity setting oriented the child within the activity setting [21]. The example also suggests that it is not just the teachers who oriented the infants to a sense of collectiveness, but it was also the infants themselves.

The findings provided important evidence about the social genesis of imagination as a higher mental function [33]. It was shown that infants firstly began to imagine as part of their common experience in the *CPW* and then continued to imagine being possums as individuals. That is, imagination firstly emerged at an inter-psychological level. After that, the infants' imagination continued to develop on an intra-psychological level as part of the role each infant took in the imaginary play. The dialectical interrelation between collective imagining and individual imagining in the early years has been underscored in previous studies [8; 10]. What is new here is the understanding of how this interrelation comes to life for infants and how teachers can support the development of infants' imagination as a higher psychological function through collective activities appropriate for this age period.

6. Conclusions

This study sought to explore the early genesis and development of collectiveness in infancy in group activity settings. The findings revealed how infants entered into collectives and how early childhood teachers created the conditions and supported infants to develop a sense of togetherness and respond to the demand of collectiveness. It was found that teachers used imaginary play to introduce to the infants' environment the demand to align with the collective. What was also shown is that teachers facilitated and sustained infants' motive orientation to the collective through supporting infants' imaginary play as play partners. The use of props, the embodiment of the experience as well as the shift from physical objects and concrete spaces to a shared intellectual and abstract space appeared to be critical for the genesis and development of infants' sense of collectiveness in the group settings of the *CPW*.

Implementing a *CPW*, teachers created new educational forms and pedagogical practices to support infants. The evidence showed that these practices were meaningful for infants, promoting their participation in group activities settings during everyday educational reality. The emergence of togetherness and the orientation to early forms of collective was realised through the way the infants joined, contributed, and shaped the activity settings. Imagining together within the *CPW*, appeared to be the moving force for infants' dynamic, rich, and consistent engagement throughout the group activity setting.

The above understandings gave an insight into how infants are introduced, realised, and addressed the nature of the demands of collectiveness in the everyday educational reality. New knowledge is created about how imagining through a *CPW* can build dynamic class communities for the youngest learners in early childhood settings. The new insights about the nature and the critical role of imagination as a learning and development interface between peers and teachers open up a new area of understanding about imagination as a starting point in teaching and learning with infants in formal settings. Imagination can pave the way to more advanced activity settings for infants, providing access to abstract and symbolic conceptualisations. This is a standpoint that changes the narrative around infants' low capability on complex and advanced tasks and activities by showcasing, recognizing, and valuing infants' strengths.

The overall findings of the study add to the limited literature about infants' educational experience in early childhood settings. Reinforcing collectively-oriented pedagogical practices is critical in everyday educational reality given that collectiveness is essential for a child's learning and social activity in the educational settings. An early and efficient introduction of a sense of collec-

tiveness in infants' environment lies the foundations for active participation in educational settings and smooth transitions through the child's overall school life. These new understandings inform everyday practice and early childhood policy with a model that creates dynamic interactional challenges, opportunities, and possibilities

tailored to the needs of the very young learners, giving infants a head start when they start their school life. This is particularly important with the rise of the demand to begin early childhood education earlier in a child's life. We require new and deeper understandings of how infants learn and develop in everyday educational reality.

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Коллективное воображение: зарождение и развитие чувства коллективности в раннем возрасте

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Попадая в образовательные учреждения, маленькие дети сталкиваются с необходимостью участвовать в коллективных формах обучения. Однако в раннем возрасте чувство коллективности у детей еще очень слабо развито и находится в зачаточном состоянии. В данной работе мы исследуем, как у детей раннего возраста появляется потребность в коллективности, каким образом они эту потребность переживают и как воспитатели создают условия для формирования чувства коллективности в данном возрасте. Наш формирующий эксперимент опирался на модель «Мира понятийной игры» (Conceptual PlayWorld), групповую практику развития игры и воображения. В исследовании приняли участие тринадцать детей в возрасте от полугода до 2 лет. Для сбора и анализа цифровых данных мы использовали визуальные методы. Мы увидели, что воспитатели, находясь в роли игровых партнеров внутри воображаемой игровой ситуации, знакомят маленьких детей с необходимостью учитывать интересы группы, последовательно поддерживая и направляя мотивационную ориентацию малышей на коллектив. Самым важным в этом процессе было использование опор, практик эмбодимента и переход от физических предметов и конкретных пространств к совместному умственному, абстрактному пространству. Результаты исследования помогают по-новому взглянуть на понятие коллективного воображения и то, какую роль оно играет в развитии ориентации на коллектив в раннем возрасте, что может оказаться полезным и для переосмысления повседневных практик, и для принятия решений в сфере образования в целом.

Ключевые слова: дети раннего возраста, колективность, чувство принадлежности, воображение, игра, ранний возраст, педагогическое позиционирование.

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Playworlds as Ways of Being, A Chorus of Voices: Why are Playworlds Worth Creating?
The Playworld of Creative Research[1]

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This paper discusses the playworlds of the Playworld of Creative Research (PWCR) research group. Playworlds are created from a relatively new form of play that can be described as a combination of adult forms of creative imagination (art, science, etc.), which require extensive real life experience, and children's forms of creative imagination (play), which require the embodiment of ideas and emotions in the material world. In playworlds, adults and children (or teenagers or seniors) enter into a common fantasy that is designed to support the development of both adults and children (or teenagers or seniors). The PWCR understands playworlds and the study of playworlds as ways of being. In this paper we present unique, individual playworlds that we truly love from the perspective of researchers, artists, teachers, children, administrators, and imaginary characters, who participate in playworlds. We use a master fiction writer's words on the love of literature to frame our discussion of playworlds, focusing on truth, time, human magic, infinite possibilities, fun, and the enriching and intensifying (and so, creating) of the real in playworlds in Japan, Finland, Sweden and the US.

Keywords: imagination, creativity, emotion, cognition, being, play, early childhood education and care.

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[1] The Playworld of Creative Research (PWCR) studies playworlds through collaborative and participatory methods. The PWCR members who have co-written this paper are Kori Goldberg and Dr. Smartypants. Beth Ferholt, Robert Lecusay, and Anna Rainio are the lead co-authors; Sonja Baumer, Kiyotaka Miyazaki, and Monica Nilsson are second co-authors; all are listed in alphabetical order within these categories.

Introduction: Playworlds of the Playworld of Creative Research

Gunilla Lindqvist, a foundational scholar of Vygotsky's [31, 32, 33, 34, 35] theories of play, art and development in our collective playworld research, designed playworlds [10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22] to find a "common denominator" of play and aesthetic forms. Lindqvist [12] calls this denominator "the aesthetics of play" and we [20] have described playworlds as "an art of development". It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for scientists who are working alone, without artists, to adequately describe art or subjects that are art-adjacent. In order to describe playworlds for this special issue, we have, thus, turned to an artist, and one whose material we share (written words). We have also made use of our own sense of aesthetic appreciation; and included the words of playworld participants whose profession, existence, and/or stages of development resist the segregation of cognition and emotion.

It was L.S. Vygotsky who placed emotion at the center of this dilemma when he wrote: "Few understand why it is imperative not only to have the effect of art take shape and excite the reader or spectator but also to explain art, *and to explain it in such a way that the explanation does not kill the emotion.*" [31, p. 254]. In this paper we attempt to explain playworlds without killing the emotion by doing the following: We center ourselves not in an abstract understanding of playworlds, but in those unique, individual playworlds that we truly love. We use Salman Rushdie's words on the love of literature — "Ask Yourself Which Books You Truly Love" is the name of the essay from which we took his words — to frame our discussion of playworlds.

Salman Rushdie [27] writes: "I believe that the books and stories we fall in love with make us who we are, or, not to claim too much, the beloved tale becomes a part of the way in which we understand things and make judgments and choices in our daily lives." Several playworlds have made us who we are, and you will hear this in our descriptions and discussions of playworlds. We also present a chorus of voices, expressions of love of playworlds not only from researchers and artists, but also from teachers, children, administrators of institutions in which playworlds are created, and imaginary characters.

To use the words of Rushdie [27]: Playworlds [12] make adults and children fall, together, in love with imaginary worlds that are "full of beautiful impossibility," which "by being not true (tell) the truth, often more beautifully and memorably than stories that rel(y) on being true." Playworlds happen "right now" and they show us "ordinary magic, human magic": "ordinary people respond(ing) to the arrival in their lives of the extraordinary." There are always children and adults in our classrooms who are in the midst of responding to the extraordinary, for life is often extraordinary; and, as well, the particular task of playworlds, the creating of an imaginary world for and with *all* participants and participants of *all* ages, is itself extraordi-nary (or we would have more examples of such practices). Furthermore, playworlds are "infinite in their possibilities," and they are "fun." Playworlds "add() dimensions to the real," "fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh dimensions to the usual three," and they are "a way of enriching and intensifying our experience of the real."

We will focus on six topics that emerged from our data, as we used Rushdie's words, above, to guide our analysis: truth, time, human magic, infinite possibilities, fun, and the enriching and intensifying — thus, creating — of the real, in playworlds. We will look to the common theoretical foundation of our collective's playworlds in Vygotksy's theories of play, art, imagination and creativity; and we will hear from playworld participants; concerning these six topics. We will start with a brief and concrete history of our collective's playworlds. However, it is first necessary to reiterate that playworlds are not instructional methods or techniques. Playworlds are multivocal, researcher-participant, collaborative acts of creation, and it is this that this paper both describes and explores, and, in the process, partially exemplifies.

A Brief history of the Playworld of Creative Research and our playworlds

Playworlds are created from a relatively new form of play that can be described as a combination of adult forms of creative imagination (art, science, etc.), which require extensive real life experience, and children's forms of creative imagination (play), which require the embodiment of ideas and emotions in the material world (Vygtosky's "pivot" [32]) [4, 22]. In playworlds, adults and children (or teenagers or seniors) enter into a common fantasy. Playworlds are designed to support the development of both adults and children (or teenagers or seniors).

Our collective is named the Playworld of Creative Research (PWCR) and we are a subgroup within the International Playworld Network (IPWN) (see Chapter 14 in The Story of LCHC: A Polyphonic Autobiography [29]). Our PWCR is defined by our understanding of playworlds and the study of playworlds as ways of being. The IPWNW is a group of playworld scholars who have been collaborating in their playworld research, through joint publications, playworld conferences, and international playworld research projects, since 2003.

In 2003, there was a coincidental convergence of researchers at the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition (LCHC) (see [29]) at the University of California, San Diego, who had been studying Fifth Dimensions (5thDs) [3] and who were also particularly interested in play, art, and the creativity of young children as culture producers. LCHC playworlds evolved directly from a series of student and scholar exchanges with Pentti Hakkarainen's laboratory in Finland, Silmu (for a connection between 5thDs and Silmu's Narrative

Learning see [8]), at the University of Oulu, which included playworld projects with Milda Bredikyte; and it was through Silmu that we all became intrigued (re-intrigued in our Swedish colleague's case) by the work of Lindqvist: the designer of the first playworlds in Sweden and the scholar who coined the term "playworlds" in her studies of her "creative pedagogy of play" [12, p. 72].

It was out of the LCHC playworlds that the IPWNW developed and expanded from our original LCHC playworld participants to include collaborative writing and discussions with Ana Marjanovic-Shane [19], Hiroaki Ishiguro [9], Ryoko Watanabe [36], and others. This network includes a variety of playworlds, many of which are derived from Lindqvist's work. But the IPWNW also includes many playworlds that, while they can trace a key portion of their theoretical history back to Vygotsky's work, have been inspired by Lindqvist's work only after they joined the network; playworlds that are primarily inspired by local, and also other foreign, theory and practice. Our topics of study and methods are even more varied than our influences.

The Common theoretical basis of PWCR playworlds

We place emotion at the center of our efforts to describe playworlds because we are striving to avoid shunting emotion to the side and missing its role in playworlds and descriptions of playworlds, or giving attention to topics such as art, fun and imagination, without due emphasis on cognition. Cognition and emotion are still, often, separated in the social scientific study of development and learning. Vygotsky called this separation "a major weakness of traditional psychology" and explained that this separation "makes the thought process appear as an autonomous flow of 'thoughts thinking themselves,' segregated from the fullness of life, from the personal needs and interests, the inclinations and impulses, of the thinker" [33, p. 10]. Yet, we accept this segregation in part because we do not have adequate means of observing, and then capturing for study, complex dynamic relations between such key psychological processes as cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity [4]. (Elsewhere we argue that playworlds can also help us to solve this methodological problem [5].) One unacceptable result of this acceptance is that we cannot adequately understand phenomenon such as the "art of development" or "aesthetics of play" that is playworlds.

Desegregation of emotion and cognition are, interestingly, at the center of Vygotsky's theory in support of playworlds [12, 22], as well as being central to our project of describing playworlds [4]. Vygotsky argues [35] that imagination is an essential aspect of all thought, and that: "It is this ability to combine elements to produce a structure, to combine the old in new ways, that is the basis of creativity" [35, p. 7]. And Vygotsky [35] describes four ways that imagination is associated with reality, including the following: emotions, which are a part of reality in that they are real and we experience them as real even if they don't correspond to the rest of reality as expected, influence imagination, and imagination influences emotions;

impressions that produce similar emotional effects have a tendency to cluster together in our imagination; and imagination can satisfy emotional needs, such that both imagination and realistic thinking are connected to emotions.

Methods

Research question

This special issue concerns effective educational practices but, as should be clear by now, it is difficult to know how to determine if playworlds are or are not effective, or even to decide how to respond when we ask ourselves: "Effective concerning what?" We can, as with literature or other art forms, often compare one playworld to another and judge one to be better or worse than another, and we can say why this is so. However, we have found it impossible to choose a finite number of criteria by which we might judge if playworlds are or are not effective, and many of the criteria that do come to mind cannot be effectively or ineffectively addressed.

In one paper [2] we did, in fact, demonstrate that participation in a playworld improves children's narrative and literacy skills. We could possibly show that playworlds are particularly effective according to this criteria and do suspect that this is the case. But we have not conducted the studies that would show this. We have also shown that playworlds can create room in classrooms for children's agency to enact and develop "effectively" [24; 25]. However, what is effective is relative to what the aims and challenges are, that the local, particular playworld aims to meet.

The research challenge that this study set out to meet, is to describe and explore playworlds without keeping emotion and thought separated from one another. We did this by asking to the participants of the playworlds to describe their ways of being in the playworlds as the participants and the creators of the playworlds: how they live in the playworlds; how they act in the playworlds; how they feel in the playwords. In these unique and concrete experiences of living, acting and feeling, emotion and cognition are two aspects of the same experience, unified and not segregated from each other, as Vygotsky noted. We turned to researchers and participants in several playworlds, which took place in several different manners and countries, and with several different populations to create a multivocal, researcher-participant, collaborative study, as a reflection of our topic of study. We asked them one question: "*Why do you think playworlds are worth creating*?" We asked this question because we wanted to know participants' "personal needs and interests, the inclinations and impulses," all of which are the nuclei of our ways of being.

Participants

The participants in this study are 36 researchers and participants in 38 playworld that have been created between 2002 and 2021. They include researchers, artists, teachers, children, administrators of institutions in which playworlds are created, as well as the imaginary characters that came into being through these playworld activities. The playworlds in which these participants have been active took place in early childhood public el-

ementary school classrooms in California [4] and in New York City [6] in the US; in preschools in Stockholm and Jönköping, Sweden [23]; in elementary schools [24, 25] and a foster care program for adolescents [26] in Helsinki, Finland; and in a center for elderly care for residents with dementia [36], and a preschool [21, 28], in Japan.

Data

We asked the participants to express _why they think playworlds are worth creating_. We left it to each of the primary authors to contact the participants with whom they themselves had worked most closely, so that translation would not be an issue and technical questions could be answered in the context of shared experiences in playworlds. Of the 48 participants we contacted, via email and by phone, simply asking each participant to respond in any way they liked to the above prompt, 36 responded. Not all of the responses appear in the results section, below, due to space constraints, but all were included in the analysis.

Method of Analysis

Again, in order to describe and explore playworlds without keeping emotion and thought separated from one another, we employed a multivocal, researcher-participant, collaborative and creative method of analysis: a form of abductive analysis [30]. This particular method is still in the process of being developed and this study constitutes one of the early stages of this process (see also [5]). We organized and repeatedly reorganized our participants' contributions, and the afore mentioned most salient and most often repeated six topics emerged: truth, time, human magic, infinite possibilities, fun, and the enriching and intensifying — thus, creating — of the real. We created "a chorus of voices," which we present in the following section of the paper as both our results and discussion of our results, and this chorus itself both brought shape to and was shaped by our guiding topics (as a vocal chorus is shaped by and brings shapes to the notes on the sheet music).

Results and Discussion: A Chorus of voices, expressions of love of playworlds

Many of the following statements address more than one of our topics, so we have organized the statements not by topic but by tone. We have organized these statements to make the reading of these many disparate voices, coming as they do from diverse professions, stages of life, cultures, and even planes of existence (real and imaginary), harmonious even as their juxtaposition offers up fruitful contradictions. (Please note that some of these statements are transcribed, so should be read as speech, and we have resisted grammatical corrections when the phrasing is poetic.)

Kiyo (researcher in Japan, working with playworlds since 2002)
"I will answer the question of why playworlds are important for the peoples' way of being.

In short, playworlds are important because the participants, both children and adults, can be the intellectual producers of the worlds.

My view depends on my nearly 20 years of experience of the playworlds research project in one Japanese kindergarten, whose unique characteristic is that its curriculum has two pillars: Art activities and imaginative play activities. Children experience the production of the world not only in the art activities in the form of the art product creation but also in the imaginative play. Imaginative play is not just the experience of pretense nor the performing of some ready-made narrative. It is the experience of producing the imaginative world.

For children to go beyond the stereotypical imagination into the new imaginative world, the teacher's support is necessary to extend children's imagination. It is not the support from outside nor from above. The teacher should commit to the imaginative world authentically and enjoy it her/himself so that she/he can find out some new potential for the development of the new world in children's productive activities. The teacher should be, in the project, as a being with children, sharing and co-producing the world."

Michael (teacher and administrator in the US, working with playworlds since 2004)
"And you know I remember that day. I don't know, I got a good feeling. Like this is going to be a cool thing. And in hindsight, in _hindsight_, it's one of the coolest things. I mean not just at school, obviously at school. But it's one of the coolest things I've ever been around and done.

But, yeah, so my favorite moment, and, and that's probably gonna be the memory I have, like that moment I have of Beth (a playworld researcher) coming in. Because that signified the beginning of something really special happening in this classroom. And special in my life.

... I'd do it again a million times. Out of a million ... I can't wait to start again next year."

Doug (teacher in the US, working with playworlds since 2017)
"As an NYC public school teacher I am often hamstrung, challenged, indeed overwhelmed by the problem of "space." And this confoundedness relates to so many definitions of the word—elbow to elbow in classrooms populated with inhumane class sizes even with our youngest children, boxed in by curriculums designed, marketed, and declared every five years as inviolable blueprints for success by corporatist non-educators, walled into inadequate physical spaces with asbestos-filled walls, jaundiced fluorescent light, and stress-inducing acoustics, and pressed into school days and schedules that, if unchecked, march from activity to activity with little understanding of what children need and how they grow and learn. How do we limit the concept of "space" for young children, let me count the ways...

Well, there are also rebellions afoot and I count myself as one of the conspirators in this fight. And one of my tools in this rebellion, and a most powerful one, are playworlds. Against these inhibiting forces, playworlds create another space, one that is near limitless. It is a protected space that is carved into contexts, described above, where one thought it impossible. The rules and language of this space are child-driven, child-imagined, wholly child-owned. It is defined by stories, often beginning with a shared text,

then fueled by the children's imagination, they metamorphosize and expand. Suddenly, one finds that the walls of the classroom have evaporated, we've blown the roof off the place and off we go... to create, to play ourselves into new worlds. And while children are the drivers of this process, their adult teachers are collaborators. This creates the added element, and a persuasive and impactful one, that adults engage in play too and that school, too often a prescribed, hemmed in, rote context, is anything but. And for the curriculum-minded, those who need to know that skills are accruing, the story here is equally persuasive. Playworlds achieve the kind of data that the data-driven don't likely understand, but can't dispute."

Anna-Karin (teacher in Sweden, working with playworlds since 2013)

"Every day I meet play, someone asks should we play. I think that play can take place in so many different ways.

At breakfast one morning I am asked if we can play Butterbean's café. Okay, we can, I answer (now during Corona times, we adults hand out the food). I am assigned a role, Poppy, I do not know at all what character it is but get help from the children and can then add my own experiences of what it is like to work in a café. We get a fun and playful start to the day. Popular culture is often the beginning of play, children choose roles that are negotiated and environments are built. The game changes, the addition of props, characters disappear and new ones are added. Play must take place and be present in all rooms. A child said to me "we have to move" when I thought we could stay in the same spot outside and continue with the play building we had started. It was an exciting move, we ended up in shops, a swimming pool and a playground, many experiences were tried here and I got to share mine.

New, old, the visible and the invisible are bound together and just as quickly it can be dissolved...

We meet many children and we educators need to have many ways to meet the children in order to be responsive and curious and see exactly what that child needs to feel meaningful and happy in being just themselves. I meet children who are completely inside different play worlds. I have noticed that here too the characters play a big role. We usually sit down together with a paper folded in several parts and in each box they draw and tell about these characters. More children become curious and the drawing continues. And we get to take part in each other's stories. Play, read, listen, write, draw, paint, listen and talk to each other. Laugh and joke, jump and dance. Dare to challenge and be challenged. Let creativity take place and give it space."

Kati (teacher in Finland, working with playworlds since 2001)

"The effectiveness of playworlds is based on the world of fairy tales and the "magic" of the stories. When the story is meaningful for the children, the fairytale world as a frame of reference is the best learning environment. This is the starting point from which the teacher then plans and modifies the contents and different topics and problem-solving tasks in relation to the needs of the individuals / group at hand. Playworlds is motivating, interesting and engaging for children. The children learn by adventure and enjoy every moment. The motivation of the shared play creates motivation for learning. The adult gets deep into the world of children by implementing children's ideas and innovations in play and by playing alongside and with them. Children get to solve puzzles and learn together in a safe peer group in a way that makes sense to them. The fairy tale attracts the children and exciting events are of continuous interest. The intensity for the adult arises from never knowing what will happen next. Children take the story forward and the adult needs to be able to improvise and also guide the evolving situations from within the plot. The adult creates tensions and puzzles through her fictive role to make room for children's thinking skills and joint processing. And the pedagogical documentation of all this makes it visible. In a nutshell, (this is) my opinion on the matter."

Jason (visual artist and puppeteer in the US, working with playworlds since 2018)

"Playworlds are important because they are fueled by magic and imagination. In these kinds of worlds there are endless possibilities and exploratory potentials. It's one of the few places where serious and silly can coexist in equal and boundless ways."

Luciano (puppeteer in the US, working with playworlds since 2018)

"When the pandemic hit, Mr. Lu was working in three schools in Queens, one of the communities that has thus far suffered the greatest loss of life from the virus: Hope had plummeted. Mr. Lu understood that the key to create hope and keep moving forward was for people to inspire each other. So one night, his puppet, Tony the Monkey, watched a video of another puppet, Dr. Smartypants, creating a puppet, and this inspired Tony to make his own puppet. The video of Tony watching Dr. Smartypants and becoming inspired soon created a puppet-within-puppet universe that had a life of its own, and shaped the course the puppet playworlds work in New York City."

"This puppet it's me, but it is not me". And that's the reason we the puppeteers don't fear "wrong answers". The sensation of being in a safe place also opens a door to let our feelings come out and be explored... well, not our feelings, but the puppets' feelings, and so in turn, it's also our feelings... and this was incredibly helpful for children, families and educators during the pandemic, when emotions were high and finding outlets for those emotions was difficult. Now that we've created this puppet and play world, it will always be there for all of us to reconnect to."

Anna (administrator in the US, working with playworlds since 2013)

"With sadness in my heart, I visited Kori's Zoom classroom, knowing that screen school was not something I could or would value. Suffice it to say, I was surprised when I discovered children engaging not only with their teachers, each of them in a square digital box, but also with the puppets that Gaby and Kori were holding. I observed puppets, teachers and children deeply engaged in talk... Leo (a child), told Roscoe that he was not a real puppet ... ."

Robert (researcher in the US and Sweden, working with playworlds since 2004)

"There are many questions, issues, and concerns, related to the education and care of children and adults of all ages, that I have seen playworlds address in ways that have enriched the lives of its participants. Of these I think that playworlds are especially suited for creating spaces and activities that are welcoming and inclusive. They do this, I think, because they are designed to occasion a kind of sustained and engaged negotiation among participants about their shared play activities (or better said, about coming to consensus about the sharedness of their play activities). This engagement and negotiation, because it is in and about play, can be quite open and welcoming of different ways of understanding and communicating the world. It is a form of activity that creates community, that creates culture, and in this sense it fits the description of inclusive education as oriented to the creation of community [7]."

Ryoko (researcher in Finland and Japan, working with playworlds since 2006)

"Playworlds are important for the people's way of being because people can encounter each other as equals, listen and respond to their (possible) voices and hopes, and explore the meanings in their lives with the joint creation of imaginative and meaningful worlds for them. In my research, I had the chances to observe playworld-like moments with Kawaguchi, an experienced occupational therapist, in the Japanese nursing home for the elderly for several years. He improvisationally created many dramatic roles and "scenes" (in his words) with the elderly people with dementia to produce "the everyday life spaces" based on their past experiences, to communicate with them in a lively way, as familiar (not hierarchically organized — Kawaguchi assigned the roles/ characters which were familiar to the elderly people —) characters with equal rights, free from the therapist-client relationship, and to make their lives in the nursing home more meaningful. He didn't use ready-made narratives and their interactions as play often lasted for a very short time, but their playworlds in the nursing home demonstrate how playing in imaginative worlds is important and basic for our life and lifelong development with others."

Sonja (researcher in the US, working with playworlds since 2003)

"Playworlds are highly engaging and immersive creative spaces where children and adults can express themselves and interact with others in an authentic, compassionate and respectful manner across boundaries of age, gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, ability, etc."

Monica (researcher in Sweden and the US, working with playworlds since 1980's)

"First of all I think that play is a major "language" of the child and thus the way the child enters into the cultural world and takes it on, understands it and makes sense of it. Play is the significant way of making meaning in the world but also shaping it. This gives the child a sense of freedom which is one of the important things with play and which is fundamental for the child's future life. Secondly, I think that in play strong and beautiful emotions/ feelings emerges and that is something that one wants be embraced by and immersed into. Moreover, playworlds is a way for children and adults to meet and interact in the magic of play — to envision, listen to and explore each other and thus get closer to one another and one another's worlds. Respect, inclusion and love emerge within these encounters/meetings. In order to understand how important it is for children to play, by participating and creating challenging play environments inspired by art and science, adults make it possible for all children to become active co-creators of possible and desirable worlds."

Mary Ann (teacher in the US, working with playworlds since 2017)

"The most incredible thing happened this year, that saved me and my students during the pandemic, and it was the puppets. The puppets brought joy into all of our lives. The puppets helped us forget the pandemic. In remote learning we entered in a magical space full of joy, laughter and wondering. We sang with the puppets, had conversations with our puppets, read stories, and we became story tellers. Now the challenge is, how to share it with others, and how to bring the puppets into schools. We have a lot of work to do, because we need to spread the joy to others who might need even more. I have used the puppets for singing songs, and having share time and conversations together, puppet theater on Thursday for fairy tales, intro. to Mo Willem (an author), ... discussing issues during Black and women history months, and even to teach letters. However, the most important thing is to interact with the puppets: *this was our basket of joy*."

This is a photo of a playworld

This is a painting by a child participant of a playworld

Please view this video by Mr. Lu and Tony the Monkey: https://youtu.be/k9Jwk4zASzI

Conclusion

When we realize in praxis the radical power of Vygtosky's call to desegregate emotion and cognition, and so appreciate his understanding that imagination and reality cocreate the creative cycle of consciousness, and so human life, then we can study and so / also create, enter and exit playworlds "right now." In this process, as the chorus of playworld participant voices above has shown and as Rushdie's words remind us, we create, together, "ordinary magic, human magic": "ordinary people respond(ing) to the arrival in their lives of the extraordinary." Such ways of being are "infinite in their possibilities," and also "fun." Thus, they are ways of being that "add() dimensions to the real," "enriching and intensifying our experience of the real." We always need such ways of being, but we certainly need them now, when the real is global illness and mourning, and when we need all of our magic to meet the several, simultaneous existential threats to humanity.

One possible future research topic, which this study points to, is further study of playworlds as a way of being. Another is the development of the "chorus of voices" method. We have, here, identified a need for and experimented with this method, as we developed this method to meet this need, but there is clearly much more work to be done if we are to desegregate emotion and cognition in the study of art and play. Avoiding pitfalls that others have fallen into is but a first step in a longer process. We will, now, let an artist have the last word, as promised:

"We know, when we hear these tales, that even though they are "unreal," because carpets do not fly and witches in gingerbread houses do not exist, they are also "real," because they are about real things: love, hatred, fear, power, bravery, cowardice, death. They simply arrive at the real by a different route. They are so, even though we know that they are not so. The truth is not arrived at by purely mimetic means. An image can be captured by a camera or by a paintbrush. A painting of a starry night is no less truthful than a photograph of one; arguably, if the painter is Van Gogh, it's far more truthful, even though far less "realistic."" [27]

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Игровые миры как способы бытия, созвучие голосов: почему так важно их создавать?
Игровой мир творческого исследования (The Playworld of Creative Research)[1]

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В статье обсуждаются игровые миры исследовательской группы Playworld of Creative Research (PWCR). Игровые миры конструируются на основе относительно новой формы игры, которую можно

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[1] Игровой мир творческого исследования (Playworld of Creative Research, PWCR) это коллектив, который изучает игровые миры через практики совместного участия. Соавтором данной статьи является Кори Годберг, член PWCR member. Основные авторы статьи — Роберт Лекусай, Анна Раинио и Бет Ферхолт; Соня Баумер, Кийотака Миядзаки и Моника Нильссон выступили младшими соавторами. Все фамилии в этих группах перечислены в алфавитном порядке.

охарактеризовать как сочетание взрослых форм творческого воображения (искусства, науки и т. д.), требующих обширного жизненного опыта, и детских форм творческого воображения (игры), предполагающих телесное проживание (embodiment) идей и эмоций в материальном мире. В игровых мирах взрослые и дети/подростки/люди старшего возраста оказываются в едином фантазийном пространстве, спроектированном для их совместного развития. С точки зрения PWCR, игровые миры и их изучение — это способы бытия. В данной статье мы описываем уникальные, ни на что не похожие игровые миры, которые мы искренне любим, с позиций исследователей, художников, учителей, детей, администраторов, а также выдуманных персонажей, участвующих в игровых мирах. Опираясь на слова великого писателя о любви к литературе, мы строим обсуждение игровых миров вокруг истины, времени, человеческого волшебства, бесконечных возможностей, веселья, а также рассуждаем об обогащении и укреплении (а значит, и о сотворении) реального в игровых мирах в Японии, Финляндии, Швеции и Соединенных Штатах.

Ключевые слова: воображение, творчество, эмоции, сознание, бытие, игра, дошкольное образование.

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Priming Future Cultural Identities in Self-Defining Future Projections: Findings of a Pilot Online Cross-Sectional Study

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A pilot cross-sectional online study attempts to clarify the role of implicit sociocultural attitudes in future thinking and tests a hypothesis that the implicit activation of Individualism / Collectivism concepts changes the content and other characteristics of self-relevant images of the future — self-defining future projections (SDFPs). The study performed in 2019-2020 involved 191 people, mean age — M = 36.9 (SD = 10.4) years. Group 1 underwent Individualism priming: 108 people (11.2% of males), mean age — M = 37.6 (SD = 1.04) years. Group 2 underwent Collectivism priming: 83 people (22.9% of males), age — M = 36 years (SD = 1.13). No significant sociodemographic between-group differences were found (p<0.05). Two versions of the online survey (one with an Individualism priming task and another with a Collectivism priming task) were randomly sent to students and teachers of Russian higher education institutions. After completing the priming task, the respondents constructed SDFPs in line with the definition provided and evaluated their quality. Experts rated SDFP thematic content, integration of meaning and specificity in accordance with valid coding procedures. Collectivism / Individualism levels were assessed using the INDCOL test. The priming procedure had a small significant effect on SDFP thematic content, interpersonal orientation, and specificity. It was more prominent in the Collectivism priming, although expected correlations between the Individualism and feelings of the Autonomy and Competence need satisfaction in SDFPs were also found. Collectivism seemed to strengthen future thinking overgenerality and to hinder the capacity to reflect on one's own future. On the contrary, Individualism involves taking personal responsibility, but it seemed to enhance the need for Relatedness and social support (a protective factor in depressive conditions) in a compensatory manner. The data contributes to a further understanding of implicit influences on future thinking and suggest that it is the balance of the Collectivism and Individualism values that is crucial for mental health.

Keywords: priming, future thinking, Individualism, Collectivism.

Introduction

According to the Self-Memory System (SMS), an influential model of autobiographical memory [15], the human ability to remember one's personal past (autobiographical memory) and to imagine one's personal future (future thinking) are supported by the same knowledge structures: (1) abstract representations of the self in the past, present and future (conceptual self); (2) conceptual knowledge about one's past or anticipated lifetime periods (autobiographical knowledge base); and (3) episodic details for constructing specific mental images of the past and the future.

Some of these images — "self-defining memories" (SDMs) [29; 30] and "self-defining future projections" (SDFPs) [16] — have deeper links with the conceptual self and may be more significant to one's identity. SDFPs are future counterparts of SDMs, i.e. "mental representations of plausible and highly significant future events that provide with core information for one's understanding of self..." [16, P. 111]. Both SDMs and SDFPs evoke a strong sense of personal continuity over time [15]. Mental simulation of specific images and linking them to the conceptual self (i.e. meaning making, reflection) help to enable people's sense of identity and are crucial for psychological well-being [29].

This process is largely dependent on a person's sociocultural situation, i.e. the autobiographical narrative context (e.g. independence v interdependence; individualist versus relatedness orientation, etc.) and parental reminiscing/communication style [2; 18; 39]. Representatives of collectivistic ("Eastern") versus individualistic ("Western") cultures have differences in autobiographical memory and future thinking specificity, emotionality, autonomous orientation, and self-centeredness [39; 40]. Chinese and Australian participants had significant differences in content but not emotional valence and specificity of the past and future events [12]. Chinese participants anticipated more interpersonal relationship and career-related events whereas Australians imagined more achievement-related and life-threatening events [12]. This result is consistent with research on individualistic/collectivistic cultural bias in autobiographical remembering [39]. However another study in the US and Danish student samples [27] found no content-related cultural differences for the future events. Several studies revealed that European Americans provided more specific future events than Chinese participants [40].

Implicit cultural and/or individual attitudes may change the content and characteristics of self-relevant past and future events through priming, an effect of implicit memory [38]. For example, coherence of re-

trieved SDMs about a romantic relationship depended strongly on whether attachment security or insecurity had been primed [32]. Priming of autobiographical memories from a certain time period (elementary school years; adolescence, and prominent news events from a specific time period) increased the number of memories from these time periods [22]. Reminiscing about certain past periods also facilitated generation of involuntary autobiographical memories from these periods in subsequent days [11].

Although several works [19] highlighted the effect of implicit processes on future thinking, there are still few studies that focused on it. In one of them [33], researchers asked participants who had been primed to think about social or academic experiences to describe a personal life event that might plausibly occur to them during the following week. The primed participants generated corresponding events significantly more frequently than controls. Nevertheless, to our knowledge, the issue of cultural identity priming effect on the future thinking content and phenomenological characteristics has not been addressed in the existing literature. At the same time, investigating the implicit cultural influences on the self-relevant mental images of the future (SDFPs) is of a special interest. It may be important not only in terms of individual mental health, but also from the perspective of understanding the whole cultural group's functioning and evolution.

Therefore, **the study objective** was to evaluate the effect of collectivistic/individualistic attitudes on SDFP characteristics. We **hypothesized** that implicit activation of Collectivism/Individualism would change SDFP content (theme; frequency of Collectivism/Individualism linguistic markers; specificity, and psychological need satisfaction) accordingly. Specifically, we assumed that the Collectivism priming might enhance the use of the 1st person plural pronouns (We-language); Relationship-themed, interpersonal SDFPs and feelings of Relatedness need satisfaction, and might thwart the levels of Autonomy need satisfaction and specificity of SDFPs. The Individualism priming was assumed to enhance the use of I-language; Achievement-themed and intrapersonal SDFPs; and the levels of Autonomy need satisfaction.

Methods

Research program. This pilot cross-sectional online study took place in December 2019-March 2020 and was part of a larger study of future thinking [37] carried out by the Moscow Research and Practical Centre for Narcology and approved by a local ethical committee.

Participants were Russian-speaking medical care workers, students, and teachers of psychological education programs from 25 Russian regions who provided their emails for information and research purposes. Potential respondents (N=2,500) were randomly assigned to two conditions — Group 1 (Individualism Priming) and Group 2 (Collectivism Priming) — and received corresponding links to online forms via email (see specific instructions below).

The participants who gave an informed consent to the study on the first page of the form could proceed to the Collectivism/Individualism Priming task [35]. Following this task, they generated SDFPs [16] and rated their phenomenological and psychological characteristics. Finally, they filled out the Russian version of IND-COL test [7; 36].

Participants. 213 people, most of whom resided in large cities from 0.5 to 12 mln. citizens, responded to the online form. 199 participants who reported no current substance use or mental disorder were included in the study. Eight (8) people failed to complete the SDFP task and were excluded. So, **the study sample** included 191 people; mean age — 36.9 (SD=10.4). Table 1 provides the sample characteristics by the Groups.

The Groups did not differ by age (two-tailed t-test, t (189) =1.5, p=0.1); education level (Yates χ^2 (1) = 0.000; p=0.9); relationship status (χ^2 (1) = 0.3; p=0.6) (tab. 1). Despite a statistical difference in gender distribution (χ^2(1) = 4.7; p=0.03), we chose to include all participants in the study as gender-related differences in the measures of interest were not significant (p>0.05), and previous research showed no differences in SDFP characteristics between the genders [16].

Variables and measures

Collectivism/Individualism Priming Task. The priming task was adopted from traditional priming research [35] and adjusted for use in an online study. The respondents were asked to think about what makes them different from (the Individualism Priming in Group 1), or similar to (the Collectivism Priming in Group 2), their family and other people, and to choose relevant aspects from a checklist (appearance; talent; capabilities; job; etc.).

SDFP Task. SDFPs were gathered using the SDFP task [16] translated into Russian (using the double translation method) and employed in previous studies [37]. The participants were familiarized with the SDFP definition and were asked to put down one plausible SDFP for themselves. They also had to specify the time when this event might take place (temporal distance) and rate SDFP phenomenological and psychological characteristics on the 7-point scale.

a. **Phenomenological characteristics**: valence (1 — very negative; 7- very positive); clarity & vividness (1— very unclear; 7 — very vivid and clear); centrality of event to one's identity (1 — very marginal; 7 — very central); simulation frequency (1 — never; 7 —very often).

b. **Basic psychological needs satisfaction** assessment procedure and limitations were described thoroughly in an earlier study [37]. The participants were asked to rate their agreement with three statements, with each standing for one psychological need — Autonomy, Relatedness, and Competence.

c. **Thematic content (including relational orientation), specificity and integrity of meaning** were assessed by raters according to established coding principles [30; 34]. The following themes were assessed: Life-threatening event; Achievement; Relationship; Recreation/Exploration; Shame & Guilt; Unclassified. An SDFP was rated as **interpersonal** when it mentioned other people as significant agents of activity, and as **intrapersonal** when it focused on the narrative's author as the agent of activity [25]. To ensure reliability of the rating procedure, 103 SDFP texts (54%) were assessed by two experts (an author and an independent rater, PhD, a psychotherapist experienced in psychology research). The independent rater who was blind of the groups (just like the first rater) and of the experiment's goals and hypotheses, received expert rating forms with the SDFP texts and descriptions of coding categories based on the coding manuals. The interrater agreement (Cohen's kappa) exceeded 0.61 for all the measures of interest.

d. **Lexical characteristics.** We expected the Individualism Priming to increase the frequency of "I-language" (verbs and pronouns in the 1st person singular) and the Collectivism Priming to increase the frequency of "We-language" (the 1st person plural).

Manipulation Check. The Russian version of INDCOL test [7; 36] measuring vertical and horizontal dimensions

T a b l e 1

Sociodemographic Variables

Variables		Group 1	Group 2
		N (%)	**N (%)**
Gender	Female	12 (11.2%)	19 (22.9%)
	Male	95 (88.8%)	64 (77.1%)
Education	Other	9 (8.3%)	6 (7.2%)
	Higher	99 (91.7%)	77 (92.8%)
Relationship status (romantic or marriage)	In relationship	85 (78.7%)	68 (81.9%)
	No relationship	23 (21.3%)	15 (18.1%)
Age	M(SD)	37.6 (1.04)	36 (1.13)

M — mean; SD — standard deviation

of Collectivism/Individualism was used as a manipulation check. Horisontal Individualism (HI) implies "the conception of an autonomous individual and emphasis on equality"; Vertical Individualism (VI) implies "the conception of an autonomous individual and acceptance of inequality"; Horisontal Collectivism (HC) implies "perceiving the self as a part of the collective, but seeing all members of the collective as the same"; Vertical Collectivism (VC) implies "perceiving the self as a part of the collective and accepting inequalities within the collective" [28; P. 240]. The internal reliability of the scales was satisfactory with Cronbach's alphas for each scale equalling or exceeding 0.7.

Statistical methods. Nonparametric methods were chosen for between-group comparisons as most distributions deviated from normal or had other limitations for the use of parametric methods. Descriptive statistics is presented as median (Mdn) values and Quartiles (Q) 1 and 3 − Mdn [Q1-Q3]. Mean values (M) and standard deviations (SD) are provided for informative purposes and in case of the two-tailed t-test comparisons. The levels of SDFP quantitative measures and INDCOL levels were compared using Mann-Whitney U-Test; nominal (categorical) data were compared using Chi square (χ^2); Yates' Chi square, and Fisher exact test as appropriate. Correlational analysis relied on Spearman's rank correlation coefficient. Regression analyses included univariate binomial and linear regression as appropriate. In case of multiple calculations, the significance level (p<0.05) was corrected accordingly.

Results

24.08% (N=46) of SDFPs looked like captions rather than fully-fledged SDFP texts. They consisted of 2 to 7 words and usually had nominative or impersonal syntactic structure (containing either subject or predicate alone). These SDFPs were meaningful and denoted important events in people's future life (e.g. *PhD thesis defence; terminal illness; mother's death*) but most often they had neither actors nor sufficient detail that could help to imagine an episodic event rather than an abstract one. After correction for these SDFPs, the results for the whole sample changed little, therefore we present the findings for the whole sample in this paper.

Manipulation check. There was a statistically significant increase in HC (p=0.048) in Group 2 (tab. 2).

Self-Defining Future Projection Task. The Groups had no differences as to phenomenological and psychological characteristics of SDFPs (Fig. 1) as well as in the SDFP temporal distance: 24 months [6−60] in Group 1 and 19 months [6−36] in Group 2 (p<0.05). The frequency of "I-language" (2 words [0−4.7] in Group 1 *versus* 1 word [0−3] in Group 2) and "We-language" (0 words [0−0] in both groups) was also similar.

There were some between-group differences in the content-related SDFP characteristics (tab. 3).

The overall distribution of various theme categories did not differ significantly between the groups

Table 2

Intergroup Differences in Priming-related Variables

Variables	Group 1		Group 2		Mann-Whitney. U-Test
	Mdn	Q1; Q3	Mdn	Q1; Q3	
Horisontal Individualism	45.5	41—49.8	44	40—47	3916.5
Vertical Individualism	33	28—37	33	27—37	4442.5
Horisontal Collectivism	37	31—41	39	34—43	3733.5*
Vertical Collectivism	28	21—33	29	23—35	3898.5

* The difference is significant at p<0.05

FIG.1. SDFP PHENOMENOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS
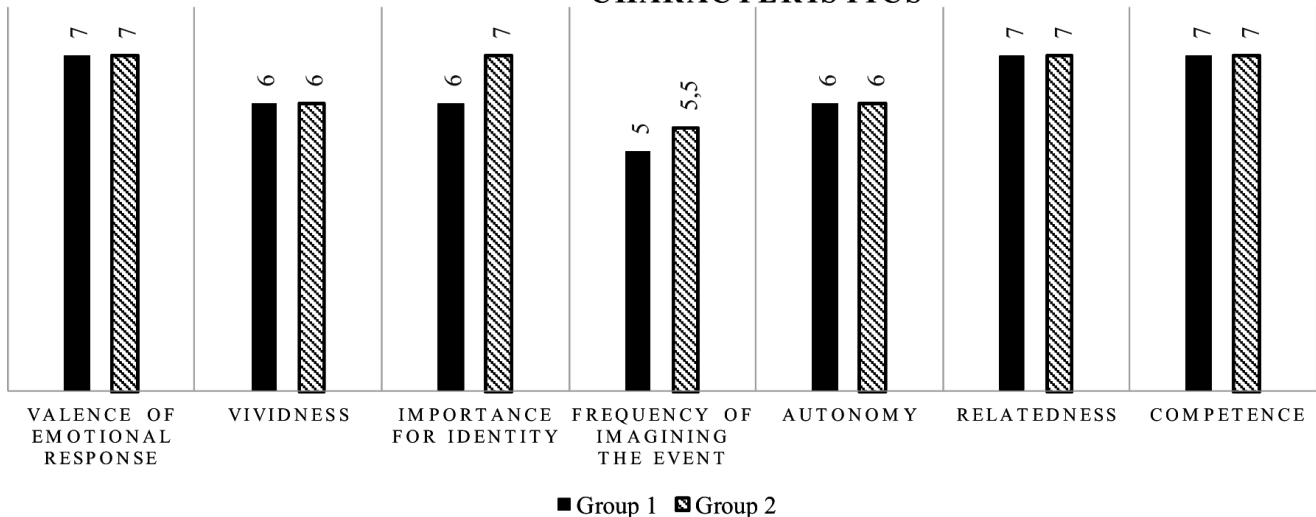
■ Group 1   ⊠ Group 2

($\chi^2(5) = 5.3$; p=0.38) (tab. 3). Achievement was the most frequent event in both groups. Group 2 generated more SDFPs about relationship (21.7 % v 10.2% in Group 1) although this difference failed to be significant after correction for multiple comparisons. Nevertheless, Group 2 provided more interpersonal narratives and fewer intrapersonal narratives than Group 1 (tab. 3) in line with our hypothesis.

Correlations

To assess whether changes in the SDFPs characteristics related to the priming procedure, we carried out a correlational analysis. Table 4 illustrates its findings.

As Table 4 shows, in Group 1, which received the Individualism Priming, an increase in VI and HI levels was associated with an increase in perceived satisfaction of Autonomy and Competence needs, which was not observed in Group 2, which received the Collectivism Priming. At the same time, in Group 1, there was also a statistically significant relationship between Relatedness and HC, which our hypotheses did not imply. The Individualism Priming also resulted in an increased frequency of "I-language".

In Group 2, there were significant correlations indicating a possible relationship between the collectivistic orientation and future thinking overgenerality: an increase in HC and VC levels was accompanied by an increase in overgenerality of future images, while the temporal distance decreased.

Regression analysis

To evaluate priming effects on the content of resulting SDFPs, we have carried out univariate regression analysis within the whole sample using linear and binomial regression where appropriate.

The models included HI, VI, HC, VC as predictors and SDFP-variables as dependent variables. Temporal distance, psychological need levels and lexical variables were tested using linear regression models. Thematic content variables (for the themes whose frequency exceeded 5%); relational orientation; specificity and integration of meaning were tested using binomial regression.

We found small but statistically significant effects only for the Collectivism variables: HC and specificity, and VC and integration of meaning (tab. 5).

Table 3

Thematic content of SDFPs

Variables		Group 1		Group 2		p=*
		N	%	N	%	
Thematic content	Life-threatening event	4	3.7	2	2.4	.7 (b)
	Recreation/Exploration	12	11.1	10	12	.84 (a)
	Relationship	11	10.2	18	21.7	.046 (a)
	Achievement	72	66.7	49	59	.28(a)
	Shame/Guilt	1	.9	1	1.2	1 (b)
	Unclassified	8	7.4	4	4.8	.6 (b)
Relational orientation	Intrapersonal	69	65.7	36	45.6	.006 (a)
	Interpersonal	36	34.3	43	54.4	
Specific narrative		23	21.3	11	13.3	.15 (a)
Integration of meaning		50	46.3	30	36.1	.16

* See the index in brackets for the test used: (a) Chi square; (b) Fisher exact test

Table 4

Correlations between priming-related variables and SDFP characteristics by Groups

Group 1	1 Horisontal Individualism	2 Vertical individualism	3 Horisontal collectivism	4 Vertical collectivism
Autonomy	**.22***	-.03	-.07	**-.2***
Relatedness	.17	-.08	**.37****	.01
Competence	.24*	-.03	-.06	**-.24***
I-language	**.2***	-.04	.01	-.16
Group 2	1	2	3	4
Overgenerality	.07	.03	**.27***	**.26***
Temporal distance (months)	-.1	.13	.04	**-.23***
Vividness	.16	**-.22***	.15	.02

*The correlation is significant at p<0.05; ** at p<0.01

T a b l e 5

Binomial regression for SDFP and Individualism/Collectivism parameters

Factor	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)
Overgenerality				
Horisontal.collectivism	.07	.03	2.7	.007
(Intercept)	*-1.06*	*.96*	*-1.1*	*.3*
Vertical.collectivism	.05	.02	1.89	.058
(Intercept)	*.32*	*0.65*	*.49*	*.62*
Integration of meaning				
Vertical.collectivism	-.04	.02	-2.03	.04
(Intercept)	*.69*	*.52*	*1.33*	*.18*

Discussion

This pilot cross-sectional online study aimed at evaluating the effect of collectivistic/individualistic attitudes on the content and phenomenological characteristics of self-relevant mental images of the future (SDFPs) and tested a hypothesis that implicit activation of collectivistic/individualistic cultural identities would change the SDFP content accordingly.

We found out that almost one fourth (24.08%) of the SDFPs consisted of 2 to 7 words and lacked episodic detail even though the participants received were directly instructed to describe a plausible self-relevant future event as specifically as they could so that a stranger could imagine it vividly. This large percentage of overgeneral descriptions may be explained by the online design of the study when people chose not to spend time on fulfilling this effort-consuming task, or some other problems with the procedure (e.g. the presence of undiagnosed and non-reported mental disorders). In our previous study in a sample of substance-dependent and healthy adults the number of these descriptive caption-like SDFPs did not exceed 16 % in a healthy subsample and 12% in a clinical subsample, although the study had an online design either [37]. So, this finding may need additional investigation. Therefore, an explanation that this surprising overgenerality might relate to the inherent characteristics of a Russian sample may not be feasible in our case. Nevertheless, after correction for these SDFPs, the findings changed insignificantly.

An additional research question that we pursued was whether the adopted priming procedure would be effective for Collectivism/Individualism priming in an online setting. The two groups were expected to show increases in the INDCOL levels of Collectivism and Individualism, correspondingly. There was indeed a statistically significant increase in Horizontal Collectivism (HC) (p=0.048) in Group 2, but all the other measures were similar between groups. Whereas overall theme distribution and the pairwise SDFP theme comparison revealed no differences between groups (p_s>0.05) (tab. 3), Group 2 tended to generate more SDFPs about relationship (21.7 % v 10.2% in Group 1) and provided significantly more interpersonal (54.4% v 34.3%) and fewer intrapersonal narratives (45.6% v 65.7%) than Group 1 (tab. 3). We also found a significant positive correlation between

"I-language" and one of the Individualism measures (Horizontal Individualism, HI). Given the differences in SDFP content and correlations between INDCOL levels, psychological need satisfaction and lexical variables, these findings provide preliminary evidence that our priming task did evoke the individualistic/collectivistic cultural identities in the participants even though this effect was not quite evident.

It is worth mentioning that the groups did not differ by age which fell within the range of 30-40 years. The whole sample median age equaled 36 years [Q1=29; Q3=44]. This Y-generation or the First Non-Soviet Generation [5] was brought up within the period of great socio-economic turbulence and high uncertainty following the end of the Soviet Union. Their social situation of development was much different from the previous generations which were more inclined towards collectivistic values [26]. Since the late 1970s, collectivistic attitudes got gradually replaced by more individualistic ones [26; 31] and got even more thwarted at the edge of the centuries [6; 20]. The studies of the Russian Y-generation have consistently shown a co-existence of both Individualist and Collectivist attitudes in their mentality [7; 8]. In line with other studies [4; 8], our sample tended to have higher levels of Horisontal Individualism (45 [Q1=40; Q3=49]) and Horisontal Collectivism (38 [Q1=33; Q3=42]) with lower levels of Vertical Individualism (33 [Q1=28; Q3=37]) and Vertical Collectivism (28 [Q1=22; Q3=35]). This ambiguity of competing cultural identities may be the reason why our priming task effects on the participants' self-relevant future thinking turned out to be less evident than we expected. This conflict or, vice versa, an attempt to integrate the competing attitudes may also explain some of the other findings presented below.

As expected, the between-group comparison failed to elicit any priming effect on most phenomenological (temporal distance; valence of emotional response; vividness; importance for identity) SDFP characteristics. However, overgenerality had interesting associations with both Collectivism variables in the Collectivism-primed group (Group 2) (tab.4). There was also a mild but statistically significant effect of the collectivistic orientation on future thinking overgenerality among all participants. The Vertical Collectivism growth in Group 2 was associated with a shortened temporal distance in SDFPs, i.e. the participants with a stronger orientation

towards the priority of collective values over personal ones might experience difficulties imagining long-term SDFPs. Lack of specific detail in vague and abstract images of the future seems to enable people with emotional disorders to overcome future-related negative affect which may arise due to cognitive distortions (negative forecasting and catastrophizing) that are typical of people with anxiety and depressive conditions [9; 24]. Several studies found the relationship between depressive symptoms and Collectivism in the Russian-speaking samples [1; 21].

On the other hand, it is argued that episodic future simulation itself seems to induce higher anxiety in subjects through facilitation of uncertainty feelings and fear of the unknown [10]. The terror-management and personal uncertainty theories [23] consistently found that uncertainty feelings lead to strengthening of one's cultural beliefs and values, and an increase in identification with cultural groups. Taking into account that our study was carried out in a presumably healthy rather than clinical sample, the association between future thinking overgenerality and the Collectivism variables in Group 2 may also be viewed as reflecting a parallel effect of overcoming uncertainty-induced anxiety through identification with a collective. It may also be noted that this effect was absent in the Individualism-primed group which may evidence an augmentative effect of Collectivism priming on overcoming future-induced uncertainty.

As depression and anxiety symptoms are strongly associated, they may play some part in mediating the Collectivism effect on future thinking, which may become a subject of future studies. These studies should include measures of positive/negative affect or depression/anxiety as manipulation checks to substantiate the hypotheses presented above.

It is also interesting that Collectivism seemed to hinder the participants' ability to make meaning of their self-relevant future events. This finding may be closely related to the identified overgenerality of the future thinking which might interfere with the meaning making process. Furthermore, collectivistic cultures are strongly associated with an indirect communication style when people tend to avoid explicit statements and guide themselves with the non-verbal context when interacting with each other [17]. Given the association between Collectivism and overgenerality, we may assume that in Vygotskian terms [2], the participants with higher Collectivism levels seemed to avoid explicating (exteriorizing) their interior speech about their future and to avoid reflecting on it.

The basic **psychological need levels** did not differ between the Groups (Fig.1), although we had expected to find priming-related differences in Relatedness and Autonomy levels. Nevertheless, we found weak but significant correlations between Individualism/Collectivism measures and feelings of psychological need satisfaction in Group 1. In line with our hypothesis, Autonomy and Competence correlated positively with HI, and negatively with VC.

We also found quite an unexpected positive association between Horizontal Collectivism and Related-ness need levels in the Individualism-Primed Group (Group 1). This finding may well be explained by the same mechanism of trying to compensate for the future-induced uncertainty and related anxiety [10]. As Group 1 enjoyed no additional augmentation of collectivistic identity through the Collectivism priming, the participants might have found a different way of coping with these aversive feelings through higher reliance on their collectivistic values, which co-existed with the individualistic ones in our sample, although they were less prominent.

A recent large-scale meta-analysis demonstrated that it was the ability to receive social support that was the main protective factor for depression [13]. Since the individualistic orientation hinders the capacity to apply for and receive social support, we may assume that within the Individualism priming condition, the participants try to unconsciously compensate for the risks of social isolation and depressive response by activating the need for Relatedness and the associated collectivistic attitudes. This kind of coping through an increase in reliance on social support is associated with higher Collectivism levels in Russian-speaking samples with comparable sociodemographic characteristics [3].

Limitations. 1) The results of this study may be extrapolated only on people with higher education, residents of large cities and interested/ working in the field of psychology. 2) For the trial convenience purposes, the design of this pilot study excluded a No-Priming group that would be an obligatory extension should this study be replicated. 3) The SDFP self-assessment included several one-item scales with limited reliability. The justification for this methodology in this kind of studies, please, see elsewhere [37]. 4) The INDCOL test was used despite the poor fit of the theoretically expected structure as found in an earlier study [7]. Nevertheless, the same authors advocated its use for research purposes, and it is widely accepted in Russia. Internal reliability of the scales was satisfactory in our study. 5) The rater agreement was found to be satisfactory but needs to be improved should the study be replicated. It could be done through inclusion of specific rater training rather than simple oral and written instruction.

Conclusions

We found some effect of cultural identity priming on the thematic content, relational orientation, and specificity of self-relevant images of the future − Self-defining future projections. The Collectivism Priming seemed to be more pronounced although there were some expected correlations between the Individualism levels and the feeling of Autonomy and Competence psychological need satisfaction. The collectivistic cultural identity seemed to increase future-thinking overgenerality, shortened temporal distance future images and hindered the reflection on their personal future in our participants as in line with the collectivistic orien-

tation responsibility for the future is handed over to society. On the one hand, this may reduce anxiety, and on the other, this may thwart self-efficacy — the most important protective factor for depressive conditions. On the contrary, the individualistic orientation implies taking responsibility for the self, but it may simultaneously increase the need for Relatedness and social support (protective factors for depressive disorders) in a compensatory manner. It is important to emphasize that all the relationships identified in this study were quite weak. Our results might contribute further to understanding of implicit influences on future thinking. Furthermore, they may also be useful for studying and overcoming of internal conflicts of the Russian Y-generation who face the ambivalence of their cultural identities. Our findings suggest that it is the balance of the Collectivism and Individualism values that is crucial for mental well-being.

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Прайминг культурных идентичностей в самоопределяющих проекциях будущего: результаты пилотного поперечного онлайн-исследования

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В пилотном поперечном онлайн-исследовании предпринимается попытка прояснить роль малоосознаваемых социокультурных установок в реализации проспективного мышления и тестируется гипотеза о том, что имплицитная активация концепций Индивидуализма / Коллективизма изменяет содержательные и другие характеристики значимых образов личного будущего — самоопределяющих проекций (СПБ). В исследование 2019—2020 гг. вошли 191 человек, средний возраст — M=36,9 лет (SD=10,4). В Группе 1 фиксировалась индивидуалистическая установка: 108 человек (11,2% мужчин), возраст — M=37,6 лет (SD=1,04). В Группе 2 — коллективистская установка: 83 человека (22,9% мужчин), возраст — M=36 лет (SD=1,13). Значимых социодемографических различий между группами не обнаружено (p<0,05). Два варианта онлайн-опросника (с заданием на прайминг Коллективизма/Индивидуализма соответственно) были случайным образом разосланы обучающимся и преподавателям российских высших образовательных учреждений. После процедуры прайминга культурных идентичностей респонденты конструировали СПБ в соответствии с приведенным определением и оценивали их характеристики. Тематическое содержание, интеграция смысла и специфичность СПБ оценивались экспертами в соответствии с валидными процедурами кодировки. Уровень Коллективизма/Индивидуализма оценивался с помощью теста INDCOL. Процедура прайминга оказывала небольшой статистически значимый эффект на тематическое содержание, межличностную ориентацию и специфичность СПБ. Особенно выраженным он был в случае прайминга Коллективизма, хотя найдены ожидаемые корреляции между уровнем Индивидуализма и чувствами удовлетворенности потребностей в автономии и компетентности. Коллективизм, по-видимому, усиливал глобализацию проспективного мышления и препятствовал рефлексии собственного будущего. Индвидуализм, напротив, предполагал принятие ответственности на себя, но при этом компенсаторно усиливал потребность во взаимосвязи и социальной поддержке как протективном факторе депрессивных состояний. Полученные данные вносят вклад в дальнейшее понимание влияния имплицитных процессов на проспективное мышление и позволяют предположить, что именно баланс ценностей Коллективизма и Индивидуализма является важной основой психического здоровья.

Ключевые слова: прайминг, проспективное мышление, Индивидуализм, Коллективизм.

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Prerequisites for Accepting the Digital Educational Environment in New Cultural and Historical Conditions

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According to cultural historical activity theory motivation, adaptability, study-related experience ("perezhivanie"), and moral codes may be considered as prerequisites for Digital educational environment (DEE) acceptance. To measure the attitudes towards DEE a Scale for Assessing University Digital Educational Environment was used (AUDEE Scale by M. Sorokova, M. Odintsova, and N. Radchikova). Academic motivation was evaluated by "Academic Motivation Scales" Questionnaire (by T. Gordeeva, O. Sychev, and E. Osin). Study-related experiences were measured by Activity-Related Experiences Assessment technique (AREA) developed by D. Leontiev and his colleagues. Moral behavior was evaluated with the help of Moral Disengagement Questionnaire (MD-24) adapted by Y. Ledovaya and her colleagues. Students' adaptability was accessed by a questionnaire developed by T. Dubovitskaya and A. Krylova. 406 students of Moscow State University of Psychology and Education took part in the investigation (90,1% female). The average age was 28,7±9,6 years (median = 24 years) varying from 19 to 72 years. The results showed that it is possible to distinguish two groups based on the results of AUDEE scale: Acceptance group and Resistance group. Acceptance group has higher scores in almost all motivation indicators, study-related experiences of pleasure and meaning, adaptability to educational activities, and lower scores in five out of seven moral disengagement strategies. Statistical analysis (classification trees) showed that motivation (both external and internal) and study-related experience are key resources for the DEE acceptance.

Keywords: digital educational environment, prerequisites for acceptance / rejection, motivation, cultural-historical conditions, «cultural capability».

Introduction

The digital revolution has opened up new opportunities for education, quickly and significantly changed it. The digital transformation of education includes the process of using digital tools. In modern cultural and historical conditions, a digital instrument is becoming a familiar cultural instrument. As L. Vygotsky and A. Luria stated: "A cultured person has nothing to strain his sight to see a distant object — he can put on glasses for this, look through binoculars or take a telescope; he does not need to listen to the distance, run as fast as he can to convey the news — he performs all these functions with the help of those instruments and means of communication and transportation that carry out his will. All artificial tools, all cultural environment serve to expand our senses, and a modern cultured person can afford the luxury of possessing them" [35, p. 156]. The luxury of possessing digital tools expands our capabilities, generates new pedagogical practices and forms a new social developmental situation. In such a way, digital technologies arise, on the one hand, as part of the historical heritage

of human activity, mediated by tools, and on the other, as powerful multifunctional intermediary means, which significantly expands human capabilities, including in the field of education.

T. Blayone states that modern information technologies, as it were, function "between" people and their environment, increasing opportunities and contributing to both interiorization (construction of individual thinking) and exteriorization (the ability of a person to restructure internalized schemes and reintroduce them into the environment in the form of ideas, artifacts, etc.) [5]. All this occurs against the background of a cultural shift (disruption of the existing balance of the cultural system), in the conditions of a transition from a stable state to an unstable one, and can contribute to both the development of culture, an increase in its creative potential, and stagnation, or even destruction [27]. What is happening in the field of education can be described as a "local cultural revolution" (according to M. Saraf [27]), which inevitably includes a set of profound qualitative changes in education, as a result of which there is a restructuring and transformation of the entire structure of education and its relationships with other areas of life.

The specificity of the new social situation of development requires a revision of views on the process of socialization and the introduction of the concept of "digital socialization" [29]. Digital socialization is understood as "the process of mastering and appropriating a person's social experience acquired in online contexts, mediated by all available digital technologies, reproducing this experience in mixed offline / online reality and forming his digital personality as part of a real personality" [29, p. 76.]. The problem of digital socialization at a new historical stage in the development of society includes a wide range of issues. These are issues of acceptance / rejection of new technologies; attitudes towards innovation; motivation to study in a digital educational environment (DEE); the quality of experience as characteristic of educational activity; moral codes (academic honesty / dishonesty) as universal components of human culture; the ability to quickly adapt to the changing conditions of digitalization. This is also the problem of satisfaction with online learning; the effectiveness of the use of information and communication technologies, their assessments and factors that determine this effectiveness.

An integrated approach that has become widespread recently [7, 20] proposes to determine the efficiency of online learning as a set of two indicators: the level of knowledge, skills, and abilities and student satisfaction with the experience of online education. Academic performance was often considered in the research, possibly due to its easy availability, while satisfaction with online education and convenience of work in a DEE were rarely examined. That is why students' attitudes towards the DEE were taken as the indicator of e-learning performance in this work. Students' attitudes towards DEE, acceptance of DEE are even more important because without acceptance and positive attitude good educational results are impossible.

In such a way, the main question of interest for scientists working in this field concerns the prerequisites and factors of DEE acceptance. According to cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) that includes L. Vygotsky's cultural historical theory and A. Leontiev's Activity Theory, one of the key prerequisites is motivation. Intrinsic motivation is essential because intention, in fact, is a verbal representation of the future action result. However, the intention represents an order to oneself ("I will do this") and marks a very important step in correct development of human motivation processes: the emergence, along with external orders, of internal ones, that is, the internalization of speech motivation [24, p. 53]. As the next step in complicating the motivational structure of human actions is mediation our motives by acts of social evaluation, extrinsic motivation is also important. External and internal motivation, correlated with the level of social culture of the individual, contribute to the mutual enrichment of all participants in the educational process. As a result, students from passive recipients of knowledge, skills and abilities become active participants in online learning.

Another important concept for CHAT is *"perezhivanie"* (experience), which is often not translated into English (e.g., [14]) and has German analogs "das Erleben", "das Erlebniss". The concept *perezhivanie* "allows us to further consider consciousness as a self-generating system that is developed as a new human quality that emerges along with ongoing social life" [14, p. 3]. *Perezhivanie* appears during human action; it involves emotions and cognition within a complex psychical network that is never defined as a result of a single external cause. The state of experience (*perezhivanie*) is similar to a state of *flow* [9] — a state of concentration or complete absorption with the current activity and the situation. It is considered that the flow state is an optimal state of intrinsic motivation, where a person is fully immersed in what they are doing. Sometimes flow experience is characterized as the optimal experience. As optimality could be understood in three different ways [18] as 1) effectiveness, i.e., the achievement of a certain result, 2) positive emotional balance, maximizing positive emotions and minimizing negative, and 3) inclusion in the sense contexts of your own life as well as the lives of other people and society in overall, connection with the past and the future, in the experience of flow all three components are united. Notice that optimal experience includes sense contexts that are close to Vygotsky's notion of senses (a dynamic system of senses that includes a motivational (affective) side, the will, the dynamics of action and the dynamics of thinking [14]). In such a way, motivation is closely related to experience (*perezhivanie*) in specific activities [19].

Another factor of acceptance / rejection of online learning is moral codes (academic honesty / dishonesty) as universal components of human culture. According to CHAT the concept of moral identity is culturally biased [16, 25]. Ethics and moral codes remain critical and universal components of human culture and have a strong imprint in language [28]. Language (labeling) plays a great role because mediators (material or symbolic) are considered intrinsic components of higher mental functions. This influence could be found in different mechanisms of moral disengagement [4]. Some studies have

shown that most violations of ethical standards occur during online examinations [22]; in a networked environment in general, as many of the characteristics of online technology increase the potential for dishonest behavior. At the same time, students in the online environment are less likely to admit that their actions were wrong [1]. However, some researchers have shown that the Internet and other digital tools are means, but not causes of academic dishonesty [33]. Other factors also contribute to the use of dishonest strategies. For example, under such social norms, where their use is considered acceptable [21]; in collectivist cultures, where there is a greater tolerance for dishonest strategies and moral attitudes towards mutual assistance are widespread [3]. In general, the cultural context plays an important role in shaping students' attitudes towards academic dishonesty: how acceptable dishonest behavior is and what is meant by morality / immorality [8].

Adaptability allows to reflect the process and results of internal changes, external active adaptation, and self-change of the individual to new conditions of existence and may be important too. Adaptability to learning in a digital educational environment presupposes an optimal combination of internal (subjective) and external (environmental) conditions. On the part of the subject of educational activity, there may be resistance to the introduction of information and communication technologies. Globally, resistance to the introduction of new technologies into culture is in fact resistance to modernity, which prevents successful adaptation to changing environmental conditions [13].

Summarizing all of the above, we note that one of the specific tasks of psychological science is to highlight the prerequisites for the acceptance of digital educational technologies in new cultural and historical conditions. Based on cultural historical activity theory, such prerequisites are motivation to learn in a digital educational environment [24]; experiencing pleasure and meaningfulness of learning activities in new conditions [19]; moral codes (academic honesty) as universal components of human culture [8] and the ability to quickly adapt to educational activities in the context of digitalization [13].

Method

Participants

406 students of Moscow State University of Psychology and Education took part in the investigation (90,1% female). All of them complete online courses on mathematical methods in psychology. The average age was 28,7±9,6 years (median = 24 years, mode = 20 years) varying from 19 to 72 years. The data was obtained in September-December of 2020 when the University worked in distance mode. The database is available at RusPsyDATA [31].

Instruments

To measure the attitudes towards the DEE a special Scale for assessing university digital educational environment was used (AUDEE Scale by M. Sorokova, M.

Odintsova, and N. Radchikova, 2021 [32]). AUDEE Scale has six subscales: "DEE Learning Process Satisfaction", "DEE Communication Satisfaction and Learning Motivation", "DEE Stress Tension", "Need for Support in the DEE Learning Activities", "DEE Dishonest Strategies Prevalence", and "DEE Accessibility" as well as the total score indicating the degree of positive attitude.

Academic motivation was evaluated by "Academic Motivation Scales" Questionnaire (by T. Gordeeva, O. Sychev, and E. Osin, 2014 [15]) based on self-determination theory describing the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of academic activity. It is assumed that different types of motivation related to needs are satisfied by the nature of the learning activity (such as needs for cognition, achievement, and personal growth) and needs external to learning (such as needs for autonomy and self-respect). The Questionnaire has seven scales, including three scales measuring types of intrinsic motivation (intrinsic cognition, achievement, and personal growth), three scales measuring extrinsic motivation (motivation for self-respect, introjected, and external regulation), and an amotivation scale.

Study-related experiences were measured by Activity-Related Experiences Assessment technique (AREA) developed by D. Leontiev and his colleagues in 2018 [18]. This technique allows to determine four different experiences one could have when studying: Effort, Pleasure, Meaning, and Void. The experience of effort tells us about the effectiveness of the activity, the experience of pleasure — about its pleasantness, and the experience of meaning — about its involvement in more broad contexts. The absence of all three components is manifested in the experience of emptiness (void), which could be described as psychic entropy, a sensation being a victim of uncontrolled processes [18, p. 57].

Moral behavior was evaluated with the help of Moral Disengagement Questionnaire (MD-24) based on A. Bandura's concept of moral disengagement and adapted by Y. Ledovaya and her colleagues in 2016 [17]. According to A. Bandura's concept of moral, disengagement has eight different mechanisms: Moral Justification, Euphemistic Labelling, Advantageous Comparison, Displacement of Responsibility, Diffusion of Responsibility, Distortion of Consequences, Dehumanization, Attribution of Blame.

Students' adaptability was accessed by a special questionnaire that includes two scales: adaptability to the study group and adaptability to the educational activity developed in 2010 by T. Dubovitskaya and A. Krylova [12].

Statistical packages SPSS V.23 and SAS JMP 11.0.0 were used for statistical analysis.

Results and discussion

Descriptive statistics for all measured variables are presented in Table 1. Average values of Moral Disengagement Scales lie in the range between 1,5 and 3,1 that corresponds with the data obtained by Y. Ledovaya et al. [17]. The scores for adaptability to the study group and adaptability to educational activities are also similar to

those obtained by T. Dubovitskaya and A. Krylova (12,0 and 10,6 respectively) [12]. The results of motivation measurement are higher for some scales and lower for some scales than the results of T. Gordeeva et al. [15]. For example, achievement motivation is two points more for our sample, introjected motivation is two points less, but the difference between the means lies within two points.

Cluster analysis (*k*-means) was used to divide all the participants into groups on the basis of their attitude towards DEE (AUDEE Scale). All AUDEE subscales were used. All of them were standardized because of different ranges. The results show that two different attitudes towards DEE (two clusters) could be distinguished (pict. 1). One group of participants (cluster 2, N = 221) is characterized by the satisfaction with the learning process and communication above average, by learning motivation above average, by high evaluation of DEE accessibility, by stress

tension below average, by need for support below average, and by low estimation of dishonest strategies prevalence. It could be assumed that the members of this group accept DEE technology, and therefore it may be called an Acceptance group. The other group of participants (cluster 1, N = 185) is characterized by the satisfaction in the learning process and communication below average, by learning motivation below average, by low evaluation of DEE accessibility, by stress tension above average, by need for support above average, and by high estimation of dishonest strategies prevalence. All this indicates that the members of the group try to resist DEE technology and avoid it. Further, we will refer to it as Resistance group.

To determine what characteristics are specific for each group Student's *t*-test was applied. The comparison of the two groups (table 2) shows that they differ almost in all study-related experiences: pleasure experience

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for all measured variables: mean ± standard deviation, median [lower quartile; upper quartile], minimum, and maximum (N=406)

Questionnaires and scales	M ± SD	Me [LQ; UQ]	Min	Max
Activity-Related Experiences Assessment technique (AREA)				
Effort	12,8 ± 3,4	13 [11; 15]	3	18
Pleasure	11,5 ± 3,9	12 [9; 14]	3	18
Meaning	14,0 ± 3,7	15 [12; 17]	3	18
Void	7,7 ± 3,6	7 [5; 10]	3	18
"Academic Motivation Scales" Questionnaire				
Intrinsic cognition	16,6 ± 3,0	17 [15; 19]	4	20
Achievement	15,9 ± 3,1	16 [14; 18]	4	20
Personal growth	16,1 ± 3,1	16 [14; 19]	4	20
Self-respect	13,6 ± 4,1	14 [11; 16]	4	20
Introjected motivation	11,2 ± 3,9	11 [8; 14]	4	20
External regulation	9,2 ± 3,7	9 [6; 12]	4	20
Amotivation	7,1 ± 3,4	6 [4; 9]	4	20
Students Adaptability in the Higher Educational Establishment				
Adaptability to Study Group	12,0 ± 3,3	13 [10; 15]	0	16
Adaptability to Educational Activities	10,9 ± 3,8	12 [8; 14]	0	16
Moral Disengagement Scale (MD-24)				
Moral Justification	2,2 ± 1,3	2 [1; 3]	1	7
Euphemistic Labelling	1,5 ± 0,9	1 [1; 2]	1	7
Advantageous Comparison	2,9 ± 1,4	3 [2; 4]	1	7
Displacement of Responsibility	2,4 ± 1,3	2 [1; 3]	1	6
Diffusion of Responsibility	2,4 ± 1,3	2 [1; 3]	1	7
Distortion of Consequences	2,0 ± 1,3	2 [1; 3]	1	7
Dehumanization	2,4 ± 1,5	2 [1; 3]	1	7
Attribution of Blame	3,1 ± 1,6	3 [2; 4]	1	7
AUDEE Scale				
DEE Learning Process Satisfaction	45,7 ± 8,5	46,0 [40; 52]	13	60
DEE Communication satisfaction and Learning Motivation	19,4 ± 6,2	19,5 [15; 24]	7	35
DEE Stress Tension	20,5 ± 6,6	20,0 [15; 25]	8	40
Need for support in DEE learning activity	14,2 ± 4,6	14,0 [11; 17]	6	28
DEE Dishonest Strategies Prevalence	16,7 ± 3,8	16,0 [14; 19]	7	30
DEE Accessibility	21,4 ± 3,0	22,0 [20; 24]	11	25
AUDEE Scale total score	133,1 ± 23,4	134 [116; 150]	54	184
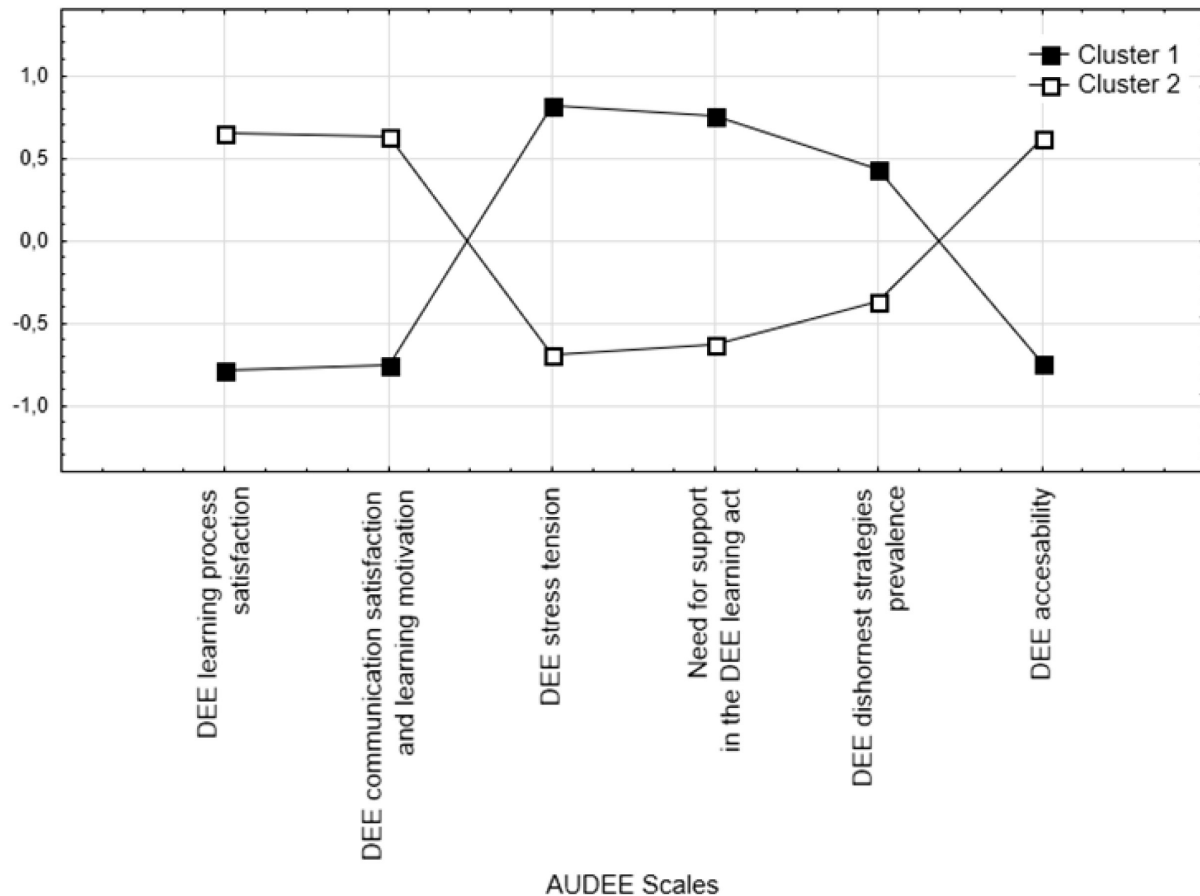
Pict. 1. k-means cluster analysis results

and meaning experience are significantly higher for Acceptance group, Void experience is significantly lower. However, there is no difference in effort. That may be interpreted in a way that both groups highly appreciated the effectiveness of their activities in the digital educational environment due to perseverance.

Almost all kinds of motivation were higher in Acceptance group compared to Resistance group, and amotivation was respectively lower. The only exception is introjected motivation. This means that the Acceptance group is characterized by more pronounced aspirations: to learn new things, to achieve high results in studies, to develop their abilities, in contrast to the Resistance group. At the same time, for those and others, educational activity is based on a sense of duty to significant people.

It is interesting that the adaptability to the study group does not differ, but the adaptability to learning process is one point higher for Acceptance group.

The comparisons of different moral disengagement mechanisms show that although the differences in mean values are not big (from 0,2 to 0,4 scale points), they are statistically significant for euphemistic labelling, displacement and diffusion of responsibility, distortion of consequences, and dehumanization. All mechanisms of moral separation are more pronounced in the Resistance group than in the Acceptance group. Moral responsibility that discourages academic dishonesty reduces its use, but can be neutralized through various mechanisms.

Thus, the Resistance group believes that in fact the use of dishonest strategies is not a deception (Euphemistic Labelling); and the appropriation of other people's ideas is not such a serious offense (Distortion of Consequences); that dishonest strategies are provoked by educators or fellow students (Displacement of Responsibility); and that everyone uses dishonest strategies (Diffusion of Responsibility); some people can be dispensed with without ceremony (Dehumanization).

It may be supposed that the Resistance group appreciates the mechanisms of moral disconnection more highly due to the belief that the Internet increases the tendency to neutralize moral responsibility ("the online disinhibition effect" [33, 34]). The mechanism of dehumanization emerges due to difficulties in identifying a person, a certain impersonality of the image of a person in the digital environment. However, these assumptions require additional research.

O. Dremova and her colleagues showed that the use of dishonest strategies may be due to negative experiences in learning activities (fear, boredom, dislike for learning activities, etc.) [10, 11]. Positive experiences in learning activities (interest, inspiration, satisfaction with the learning process, etc.) prevent the use of dishonest strategies. This is confirmed by the data obtained in our study for the Resistance group: reduced satisfaction with the educational process and communicative interaction, pronounced stress intensity, the experience of emptiness and meaninglessness of educational activity.

T a b l e 2

Descriptive statistics (mean ± standard deviation) and the results of comparison of two groups (Student's test *t*-value and probability level p)

Variable	Mean ± Std.Dev.		t	p
	Acceptance group (N=221)	Resistance group (N=185)		
Age, years	28,4 ± 9,2	29,0 ± 10,1	-0,6	0,5687
Activity-Related Experiences Assessment technique (AREA)				
Effort	12,8 ± 3,5	12,8 ± 3,4	-0,1	0,8844
Pleasure	13,5 ± 3,0	9,1 ± 3,4	13,7	0,0001
Meaning	15,3 ± 2,7	12,4 ± 4,1	8,7	0,0001
Void	6,3 ± 2,8	9,4 ± 3,6	-9,9	0,0001
"Academic Motivation Scales" Questionnaire				
Intrinsic cognition	17,4 ± 2,6	15,7 ± 3,1	5,9	0,0001
Achievement	16,5 ± 3,1	15,1 ± 3,0	4,5	0,0001
Personal growth	16,8 ± 3,0	15,2 ± 2,9	5,6	0,0001
Self-respect	14,2 ± 4,3	13,0 ± 3,8	2,8	0,0060
Introjected motivation	11,2 ± 4,1	11,2 ± 3,7	-0,1	0,9169
External regulation	8,9 ± 3,9	9,7 ± 3,5	-2,1	0,0328
Amotivation	6,2 ± 2,8	8,1 ± 3,8	-5,9	0,0001
Students Adaptability in the Higher Educational Establishment				
Adaptability to Study Group	12,2 ± 3,2	11,7 ± 3,3	1,6	0,1149
Adaptability to Educational Activities	11,3 ± 3,7	10,3 ± 3,8	2,6	0,0091
Moral Disengagement Scale (MD-24)				
Moral Justification	2,2 ± 1,4	2,2 ± 1,3	-0,3	0,7792
Euphemistic Labelling	1,4 ± 0,8	1,6 ± 1,0	-2,9	0,0044
Advantageous Comparison	2,9 ± 1,5	3,0 ± 1,3	-0,8	0,4216
Displacement of Responsibility	2,2 ± 1,2	2,6 ± 1,3	-2,7	0,0069
Diffusion of Responsibility	2,2 ± 1,2	2,6 ± 1,3	-3,6	0,0004
Distortion of Consequences	1,9 ± 1,2	2,3 ± 1,4	-3,2	0,0013
Dehumanization	2,2 ± 1,4	2,6 ± 1,5	-3,1	0,0022
Attribution of Blame	3,0 ± 1,7	3,2 ± 1,5	-1,3	0,1991

Thus, the Acceptance group is characterized by satisfaction with the educational process and communicative interaction in the DEE, high ratings of the DEE availability, a sense of security, and independence (no need for support in the DEE). Specific features for this group are the following: experiences of pleasure and meaningfulness of educational activity in the DEE; increased motivation to learn new things, to achieve high results in studies, to develop their abilities; sufficient adaptation to the educational process), and lower ratings for the use of dishonest strategies. The Resistance group is characterized by insufficient satisfaction with the educational process and communicative interaction in the DEE, low assessments of accessibility, stress, and a pronounced need for support. This group differs by the experience of emptiness and meaninglessness in educational activity, reduced motivation, insufficient adaptation to the educational process, but sufficient adaptation to the educational group; by usage of some mechanisms of moral separation to neutralize moral responsibility. However, this group is characterized by tenacity and perseverance when working in DEE.

To determine what are the most important characteristics that distinguish Acceptance group a classification tree was built. Classification (or decision) tree analysis is a statistical method which repeatedly splits up a sample into subgroups [6, 26]. The resulted tree for Acceptance group is presented in pict. 2, including the classification variable and the cut point for each split. Within each node the proportion of participants who have got to the Acceptance group between the baseline and follow-up assessments is shown. The model appeared to be very good (AUROC = 0,82; sensitivity = 77%, specificity = 76%, positive predictive value = 79%).

The model (pict. 2) shows that the main predictors to get into the Acceptance group are motivation (Achievement motivation and Self-Respect motivation) and study-related experiences (Pleasure and Void). Achievement motivation of more than 16 points (median value, table 1) increases the chance to get into the Acceptance group from 41,2 % to 63,5 %. For highly motivated students (Achievement motivation ≥ 16 points), pleasure experience is the most important construct. If the pleasure is equal or more than 12 points (median value, table 1), then the chance to get into the Acceptance group increases from 31,3 % to 79,5 %. Very high Self Respect motivation that represents extrinsic motivation (more than 16 points, i.e., more than the upper quartile, table 1) increases chances to get into the Accep-

tance group for more than 10 % (from 74,3 % to 88,3 %). The minimal chance to get into the Acceptance group (3,6 %) is predicted for students with Achievement motivation below average (less than 16 points), pleasure study-related experience lower than 9 points (less than low quartile), and void study-related experience equal to or more than 11 points which is higher than upper quartile. This chance is a little higher (23,1 %) if Void study-related experience is less than 11 points.

The risk group with predicted chances to get to the Acceptance group around 8 % is characterized by sufficiently high intrinsic motivation (Achievement motivation ≥ 16 points) but low pleasure study related experience (less than 12 points) and high void study experience (more than 10 points). All this shows that motivation and activity-related experience are important prerequisites for new educational technology acceptance. Adaptability and moral behavior are less important for the prediction of DEE acceptance / rejection. Firstly, this is due to the already accomplished shift in the culture of society, where information technologies have been widely introduced for several decades. The participants of our study, having passed through the "threshold" state between two stages of cultural development (pre-informational and informational), adapted to these conditions in their daily activities. They have space for individual transformation in the educational environment. After all, "an adult is not only connected with the environment by thousands of intimate connections — he himself is its product, his essence is in the essence of his environment" [35, p. 130]. "The environment, as it were, grow inward, behavior becomes social, cultural, not only in its content, but also in its mechanisms, in its techniques" [35, p. 157]. Such "growing inward" involves the process of adaptation to new conditions. At the present stage, there is an increase in the overall level of digital competencies, a culture of digital citizenship is being formed [29] regardless of age [30]. Second, the use of dishonest strategies in education is global and widespread throughout the world. increasingly, students see certain acts of academic dishonesty as appropriate, common and acceptable in education, regardless of whether they accept or not accept the digital learning environment [2]. In addition, it is possible that collectivism [23], characteristic of Russian culture, is a sufficiently significant factor predicting joint forms of academic dishonesty.

Conclusion

As we can see, the predictions of cultural historical activity theory that postulates that motivation, experiencing pleasure and meaningfulness of learning activities in new conditions, moral codes (academic honesty), and the ability to quickly adapt to educational activities in the context of digitalization could be seen as prerequisites for the DEE acceptance were empirically confirmed. The results of our research show that the prerequisites for the DEE acceptance are the following: experience of pleasure and meaningfulness of educational activity; increased motivation to learn new things, to achieve high results in studies, to develop their abilities; sufficient adaptability to the educational process. Prerequisites for DEE resistance are the following: the experience of emptiness and meaninglessness of educational activity; decreased motivation; insufficient adaptability to the educational process; using some mechanisms of moral separation to neutralize moral responsibility.

The unifying characteristics of the two groups distinguished by the attitude towards the DEE (Acceptance group and Resistance group) are persistence and perseverance when working in the DEE and successful adaptation to the study group. These characteristics can be viewed as resources for embracing digital reality in education, reducing tensions and determining the success of information technology adoption.

Thus, according to the apt remark of L. Vygotsky and A. Luria, "Culture, the environment remakes a person, not only giving him certain knowledge. They transform the very structure of his psychological processes, developing in him certain methods of using his own capabilities" [35, p. 221]. We see that every person has these opportunities, but not everyone can use them for their
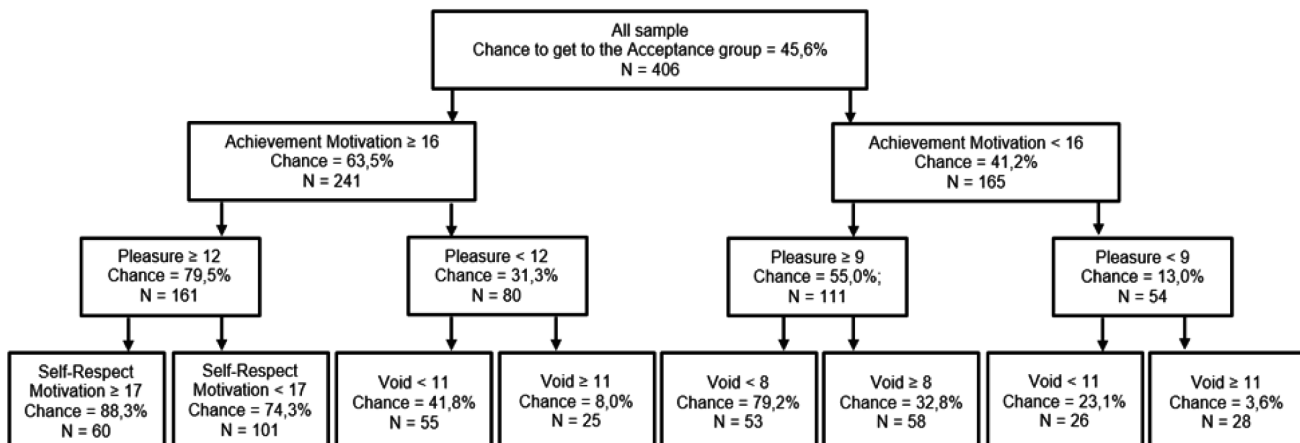
Pict. 2. Classification tree for Acceptance group; classification variables, cut points for each split, estimated risk to get to Acceptance group, and number of participants

intended purpose due to various reasons and barriers. To some extent, our research allowed us to only partially understand these reasons. In the future, it is planned to study the "cultural capability" of modern man as a dynamic phenomenon, acquired in live contact with the social environment, highlighted by L. Vygotsky and A. Luria. This phenomenon is of particular relevance today as a result of the complication, enrichment of the cultural environment and the growing demands on the resources and capabilities of the person himself.

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Предпосылки для принятия цифровой образовательной среды в новых культурно-исторических условиях

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Согласно теории культурно-исторической деятельности, мотивация, адаптированность, учебный опыт («переживание») и моральные установки могут рассматриваться как предпосылки для принятия цифровой образовательной среды (ЦОС). Для измерения отношения к ЦОС использовалась шкала оценки цифровой образовательной среды университета (Шкала ЦОС М. Сороковой, М. Одинцовой и Н. Радчиковой). Академическая мотивация оценивалась с помощью опросника «Шкала академической мотивации» (Т. Гордеева, О. Сычев, Е. Осин). Учебный опыт измерялся с помощью методики диагностики переживаний в деятельности (ДПД), разработанной Д. Леонтьевым и его коллегами. Моральное поведение оценивалось с помощью опросника отчуждения моральной ответственности (MD-24), адаптированной Ю. Ледовой и ее коллегами. Адаптированность студентов проверялась с помощью методики, разработанной Т. Дубовицкой и А. Крыловой. В исследовании приняли участие 406 студентов Московского государственного психолого-педагогического университета (90,1% женщины). Средний возраст составил 28,7±9,6 года (медиана = 24 года), варьируясь от 19 до 72 лет. Результаты показали, что по шкале ЦОС можно выделить две группы: группу принятия и группу сопротивления. Первая группа имеет более высокие баллы почти по всем показателям мотивации, переживания удовольствия и смысла в рамках учебного опыта, способности адаптироваться к учебной деятельности и более низкие баллы по пяти из семи стратегий отчуждения моральной ответственности. Статистический анализ (деревья классификации) показал, что мотивация (как внешняя, так и внутренняя) и учебный опыт являются ключевыми ресурсами для принятия ЦОС.

Ключевые слова: цифровая образовательная среда, предпосылки принятия/сопротивления, мотивация, культурно-исторические условия, «культурная способность».

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VYGOTSKY'S IDEAS IN PRACTICES OF INCLUSION
ИДЕИ ВЫГОТСКОГО В ПРАКТИКЕ ИНКЛЮЗИВНОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ

Preparing Educators for Inclusive Bilingual Education: A Boundary Crossing Laboratory Between Professional Groups

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Teacher education programs prepare candidates for bilingual, English as a second language, or special education as separate professionals. This creates challenges when teaching bilingual children with disabilities. There is a need to cross boundaries combining expertise and preparing teachers for children's uniqueness. Responding to this need, the researchers organized a change laboratory with 14 professors and two State Department of Education consultants. The study explored boundary expressions and their relationship to the larger activity. It also looked at the learning that took place during boundary crossing efforts. Boundaries were identified around bilingual teacher preparation, cross-disciplinary programmatic, and paradigmatic aspects. While boundary crossing at the intrapersonal level and at the interpersonal level were important, the need to engage multiple institutions was centered. In addition, the discussion manifested that for inclusive bilingual education teacher preparation, there was a need to go beyond the institutional level to reach to policy makers and address the sociopolitical resistance against bilingual education. Throughout the study, participants engaged primarily in the epistemic learning actions of analyzing and modeling. Through volitional actions, the participants realized a renewed object for their activity. This study widens the understanding of possibilities for taking shared educational responsibility through boundary crossing between professionals in preparation programs.

Keywords: boundary crossing, inclusive bilingual education, teacher education, higher education.

Introduction

Teaching and learning with children who experience the intersection of multiple layers of difference requires knowledge and services involving multiple areas in education such as bilingual education (BE), English as a second language (ESL) or teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL), and special education. While these areas are distinct in many ways, they are all impacted by deficit perspectives invading the education

of bilingual children, and their disproportional representation in the high frequent disability categories [13].

This study consists of an exploration of pathways to prepare teachers to work more comprehensively with bilingual children, who are referred to as English language learners or ELLs. As a result of lack of inclusive designs but also a dearth of teacher preparation programs focusing on this intersection, bilingual children with disabilities are often forced to choose between their bilingual and their disability learning identities [11]. To address these issues, researchers explain, "a strong collaborative model in which professionals with expertise in different areas come together to solve a problem" is needed but still lacking [7, p. vi].

Reporting on the efforts of a group of university faculty to embark in boundary crossing across fields to prepare teachers for inclusive bilingual education, this study addresses two questions:

1) What boundaries surface discursively during interdisciplinary work involving higher education professors and where are these boundaries located in relation to the larger activity elements and levels at which the efforts are nested?

2) What kinds of epistemic learning actions for productive boundary crossing emerge in this context?

Theoretical Framework

This study draws from third-generation Cultural Historical Activity Theory [CHAT; 6], which is built on Vygotsky's artifact-mediated learning [16]. Artifacts, as well as other elements such as division of labor, community, or the activity rules are all part of a person's activity system. As people engage in collective activity, tensions surface and participants enact agency, creating new ways of engaging in collaborative activity, a process described as expansive learning [4]. Expansive learning is characterized by seven epistemic learning actions: (1) Questioning (criticizing or rejecting existing practices or knowledge); (2) Analyzing (exploring causes and explanations for its roots and development—historical-genetic; or for its internal systematized relations—actual-empirical); (3) Modeling the new solution (a simplified model of a new idea offering a breakthrough to tensions); (4) Examining the model; (5) Implementing the model; (6) Reflecting on and evaluating the process; and (7) consolidating into a stable new way of engaging in practice [5, pp. 383—384]. These actions are often used in cycles of collaborative work where there is a shared object to make learning apparent [7]. For this study, the evolving object was to prepare teachers to address the needs of bilingual children with and without disabilities.

Defining Boundaries

Boundaries refer to discontinuities and separation between the inside and outside of a community [14]. According to CHAT, boundaries are potential sources for learning as participants who work together toward a shared object engage in boundary crossing efforts [4].

The transfer of knowledge across boundaries is complex and requires developing common meanings and transformation of knowledge [14]. That is, knowledge sharing involves collective creative actions leading to "incremental change and the improvement of future outcomes of activities" [10, p. 117]. In this experience, we use the concept of boundaries as those temporal and spatial emerging locations of change, which can trigger learning and development [9].

Studying Boundary Crossing

Studies looking at the process through which boundaries appear showed that participants might indirectly express boundaries through discursive means [8;9]. Expressions can act as landmarks of boundaries in collaborative work across systems [8]. It is important to also connect the discursive landmarks of boundary expressions to the larger activity through its elements to establish the connection [8].

Boundary crossing has been studied along four learning mechanisms [1;2]: (1) Identification: (Re)defining the way in which the intersecting practices are different from one another; (2) Coordination: Means and procedures sought to assist in different elements working together; (3) Reflection: Mutually describing the involved practices and willingness to employ others' perspectives; And (4) transformation: Change materializes in the existing practices. These different mechanisms could be studied together with three levels of interaction: The institutional level (crossing actions originated in from multiple organizations), the interpersonal level (crossing actions between groups across systems), and the intrapersonal level (crossing actions initiated by people in intersecting practices) [1, pp. 247—248].

Expansive Learning and Mechanisms of Boundary Crossing

When the collaborative effort in expansive learning aims to promote boundary crossing, then arising tensions center on surfacing the boundaries and taking action to cross them, creating new ways of working together. The epistemic actions that describe learning during expansive learning cycles [5] can hence be connected to those used in defining boundary crossing learning mechanisms [1], generating a hybrid analytical tool.

As illustrated in fig. 1, the epistemic actions of questioning and analysis match the mechanism of identification in boundary crossing as here the boundary is identified and merely [re]defined. The learning action of modeling connects with the mechanisms of coordination and reflection where others' perspectives are considered, and bidirectional boundary crossing is facilitated. Lastly, the learning action of examining and testing correspond to the mechanism of transformation as new in-between practices are designed.

Methods

This study is rooted in the "boundary crossing change laboratory" [CL; 8;9]. Boundary crossing CL focuses "on

developing collaboration and communication between two interlinked activities that are serving the same clients or realize parts of a broader object" [15, p. 190]. In a sense, the participants engage in collaborative work co-constructing their shared object through boundary crossing. Learning in this boundary crossing CL occurs through the collaboration at the junction of different activity systems when meaning making and transformation of practices take place and participants address and cross existing boundaries [1;4]. Researchers facilitate CL sessions through initial ethnographic work used as mirror material [16] to surface boundaries and promote the participants' learning.

Participants and Context

The study took place in a university located in the Northeast of the U.S. Angela, a faculty member at this university, taught courses addressing bilingual education in the department of special education and reading. Angela invited Patricia, who works in a different university, to facilitate the CL experience with her, and collected the initial ethnographic data. After implementing the first three sessions together, Angela continued the process for three additional one-hour meetings.

Fourteen professors representing different relevant fields participated in this research experience and two state representatives joined the CL on Day 3. Fig. 2 shows the university departments/programs and tab. shows participants' pseudonyms, and their departments or positions.

Positionality

Angela was born and raised in Colombia and Patricia in Spain, and both moved to the US as young adults and learned English as a second language. Anu was born and raised in Finland, speaks Finnish, and learned English in school. Patricia and Anu identify as White, Angela as Latina, and the three identify as non-disabled cisgender females. Currently, Angela and Patricia's research revolve mostly around inclusive bilingual/bicultural education. Anu focuses her research on organizational studies and has extensive experience with change laboratory methodologies. We found our experiences helpful in interpreting this work, but also collaborated to monitor our understandings.

Data Sources

Angela collected existing ethnographic data (i.e., 83 minutes of video-taped interviews with five faculty members; documents from the State Department of Education, demographics about bilingual learners; and university program descriptions).

On Day 1 and after participants' introductions, Angela and Patricia showed parts of the video as mirror material to stimulate conversations. Consequently, they also prepared and presented theoretical and practical tools to assist the participants in analyzing existing boundaries and engaging in boundary crossing. Data in the form of
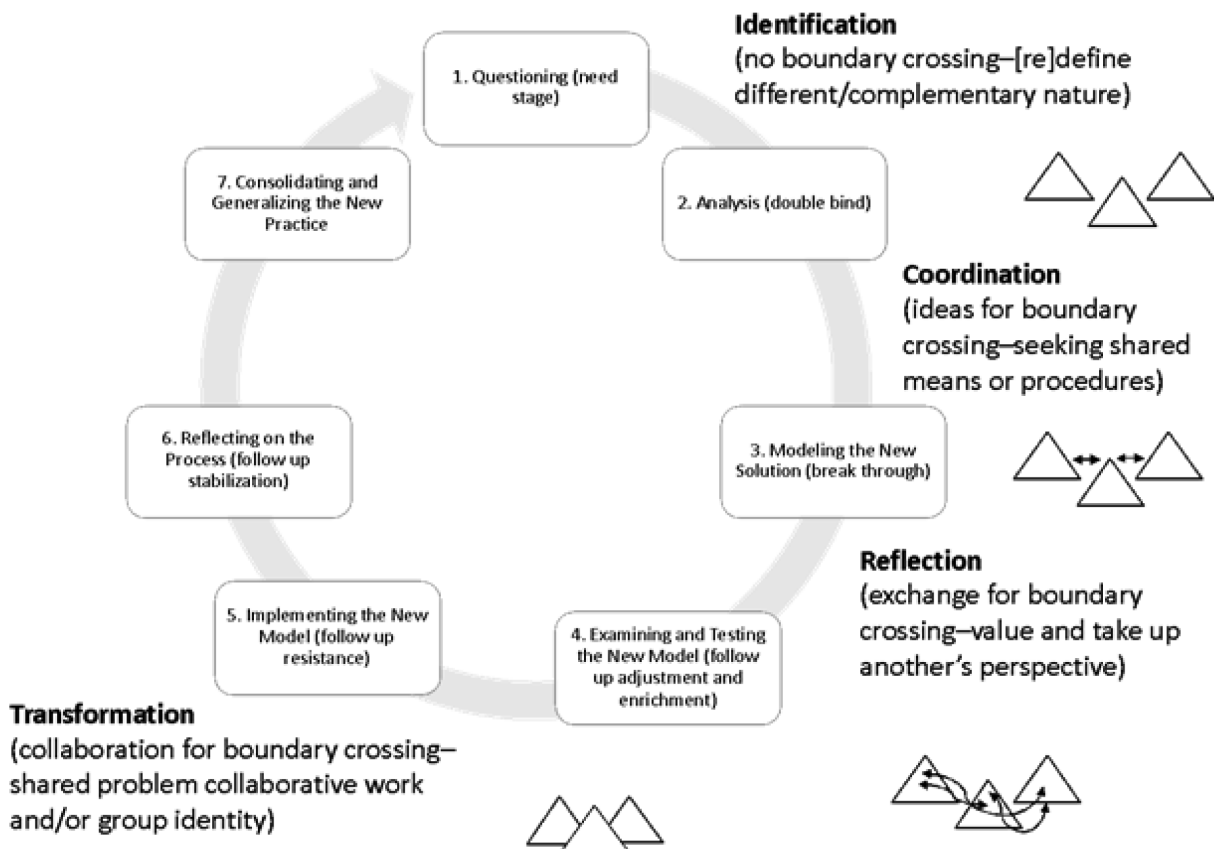
Fig. 1. Hybrid analytical tool between the expansive learning cycle and boundary crossing mechanisms [adapted from 1; 3]

discussions and conversations from the first three CL sessions (two hours each) were videotaped and transcribed.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data, we first identified discourse markers (landmarks) manifesting boundary expressions and participants' indirect ways of expressing boundaries [8]. We created a chart with these landmarks and analyzed connections to the larger activity system elements [6]. We coded the data with three identified forms of boundaries elicited from the boundary expressions: *Bilingual teacher preparation, cross-disciplinary programmatic,* and *paradigmatic.* We then connected these to three levels of boundary expressions [1]: Institutional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal.
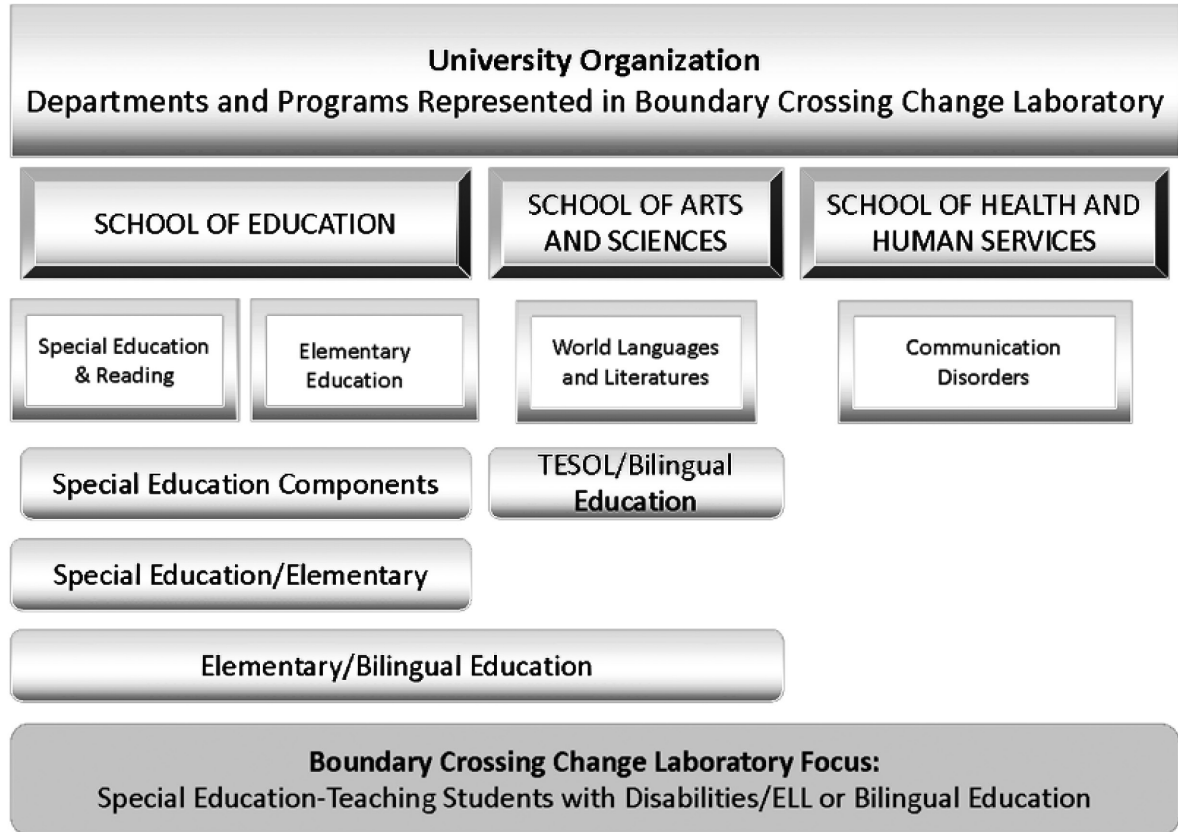
Fig. 2. University organization of departments/programs represented in the CL

Participants' departments or positions

Participant	Department or Position
Robert	Department of Communication Disorders
Elise	TESOL Graduate Program
Lorna	TESOL Graduate Program
Harriet	Department of Elementary Education
Lorena	Department of Special Education and Reading
Rachel	Department of Special Education and Reading
Leslie	Department of Special Education and Reading
Ruby	Department of Special Education and Reading
Diana	Interim Dean
Berta	Department of Special Education and Reading
Ben	High School Teacher — Chair of English Learner Department
Ryan	Department of Special Education and Reading
Gilda	State Department of Education =
Marta	State Department of Education
Angela	Department of Special Education and Reading
Patricia	Bilingual/Bicultural Education

We used the three codes of boundary expressions to categorize the excerpts that addressed these different boundaries and created "word clouds" (using Word Cloud free software) to pinpoint the main boundary topics.

We then used Engeström's [5] expansive learning cycle of epistemic actions, which were contextualized in Akkerman and Bakker's [2] learning mechanisms as shown in fig. 1 to define the boundary crossing own epistemic actions. The researchers analyzed the entire data together following a "collaborative approach" [12, p. 398].

Findings

Multileveled Boundary Crossing Efforts and Activity Elements

While the term boundary was not used directly by the participants, they used several terms and sentences indicating landmarks of boundary expressions. The analysis of these landmarks suggested three main forms of boundaries that needed to be explored and crossed. First, there were landmarks indicating "bilingual teacher preparation boundaries", which the participants discussed in relation to candidates' possibilities -or lack thereof- to obtain teaching certifications for inclusive bilingual education, certification requirements, and other aspects connected to boundaries between institutions. Second, there were landmarks pointing to "cross-disciplinary programmatic boundaries", through which the participants discussed the need to work across disciplinary organizational units within the institution. The last group of landmarks referred to "paradigmatic boundaries" in relation to bilingual and inclusive education in society, education, and the world.

Landmarks of Inclusive Bilingual Teacher Preparation Boundary Expressions

The term "cross" (or "crossing") was used on six occasions by participants to point out boundaries in inclusive bilingual education: Five of the instances addressed bilingual teacher preparation boundaries, while one addressed cross-disciplinary programmatic boundaries. For example, Lorna used the term "cross-endorsed" three times in one turn on Day 1 to indicate how inclusive bilingual education certifications could be obtained (boundary expressions appear in cursive),

Lorna: We now have the option of students at the elementary ed[ucation] level doing the special ed[ucation] and the elementary ed[ucation] dual program, and then coming back and doing the master's then to get *cross-endorsed* in ESL and bilingual ed[ucation]. One would get *cross-endorsed* in bilingual elementary, but you would not get *cross-endorsed* in bilingual special ed[ucation] because it doesn't exist in the state [Day 1, Lorna]

Here, Lorna furthered a boundary situated beyond the educational institution. In this case, the boundary is with the State Department of Education, who sets the rules for certification and decides what certifications can be "cross-endorsed", or added to other certifications. In this way, these rules posed a boundary, which Lorna realized could not be crossed by the participants themselves (i.e., intrapersonal level) or by altering the rules within the university

ty. Rather, it required faculty to work together (i.e., interpersonal level) to involve representatives from the state.

On Day 2, Berta questioned the issue of cross-endorsement that pointed to a boundary between the institution and the State Department of Education, and tried to explain it with these words,

Berta: [W]hy the special ed[ucation] person couldn't get *cross-endorsed* or add a certification on the bilingual...presumably it must be because they don't have a content area major...the bilingual certification requires content area knowledge as well [Day 2, Berta]

Berta explained the rules around what initial certifications can accept a cross-endorsement in bilingual education. The issue at the center was the need to have a major in a content area. Since teacher candidates in a program leading to teaching students with disabilities (discursively expressed here as special education) did not include a major in a content area, there was no pathway for cross-endorsement with the bilingual extension. These rules created a tension for the participants because they put an obstacle in their efforts to prepare teachers to address the needs of bilingual children with and without disabilities simultaneously.

In addition, the term "limiting" was used once to express boundaries in relation to bilingual teacher preparation. This term was introduced on Day 3 by Gilda, one of the representatives from the State Department of Education,

Gilda: [T]o be certified as a bilingual teacher you must demonstrate proficiency in whatever the underlying non-English language is. If I'm a bilingual teacher and I have students in my elementary school that speak [a number of languages...] and I'm only proficient in one language... So, there is a built-in issue already that adds to the political culmination of what's happening in the field...Special ed[ucation] is no different. The problem is that right now the certification is a comprehensive special ed[ucation] certification... non-categorical. So...I could be hired to teach any special ed[ucation] population. If you start categorizing and breaking down certifications into various discrete areas of training, you start *limiting* your pipeline [Gilda, Day 3]

This statement reflected how the representative analyzed the main specializations for teaching bilingual children with disabilities (i.e., bilingual and special education) as being "discrete" areas of training. She first raised the problem of having to be proficient in the language to teach bilingually (i.e., "to be certified as a bilingual teacher"), but later, she situated the issue in English as a second language, where children might be from different linguistic backgrounds. This contrasts with bilingual education where all children are learning the same two languages. While noticing the political layer embedded in the resistance toward bilingual education (i.e., "the political culmination of what's happening in the field"), Gilda connected what she felt was, "a built-in issue" with the special education certification, where teachers are prepared to address the needs of a wide range of children with disabilities, even though these can vary greatly. She described this certification as being non-categorical at this moment, which she perceived as comparable to the bilingual extension certification because of the different languages that could be needed.

This excerpt hence was related to the outcome of the larger activity (i.e., to prepare teachers for working with

bilingual children with and without disabilities). The representative also connected to the rules that govern bilingual education in the state. Aspects of certification can be interpreted as involving boundary crossing that goes beyond the educational institutional level to engage the State Department of Education, but it is also infused with the intrapersonal boundary crossing decisions prospective candidates would have to make.

Landmarks of Cross-Disciplinary Programmatic Boundary Expressions

One instance where "crossing" was used as an expression of cross-disciplinary programmatic boundaries took place on Day 2. Angela engaged in the following discussion about expansion of, what she referred to as "our local expertise", that could expand the opportunities of teacher candidates. She raised the possibility of boundary crossing as follows,

Angela: Expansion of what we have, using what we have, our local expertise to expand the opportunities for teacher candidates

Berta: [B]ut also provide more in-depth learning for our teacher candidates

Angela: And even for us, it would be acquiring expertise *crossing* our areas, some of us would be learning about special ed[ucation], some of us will be learning about bilingual ed[ucation] and TESOL, and others will be learning about disorders

Harriet: All of us, we have this underlying social justice theme [at the university] ... To me that's what binds us all together. It's our commitment to the kids in the classroom, and each of us have seen [kids] who desperately need well-trained special ed[ucation] teachers who are also well trained in bilingual ed[ucation]...We come with our different agendas, we come with our different focuses, but...we do that dance...we're walking down the same path together

During this exchange, Angela used the term "crossing" to indicate the boundaries between the different areas, or fields of study. She highlighted how each field has a different "expertise" and how crossing areas of expertise would be needed to prepare teachers for the inclusive bilingual education classroom. She named the fields of bilingual education, TESOL, and language disorders, which were represented by the CL participants. The different fields have hence different artifacts and there is a need to share these mostly at the interpersonal level. As Angela highlighted the boundaries between fields, Harriet then reinforced the need to cross these boundaries. She expressed how all the participants shared an "underlying social justice" commitment, and that while they all had "different agendas" and "focuses", they realize that working together and crossing those boundaries was needed to serve "the kids in the classroom". In this way, Harriet acknowledged the agency of the participants in joining this boundary crossing CL, and the shared object that brought them together. Harriet used the metaphors "we do that dance" and "we're walking down the same path together", both of which expressed the shared object and commitment to cross boundaries for the sake of education ("that's why we are working together").

The term "barrier/s" was also used to directly refer to cross-disciplinary programmatic boundaries. In one instance when the term was used (Day 2), Patricia asked participants, while showing the activity system triangular model, about the rules that had come up and these were some responses,

Angela: The university, you know, restrictions with credits and do you want the undergraduate program or the master's program...?

Lorena: The cost of the students and the requirements

Patricia: And Robert yesterday mentioned also his lack of faith in this process just because of the difficulty working with interdisciplinary departments

Robert: The institutional *barriers*

This exchange started out discussing teacher certification boundaries. It then shifted onto cross-disciplinary programmatic boundaries as Robert, a professor of communication disorders, used the word "barriers" in plural to summarize aspects of the organization within the institution as establishing a boundary between what could be allowed, or not, in relation to engaging in interdisciplinary work across departments. This aspect, connected to the activity's rules, highlighted how the boundary could not be easily addressed out of intrapersonal (i.e., personal choice and perceived opportunities), or even interpersonal efforts (i.e., sharing of artifacts across programs) but rather it was an institutional level boundary (i.e., university cost and requirements) to their efforts.

Landmarks of Paradigmatic Boundary Expressions

The term "barrier" was also used to express a paradigmatic boundary on Day 3, when Leslie, a professor of special education, explained,

Leslie: So, bilingualism is highly valued and I think here we've got this kind of politics where people are really schizophrenic about the whole dual language issue, and that's *a real barrier* [Day 3, Leslie]

With these words, Leslie pointed out how the sociopolitical context in the U.S. in relation to bilingual education placed what she described as "a real barrier" to expanding possibilities for inclusive bilingual education teacher preparation. We interpreted this as an expression of a paradigmatic boundary at the sociopolitical level. This barrier engaged aspects of rules that limit high quality bilingual education program growth, and the object or motif of the participants for being in the activity.

Boundary expressions manifested paradigmatic boundaries in relation to differences between approaches within areas such as TESOL and bilingual education. For instance,

Patricia: And another discussion is the *difference* between TESOL and bilingual because they are [...situated as] two *separate* fields

Elise: [T]hey are kind of *separate* here...Unless you are bilingual and you have training in a subject area, in math for example, you can't get certified in bilingual

Patricia: So, you made a very good point. In order to... have a bilingual certification, one of the requirements that all the programs have is to fluently speak the

other language, because you have to be ready to teach content in both languages

Here Patricia and Elise discussed differences between the fields of TESOL and bilingual education (i.e., the need to be fluently bilingual).

In a separate expression of boundaries, the need to cross between teacher preparation programs and actual practice in the classroom was highlighted. For example, one of the state representatives explained,

Gilda: So, we've got to address that, we've got to seek input from the field and I think once you do, you are going to hear very clearly that they want training that really addresses what they are facing in the classroom... The debate at the reform level in education right now is if it does not add value to teacher's skills, more importantly, it doesn't add value to their content knowledge and content pedagogy because there is *no* research-based *connection*...I actually want to say...communication disorders is *missing* from there and it really needs to be an integrated part of these programs [Day 3, Gilda]

This excerpt raised the issue of the lack of communication (i.e., boundary) between practice and theory and the need for university teaching to be highly practical. In a sense, this was a call for sharing artifacts across institutional spaces (i.e., institutional level). Furthermore, Gilda highlighted that there was a need for programs such as "communication disorders" to also be "an integrated part" of the different teacher preparation programs. This is important but fields connected to disabilities, such as communication disorders, have historically kept separate from bilingual education.

Epistemic Learning Actions
for Boundary Crossing

This section addresses the second research question: What kinds of epistemic learning actions for productive boundary crossing emerge in this context? This part is based on the hybrid analytical approach illustrated in fig. 1. Given its importance, the epistemic actions and boundary crossing mechanisms hybrid is used to explain the learning during boundary crossing efforts in reference to the first type of boundaries that surfaced discursively (bilingual teacher preparation).

Learning in Relation to Bilingual Teacher Preparation Boundaries

The word-based analysis revealed that the most frequent terms of all excerpts that were coded as addressing bilingual teacher preparation boundaries manifested areas of participants' interests that prompted expansive learning. The word frequency visualization is shown in fig. 3.

The visualization exposed five terms that appeared more than 20 times in these excerpts: "Special education" (35 times), "State" (30 times), "teachers" (30 times), "certification" (28 times), and "students" (21 times). Hence, the themes that manifested through this visualization focused on certification requirements at the State level while aiming to attend to teachers' and students' needs.

There were two main epistemic actions from fig. 1 that referred to teacher preparation during the CL. These were

analyzing, which involves identification and (re)defining of intersecting practices, and *modeling*, which involves coordination (seeking means and procedures for diverse practices to cooperate efficiently in distributed work) or reflection (engaging in perspective making and taking). The analysis showed how the progressively deeper exploration of aspects of the boundary redirected the shared object from aiming for a new program possibly leading to multiple teaching certifications, to a practical approach where the intended outcome was teacher candidates learning about, and serving, bilingual children. The learning trajectory that took place during the meetings in the context of teacher preparation boundary crossing manifested through the participants' actions. Several volitional actions, which are illustrated next, aimed at modeling a solution to the issue through coordination and reflection.

On Day 1, participants primarily engaged in analyzing the programs they had where teacher candidates could already cross boundaries. The participants learned from one another that they already had an undergraduate program that allowed them to obtain a degree, along with elementary special education certifications (i.e., the "collaborative" program). However, adding the bilingual certification to that program was situated as a complex issue (i.e., undergraduates might not have enough time to take all the courses).

Angela followed up on this conversation explaining what one of the State representatives had said during an initial conversation with her. As she spoke, the analysis and beginning of modeling took place as a form of an epistemic action on the part of the professor from the reading program,

Angela: I talked to Gilda on the phone...and her main concern is the literacy part, it's reading. She said [that] at the undergraduate level, [it was] impossible for a teacher candidate...to have the three certifications, the special ed[ucation], the elementary ed[ucation] and the

Fig. 3. Teacher preparation boundaries word frequency visualization

bilingual ed[ucation]...In her opinion...students don't have enough time and credits

Rachel: And graduate with the bachelor's, you know? If we could make the program such [...] that they graduate with both the bachelor's and the master's, I...think that would be better because they would be taking so many courses

In this excerpt, Rachel enacted the epistemic action of "modeling" in response to the State representative's concerns expressed to Angela prior to the CL, by presenting a possible way to address the issue of the many courses the candidates would need to graduate with three certifications (analysis-identification): A joined collaboration for a bachelor's and master's degree program.

On Day 2, similar boundary-related aspects around certification were brought back. The participants took additional volitional actions pointing to the need to cross the boundary between the university, the schools, and the Department of Education to find out if there indeed was a need for bilingual teachers with expertise on teaching students with disabilities,

Ruby: [A]re administrators [in schools] looking for this?

Elise: That's the question, exactly. Do we want to have teachers who are separately certified in bilingual and special education, or do we want to have a merged certificat[ion program]? And, if we want to have a merged certificat[ion], then it totally makes sense to have this interdisciplinary program

Here, Ruby and Elise used "identification" as they suggested the need to cross and (re)define the boundary separating university and school personnel. The epistemic action of identification helped the participants think about what could be more beneficial: A merged certification program at the undergraduate or graduate levels, or both. This was an important shift that changed the direction of the activity. Initially, the group was focused on enacting across-fields boundary crossing merely through the addition of certifications or taking courses separately and obtaining approval from the State.

As the conversation continued, more ideas were generated. For instance, Ruby, the Chair of the Special Education and Reading Department, indicated that maybe a graduate program (master's degree) made most sense,

Ruby: I'm just seeing it at the master's level because, just like kids needing the foundation, a learner bridge, teachers need to have a foundation in teaching, and I think they get that in their pre-service programs, that's why I think this is a higher level [Ruby, Day 2].

With these words, Ruby situated learning to teach as a process that takes years and that might even require longer than the duration of an undergraduate program.

Furthermore, Robert, from the Communication Disorders Department, also, in a modeling effort, explained that instead of creating a program leading to a teaching certification, they could create a program that grants a "certificate". A certificate-granting program focuses on providing pedagogical knowledge but is less regulated by the Department of Education.

At this point, Ruth during Day 2, went back to the idea of a master's degree and raised the possibility to obtain funds through a grant, "[for] the master's type of program... there might be grant money available". With this proposal, she engaged as part of the collective work in constructing a possible model of the new idea, which had been entertained earlier in the CL, but adding the need to obtain grant support. This contribution added a level of analysis (epistemic action) and through reflection (epistemic action of identification), participants tried to convince others about how efficient a certificate program could be to work with people in school districts (crossing boundaries).

While participants generated multiple programmatic ideas on Day 2, the group kept going back to the need to really find out from schools and administrators about what they needed. Ideas to do this included Ruby's suggestion to "get some data from the State", and Robert's idea to "send out a survey" to school administrators. Both agreed on the survey being "what we need to pitch it to the next level" [Ruth, Day 2]. These different actions pointed to efforts to cooperate within and outside the university effectively, rather than just creating a program which might not meet the needs in schools.

While the faculty generated several options to cross boundaries, the issue of rules continued to be present. Since the State collected data on schools and set the rules for certification, the representatives were perceived as an important partner with whom they needed to cross boundaries. The faculty questioned having to follow their rules,

Ruby: [W]e can't sit back and keep waiting for the state to decide what they are going to make in terms of certification rules. We are supposed to be the thinkers!

Harriet: I would like to present to the state that there's a body of people down here doing really excellent work...Yes, we want your input, but we also have things to tell you that we do well

With these words, the participants expressed the need to take action to change things to accomplish their object (i.e., better preparing teacher candidates for inclusive bilingual education). The statement "we want your input, but we also have things to tell you that we do well", showed their identification of a boundary along with the need to cross it and work together.

The ideas generated on Day 2 were reanalyzed as the state representatives joined the group on Day 3. Boundaries was reestablished, but also renegotiated as they together explored possibilities. The efforts described within the teacher preparation boundaries, can be recognized as a form of learning where multiple perspectives and new ideas were developed.

Discussion and Implications

The data showed that three main boundaries were discussed during the initial three sessions of this CL in inclusive bilingual education (i.e., bilingual teacher preparation, cross-disciplinary programmatic aspects, and paradigmatic related boundaries). These boundaries surfaced while discussing the rules and artifacts of the shared activity of the participants.

In terms of the levels, while boundary crossing at the intrapersonal level, and at the interpersonal level were important, the need to engage multiple institutions (i.e., schools and university) was centered. In addition, the discussion manifested that there was a need to go beyond the

institutional level to reach to policy makers and address the sociopolitical resistance against bilingual education.

The second research question investigated the kinds of epistemic learning actions for boundary crossing that emerged. In the context of bilingual teacher preparation boundaries, the participants engaged primarily in analyzing their existing comprehensive programs. However, they also embraced modeling new options. Through volitional actions, the participants realized that their object was to engage in inter-disciplinary work, but they could not do that unless they created a "merged" program. Research supports this need to create merged programs where courses and clinical experiences in classrooms focus on the intersection of bilingualism and disabilities, rather than providing candidates with separate experiences [11].

These findings have implications for the preparation of teachers for inclusive bilingual education as these boundaries will be present in similar efforts at the university levels in states across the U.S. The boundary locations point to the importance of attending to the sharing of artifacts across fields, the importance to attend to how rules can limit university creative actions, and the need to attend to boundaries at the policy and sociopolitical levels.

In terms of epistemic learning actions, the study's findings show how there was important progress as participants considered options that required the least amount of time and no additional cost (i.e., sharing existing expertise within the university). This study's findings suggests that well planned collaborative experiences can assist in mediating learning and transformation.

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Подготовка учителей для инклюзивного билингвального образования: опыт организации лаборатории для преодоления границ между специализациями

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Программы подготовки учителей готовят специалистов либо для билингвального образования (английский как второй язык), либо для специального образования — это два отдельных направления педагогической специализации. Соответственно, когда возникает необходимость обучать билингвальных детей с ОВЗ, это становится трудной задачей для учителя. В настоящее время существует объективная потребность в преодолении этих границ специализации, в объединении областей педагогической экспертизы и в такой подготовке учителей, которая позволяла бы им учитывать уникальность каждого ребенка. В ответ на такой запрос группа исследователей организовала лабораторию изменений (change laboratory) совместно с 14 профессорами и 2 консультантами из Государственного департамента образования. В ходе работы лаборатории изучалась выраженность границ и характер их взаимосвязи с деятельностью в более широком плане. Также в фокусе внимания был процесс научения, сопутствующий усилиям по преодолению границ. Границы были выделены вокруг областей, связанных с подготовкой учителей для билингвального преподавания, а также с кросс-дисциплинарными программными и парадигматическими аспектами. Несмотря на важность преодоления границ на внутриличностном и межличностном уровнях, была прицельно определена необходимость вовлечь в процесс различные организации и институты. В ходе дискуссии участниками также было ясно сформулировано, что подготовка учителей для инклюзивного билингвального образования станет возможна только в том случае, если удастся выйти за рамки институционального взаимодействия и наладить контакт с теми, кто определяет общественную повестку, чтобы переломить существующее социополитическое сопротивление в отношении билингвального обучения. На протяжении всей работы лаборатории участники осуществляли познавательные действия, связанные преимущественно с анализом и моделированием. Через свои произвольные действия участники смогли открыть для себя (т. е. осознать) обновленный объект деятельности. Данная работа позволяет лучше понять, каким образом можно делить друг с другом ответственность в образовании, используя в качестве инструмента преодоление границ между специалистами из смежных областей.

Ключевые слова: преодоление границ, инклюзивное билингвальное образование, педагогическое образование, высшее образование.

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Age Dynamics of Social Situation of Development in Elementary School Students in Inclusive Education

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The article presents results of an empirical study of the age dynamics of the social situation of development in primary school students in inclusive education. The study sample consisted of 328 children aged from 7 to 11, including 18 children with SEN, studying in two inclusive schools in Moscow. The hypothesis of the study was that the characteristics of the objective and subjective aspects of the social situation of children's development change in accordance with the two phases of primary school age. The characteristics of the social situation of the development of children were measured using the "Sociometry" method and two projective methods: "Color Test of Relationship" and "Sentence Completion Test". The age dynamics is observed in changes in the social position and the system of orienting images of primary school students. The significant differences between the distribution of sociometric statuses of students in inclusive classes and the age standard obtained in the conditions of traditional education were found. The results of the study reveal the specificity of elementary school students' development in conditions of inclusive education.

Keywords: social situation of development, inclusive education, sociometric status, distribution of statuses, emotional acceptance, elementary school age.

Introduction

The idea of inclusion as a value idea of social transformation first of all makes changes in the system of education. Following the analysis of organizational transformation and the content of inclusive values, the questions of psychological and pedagogical character are posed in the research field of inclusive educational practice.

For Russian psychological science the idea of inclusion is not new. The methodological basis of its implementation is the thesis of L.S. Vygotsky, condemning the principle of homogeneity in the selection of a children's group: «... deeply anti-pedagogical is the rule according to which we, for convenience, select homogeneous groups of retarded children. By doing this, we not only go against the natural tendency in the development of children, but, much more importantly, by depriving a mentally retarded child of collective cooperation and communication with other children standing above him,

we exacerbate rather than alleviate the immediate cause of his higher functions' underdevelopment» [4, p. 209].

Psychological analysis of inclusive educational practice allows to discuss the strategies of psychological support, the educational technologies of individualization, the basis of subjectivity, the forms of joint activity, etc. The educational environment, built on the principles of social interaction between children with different educational needs, and the inclusive process, as a dynamically unfolding process of changes in specially created conditions and forms of support, determine the conditions for inclusive education, which become the social environment in which new forms of relationships and activities arise [16]. A special problem, which until now has received very little reflection in the scientific publications, is the problem of psychological development in conditions of joint education of children with different educational needs.

The problem of development is regarded in cultural-historical psychology as a social problem. Discussing

the genesis of higher psychological functions, L.S. Vygotsky has considered interpersonal relationship as the original form of their existence. In this context, the necessity to study the quality of peers' relationship in the educational process becomes obvious [8]. According to L.S. Vygotsky, the sphere of relations being the basis of the child's psychological development constructs the social situation of development at each age stage. The concept of the social situation of development is defined as «a peculiar, specific for a given age, exclusive, unique and inimitable relationship between the child and the surrounding reality, primarily social one» [3, p. 903]. A qualitative transformation in the social situation of development is considered to be the source and the basis of psychological development.

The dynamic structure of the social situation of development consists of two aspects: 1) the objective aspect, including the child's social position, the system of expectations, norms and requirements, as well as forms of cooperation and joint activity; 2) the subjective aspect, including the system of orienting images, as well as the child's subjective reflection of his/her objective place in the system of social relations [6]. According to O.A. Karabanova and N.N. Malofeev, it is necessary to take into account the structure of the social situation of development and all its components, when planning psychological and pedagogical support for students in inclusive education [7].

On the basis of an empirical study of children' social situation of development in the Elkonin-Davydov educational system G.A. Zuckerman [14] made a conclusion that there are two phases of elementary school age. The content of the first phase of the age (the first two years of schooling) is associated with the formation of students' agency position in learning activity. The second phase of the age, called the phase of autonomization of student as an agent of learning activity within the class community, arises at the age from 10 to 12 and is associated with changes both in the form of learning collaboration and in the students' self-consciousness. In the study, by the third year of schooling a "true class community" has been formed and a "social stratification" of the peer group has arisen, i.e. the setting of the status categories distribution [14, p. 59].

The conclusion about changes in the children' statuses distribution by the third year of schooling was also made by M.Yu. Kondratyev and A.A. Lisitsyna in the study of class intragroup structuring in the conditions of traditional education. At the beginning of primary school age, especially in the first grade, the sociometric structure of the class mostly reflects the teacher's attitudes towards children, but by the third year of schooling, an informal status structure of the class begins to emerge, that reflects the personal characteristics of peers and is independent of the teacher's opinion [10]. The informal structure of the class develops most intensively later, in adolescence.

The sociometric structure of classes as peers' groups has normal distribution. In the opinion of Ya.L. Kolominsky, the shift of the group status structure curve relatively to the normal distribution curve should be con-

sidered a diagnostic indicator of social and psychological processes in the class, while the most "sensitive" are the extreme status categories such as "stars" and "isolated" [9]. Another factor influencing the status structure of the group is the homogeneity of its composition [18]. According to a few empirical studies, the percentage of students in extreme status categories is decreasing in heterogeneous groups [9].

Learning conditions, requirements for students in the educational system, as well as the social position of children in study groups constitute an objective aspect of the social situation of development. As a subjective aspect, the authors consider the developmental features associated with the attitude of children to their social conditions, including their attitude to themselves and acceptance of their place in the system of social relations [6]. A positive attitude towards oneself is considered as one of the indicators of the children' psychological well-being [2].

In the study of the age dynamics of the psychological well-being indicators in primary school children in the context of traditional education, A.D. Andreeva and O.A. Moskvitina shows a general decrease in the self-esteem, the level of aspirations and the satisfaction with age among fourth-grade students with their subsequent increase in the fifth grade [1]. The authors explain this fact by a change in the children' social situation of development in advance the transition to secondary school [1]. The decrease in the indicators of psychological well-being among fourth-grade students has been confirmed by other authors [5], however, due to different methods of diagnostics, the possibilities for the data comparison are limited.

Based on previous research on the age dynamics of elementary school students' social situation of development in traditional education and the Elkonin-Davydov educational system we expect to observe an age dynamics in students' social position and their system of orienting images in the conditions of inclusive education in accordance with two phases of elementary school age. As inclusive classes constitute heterogeneous groups of students with different educational needs, we expect the distribution of sociometric statuses in inclusive classes has a specific character with a decrease of the extreme sociometric status categories such as "stars" and "isolated".

Study Program

This study aims to reveal the specifics and the age dynamics of the social situation of development in elementary school children studying in inclusive education. The following hypothesis are tested: Hypothesis 1: the distribution of sociometric statuses of students in inclusive classes has specific character.

Hypothesis 2: the age dynamics of the social position of elementary school students is observed in the conditions of inclusive education.

Hypothesis 3: the age dynamics of the system of orienting images of elementary school students is observed in the conditions of inclusive education.

The study sample consists of 328 children aged 7 to 11 years, including 18 children with special educational needs, studying in two inclusive schools in Moscow. The special educational needs of the 18 children (11 girls and 7 boys) have been confirmed by the conclusion of an independent psychological, medical and pedagogical commission. The children with SEN learn according to adapted educational programs together with their normatively developing classmates. From one to three children with SEN learn in each surveyed inclusive class. The proportion of students with disabilities in the study sample corresponds to the proportion of children with SEN in the general Russian child population.

The social position of children was measured using sociometric method. To identify the system of orienting images of children two projective techniques were used: "Color Test of Relationship" and "Sentence Completion Test".

The study was carried out frontally in each class. The diagnostic procedure began with the projective technique "Color Test of Relationship", which consisted of children' choice among the proposed color cards of color associations to the character of each classmate from the class list, including their own character. Then, in accordance with the diagnostic procedure [12], the students were asked to go to another activity (sociometric peer nominations), after that they were asked to rank the color cards from the most pleasant to the least pleasant according to their personal preferences. Thus, an individual profiles of color preferences were identified for each student, then color associations of classmates were translated into ranks of emotional acceptance. Emotional acceptance was defined as the choice from the first to the third ranks of color preferences, emotional rejection was defined as the choice from the sixth to the eighth ranks of color preferences, and the fourth and fifth ranks were defined as neutral attitude.

At the end of the diagnostic procedure, the students were asked to compose and to write down the endings of sentences. The "Sentence Completion Test" was used to diagnose the students' representations of themselves, their classmates and relationships with them.

In sociometric diagnostics, students were asked to answer three questions by choosing among their classmates three desirable and three undesirable partners for joint learning and recreation activities. Thus, positive and negative sociometric statuses were figures out for each student. To analyze the distribution of sociometric statuses based on the number of positive choices received by every student from his/her classmates, four categories were identified: 1) "stars", i.e. children received 6 or more choices, 2) "accepted" — from 3 to 5 choices, 3) "not accepted" — from 1 to 2 choices, 4) "isolated" — 0 choices [9].

The following methods were used for statistical data processing: Pearson's chi-square test, Mann-Whitney U-test, F-test. Statistical data processing was performed using MS Office Excel and IBM SPSS Statistics programs.

Results

To test hypothesis 1 the revealed distribution of statuses in the inclusive classes was compared with the normative distribution of sociometric statuses in elementary school children studying in the conditions of traditional education [9; 11; 13]. The results are presented in Figure 1.
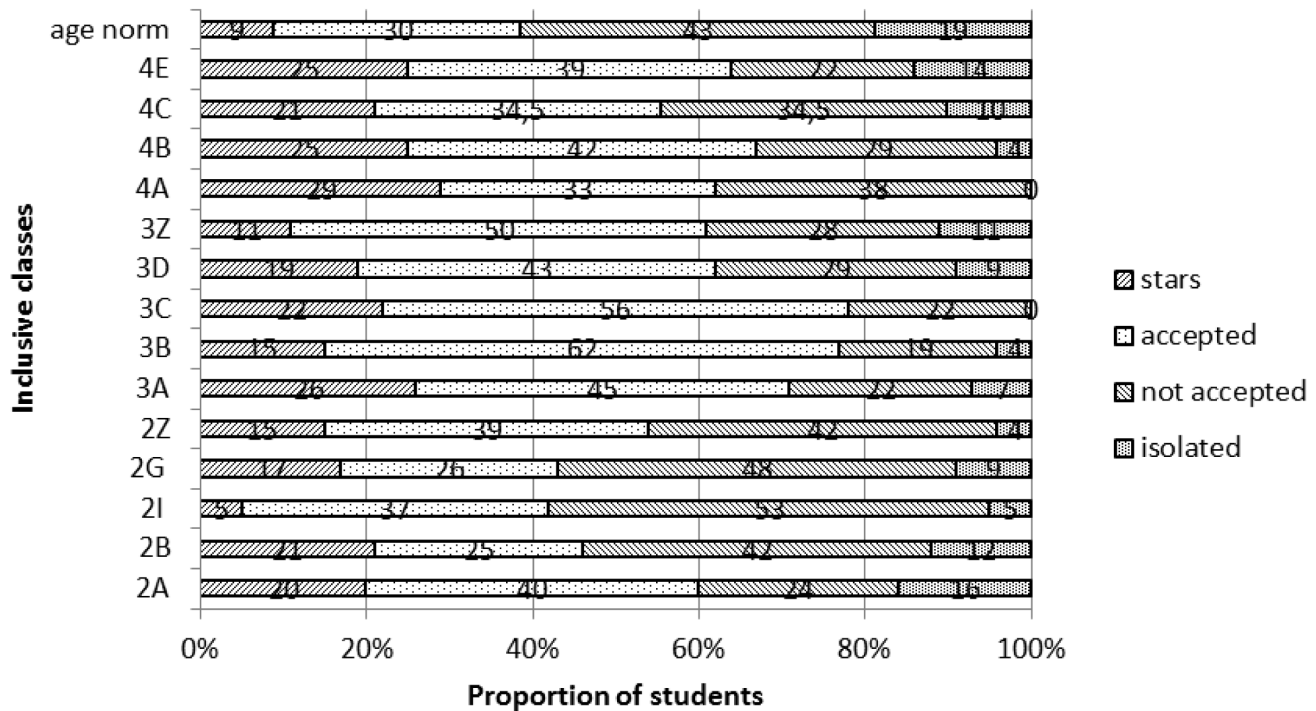
Fig. 1. Sociometrical statuses distribution in elementary school children studying in inclusive classes versus age norm in traditional education (N = 328)

In the studied inclusive classes, the proportion of students with advantageous sociometric statuses (i.e. "stars" and "accepted") amounts from 42 to 78% and exceeds the analogic proportion revealed in the conditions of traditional education — 39%. At the same time, the proportion of students who had not received any positive choices from their classmates (so-called "isolation index") in the studied classes does not exceed 16%, in the six of fourteen classes it is less than 5% (comparing with an age norm of 19%). The results allow to conclude about the positive quality of relations between classmates in inclusive classes. The differences between the distribution of sociometric statuses in inclusive classes and the age norm revealed in the conditions of traditional education are statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 140,0$; $p < 0,001$). These data support hypothesis 1 of the study.

In addition, a comparison of the sociometric statuses of normatively developing children and their classmates with SEN was made. The differences between positive sociometric indices of normatively developing children and children with SEN are not significant ($U = 2146,5$; $p > 0,1$). The distribution of sociometric statuses of students with SEN corresponds to the age norm for elementary school children revealed in the conditions of traditional education, the differences in two distributions are not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 0,599$; $p > 0,93$). Table 1 presents the data.

At the same time, the negative sociometric indices of elementary school children with SEN are significantly lower than those of their normatively developing classmates ($U = 1241,5$; $p < 0,01$). These conclusions are consistent with the results previously revealed by a number of researchers [17; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 24]. The results show the necessity of psychological support to facilitate inclusion of children with SEN in peers' group. A detailed comparative analysis of the social situation of development in normatively developing elementary school children and their classmates with SEN in conditions of joint education in inclusive classes was published earlier [15].

To test hypothesis 2 on the age dynamics of the social position of students, a comparison of the sociometric statuses distribution in the first (students of the second grades, N = 117) and the second (students of the third and fourth grades, N = 211) phases of age was made. The proportion of children with advantageous statuses ("stars", "accepted") increases in the second phase of the age compared to the first phase, the difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 43,696$; $p < 0,001$). These data support hypothesis 2 of the study.

To test hypothesis 3, the system of orienting images, including the self-image, the image of a partner, the image of interpersonal relations [6], was identified using two projective methods: "Color Test of Relationship" and "Sentence Completion Test".

The data of the "Color Test of Relationship" show that the majority of elementary school children accept themselves emotionally. The proportion of children who have positive self-attitude slightly increases from the first to the second phase of age ($\varphi^* = 0,73$; $p > 0,1$) (see fig. 2).

Table 1

Distribution of sociometric statuses in children with SEN studying in inclusive classes (N = 18)

Sociometric status	Second grade	Third grade	Fourth grade	Sum	Distribution of statuses	Age norm
"Stars"	0	2	0	2	11%	9%
"Accepted"	1	2	2	5	28%	30%
"Not accepted"	4	2	1	7	39%	43%
"Isolated"	3	0	1	4	22%	19%
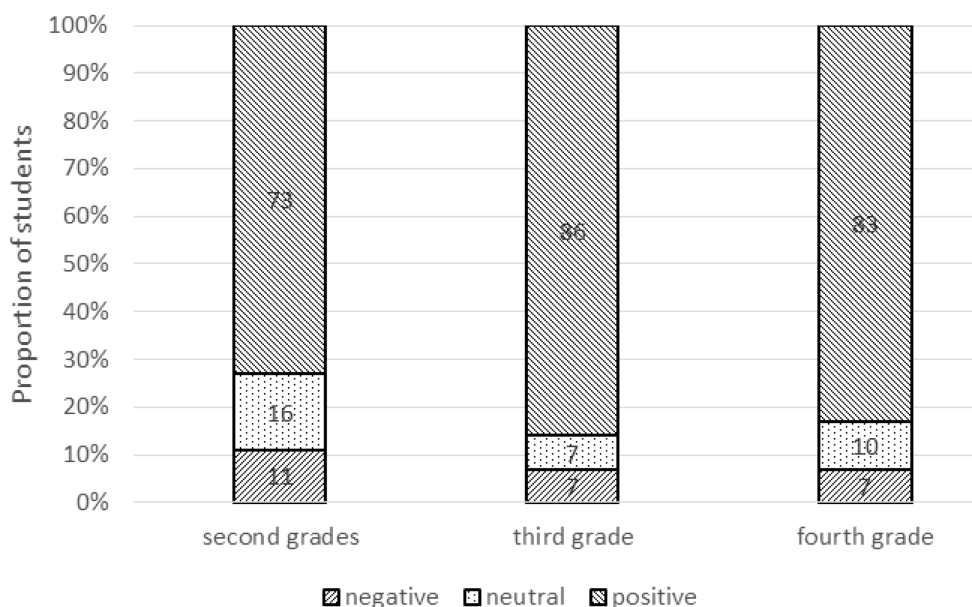
Fig. 2. Age dynamics of emotional self-attitude in elementary school children studying in inclusive classes (N = 328)

In all inclusive classes, examined in the study, the emotional acceptance of students by their classmates prevails, the average for the classes is from 57 to 76%. The level of emotional acceptance gradually decreases, the differences in the distribution of this indicator between the second, third and fourth grades are statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 427{,}695$; $p < 0{,}05$).

The representations of themselves, classmates and relationships with them in the system of students' orienting images were identified by the "Sentence Completion Test". The image of desirable social position in the class among elementary school children ("In my class I would like to be...") is associated mostly with a position of successful student (to be an "excellent student", "good student"): 29% answers in second grades, 38% — in third grades, 52% — in fourth grades. In the second phase of the age the proportion of children who define the desirable social position through friendship with their classmates increases (to be a "friend", "good friend", "insider"): 4% answers in second grades, 25% — in third grades, 17% — in fourth grades. At the same time, the number of answers related to general abilities (to be "the smartest", "most fun", "prettier and smarter than everyone else") and with the position of a teacher (to be a "teacher") decreases. To test the hypothesis about age dynamics, the data of the second, third and fourth grades were compared by using the Pearson test; statistically significant differences were found ($\chi^2 = 519{,}855$, $p < 0{,}001$). These data support hypothesis 3 of the study. The distribution of students' answers is presented in the Table 2.

Children's representations about their abilities were defined in the sentence "I am capable enough to...". Their answers are associated with successful learning activity ("to study well", "to get excellent marks", "to write a test", "to complete a difficult task", "to graduate school", "to do my homework on my own", "to go to the fifth grade"), as well as extracurricular activities ("to play the guitar", "to swim", "to paint and play the piano", "to get the sports category in figure skating", "to make pocket money", "to become a champion") and general self-real-

ization ("to make my dreams come true", "to be cool", "to overcome all obstacles"). The distribution of students' responses on the sentence is presented in the Table 3.

Students most often associate the realization of their abilities with learning activity (63% of the answers), the proportion of such answers increases with age: in the second grades — 50%, in the fourth grades — 65%. To test the hypothesis about age dynamics, the data of the second, third and fourth grades were compared using the Pearson test; no statistically significant differences were found ($\chi^2 = 5{,}613$; $p > 0{,}23$).

Children's representations about their friends were defined in the sentence "My friends often...". To analyze the children's responses were divided into three categories: 1) responses showing positive peer relationships ("make friends with me", "help me", "share with me", "play, draw with me", "cheer up", "support me in difficult times", "love to play with me", "call me for a walk"); 2) neutral responses, not affecting peers' interactions with the respondent ("play", "laugh", "have fun", "run", "tell funny stories", "come up with something"); 3) responses showing negative peer relationships ("I have no friends", "they betray me", "they do not notice me", "they hate me"). The distribution of students' responses on the sentence is presented in the Table 4.

Quantitative analysis shows that most of the responses (85%) reflect positive or neutral experience of peers' relationships, meanwhile 15% of the answers reflect conflicts between peers. An age dynamics for this parameter was not found ($\chi^2 = 6{,}37$; $p > 0{,}18$).

The image of elementary school children about the attitude of their classmates to them were determined in the endings of the sentence "When I am absent, my classmates...". To analyze the children's responses were divided into three categories: 1) responses showing positive peers relationships ("worry about me", "they call me", "they might be sad", "they miss me", "they help and send me homework"); 2) neutral responses, not affecting peers' interactions with the respondent ("learn", "walk", "run in the school", "play with guys from other classes"); 3) responses

T a b l e 2

Distribution of answers of normatively developing students on desired social position in the class (N = 131)

Classes	Categories of answers about the desired social position in the class			
	student	teacher	friendship	abilities
Second grades	14	11	2	21
Third grades	14	4	9	9
Fourth grades	25	1	8	14
Sum	53	15	19	44

T a b l e 3

Distribution of answers of normatively developing students on their abilities (N = 126)

Classes	Categories of answers about their abilities		
	learning activity	extracurricular activities	general self-realization
Second grades	21	13	8
Third grades	26	4	5
Fourth grades	32	10	7
Sum	79	27	20

showing negative peers relationships ("they pay little attention to it", "they don't even call me", "they say: truant", "they forget about me"). The distribution of students' responses on the sentence is presented in the Table 5.

Most of the answers (63%) reflect a positive image of relations with classmates, 24% — a neutral image and 13% — a negative image. An age dynamics for this parameter was not found ($\chi^2 = 5,920$; $p > 0,24$).

Thus, in the system of orienting images of elementary school children studying in inclusive classes, the age dynamics in the desired social position was revealed. In the second phase of the age the proportion of children who define the desired social position through successful learning and friendship with their classmates increases. The results indicate the development of a student's position in children, as well as an increasing role of relationships with peers in the formation of self-attitude of elementary school students.

The level of children' emotional self-acceptance remains high throughout the entire elementary school age. A normative crisis of self-acceptance [1] was not found in our fourth grades students. This fact can be explained by such features of the social situation of development in inclusive education as a positive peers' relations and emotional support from teachers. But since the authors of the studies on psychological well-being, that indicate the normative crisis of self-attitude of fourth-grade students in the context of traditional education [1; 5] used other diagnostic methods, this conclusion requires additional verification.

A gradual decrease in the level of classmates' emotional acceptance was found in the system of orienting images of elementary school children studying in inclusive classes. At the same time the proportion of children with advantageous sociometric statuses in the classroom increase in the second phase of the age. The facts indicate the development of children's selectivity in relationships with peers. In general, an increase in the proportion of children with advantageous statuses and a decrease in the proportion of children who have not received matches from their classmates (the "isolation index") indicate the formation of class community, where children with different needs and developmental characteristics are included and accepted, that corresponds to the principles of an inclusive approach in education.

Conclusion

The study verifies the hypothesis about age dynamics in the social situation of development at elementary school inclusive classes, that appears to show a developmental effect of inclusive educational environment. In addition, for the first time in a Russian sample, the study shows the specific features of the social situation of development in elementary school children studying in the conditions of an inclusive educational model.

A detailed study of the psychological well-being in children studying in inclusive education, a study of students' social position in a larger sample, as well as a longitudinal study of the dynamics of the social situation of development during the transition from elementary to high school seem to be promising directions for further research.

T a b l e 4

Distribution of answers of normatively developing students about their relations with friends (N = 132)

Classes	Categories of answers about the relations with friends		
	positive	neutral	negative
Second grades	19	19	7
Third grades	14	19	6
Fourth grades	24	18	6
Sum	57	56	19

T a b l e 5

Distribution of answers of normatively developing students about their relations with classmates (N = 117)

Classes	Categories of answers about the relations with classmates		
	positive	neutral	negative
Second grades	28	6	2
Third grades	21	10	4
Fourth grades	25	12	9
Sum	74	28	15

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Возрастная динамика социальной ситуации развития младших школьников в условиях инклюзивного образования

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В статье представлены результаты эмпирического исследования возрастной динамики социальной ситуации развития младших школьников, обучающихся в условиях инклюзивного образования. Выборку составили 328 младших школьников в возрасте от 7 до 11 лет, в том числе 18 детей с ОВЗ, обучающихся в двух инклюзивных школах г. Москвы. Гипотеза исследования состояла в том, что характеристики объективного и субъективного аспектов социальной ситуации развития детей изменяются в соответствии с двумя фазами младшего школьного возраста. Характеристики социальной ситуации развития школьников определялись с помощью метода «Социометрия» и двух проективных методик — «Цветовой тест отношений» и «Незаконченные предложения». Показано, что возрастная динамика проявляется в изменении социальной позиции и системы ориентирующих образов младших школьников. Обнаружены достоверные различия между распределением социометрических статусов обучающихся инклюзивных классов и возрастным нормативом, полученным в условиях традиционного образования. Результаты исследования выявляют специфику возрастного развития младших школьников в инклюзивных условиях обучения.

Ключевые слова: социальная ситуация развития, инклюзивное образование, социометрический статус, распределение статусов, эмоциональное принятие, младший школьный возраст.

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The Psychodrama and its Contribution to the Children's Competitive Confrontation. Case Study

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The purpose of this paper is twofold, first to study in depth by analyzing the phenomena in the circle of the psychodrama group and then to highlight the results from the application of the psychodrama technique to young athletes who would take part in competitions. A group of 6 boys and 4 girls (N = 10, 100%) aged 12 years ± 5 months have participated in psychodrama sessions, lasting 90 minutes, with a frequency of every 15 days for 12 months (January 2019 — January 2020). The meetings took place in parallel and in combination with the judo training that lasted 90 minutes for three times a week. Both the trainings and the psychodrama meetings took place in the same place. The present work is a case study for the detailed examination and qualitative analysis of the group of young judo athletes in the process of psychodrama. The results of the coupling of the program of physical education and the method of psychodrama were impressive both by the testimonies of the children and the official results of the Panhellenic championship for girls and boys. Psychodrama can be an alternative method of education in school.

Keywords: psychodrama, judo, stress, athletes, physical education, children.

Introduction

In the review of research papers [1; 2; 3; 4; 5], the psychodrama as Group psychotherapy practice improves the symptoms associated with a wide range of behavioral problems while remaining and attracting for a long time the focus of scientific interest. The positive contribution of the implementation of intervention programs with the practice of psychodrama in the development of interpersonal relationships and social skills of participants, self-knowledge and emotional understanding is emphasized by many studies [6; 7], in the treatment of eating disorders [8]. The research [9] reports positive results from the application of psychodrama in higher education in order to detect and solve the teaching and learning needs of students, while the research [10] reports the psychodrama that was developed in the graduate program of the School of Nursing of the University of Sao Paulo as a pedagogical teaching method for the protection of workers' health. Analytical psychodrama, as a form of group psychotherapy, is an integral part of the treatment program for young adults at the Counseling Center of the University of Bologna, which provides a free service to its students, aimed at providing psychological support [11]. The results of various university studies in many countries [12; 11], have shown the success of the inter-

vention in reducing symptoms and improving the well-being of patients and even that analytical psychodrama is an appropriate treatment for students as it reduces the symptoms of young adults. Research on psychodrama [13; 14; 15] is conducted in a school-community context, focusing on interdisciplinary prevention programs and they are related to socio-emotional learning as well as children's and adolescents' bullying and aggression.

The athletic match and especially the children's confrontation in individual combat competitions, such as judo, often generate tension and stress [16]. According to the application of McGrath's theory [17], children of late childhood, in the sport of judo participate in a process which includes: a) environmental stimuli that make demands on the child, such as the opponent, his/her technical level, the confrontational intelligence and the successes of the rival athlete, b) the child's perception of the specific situation and how it should be dealt with, c) the actual action — the child's response to this situation, and d) the consequences of this action for the child. A phenomenological state of stress is created by the complex of environmental stimulus, the child's competitive abilities, and the conflict situation of these two and whether his/her abilities respond to this state. In a representation of the process of children's confrontation in judo competitions of the children's categories for boys and girls and

contrasting with the stages of occurrence of stress, the judo competition is a psychological and physiological requirement. The child's perception of the demands of the fight is related to the fact that the child perceives the demands of the fight "perceives them as a threat" by thinking such as: "it will be very difficult for me to win this fight", "the other's ability is better "My ability is not enough to win." This condition is often characterized by an increased heart rate, rapid breathing, abdominal cramps, negative thoughts and increased muscle tension, which lead to reduced performance compared to the actual performance that the child could achieve [18].

The purpose of this study is to study the application and effectiveness of psychodrama in a group of children of late childhood involved in the sport of judo to enhance their athletic performance.

Conceptual definitions

Psychodrama is a psychotherapeutic method during which participants are encouraged to continue and complete their actions, only through dramatization, role-playing and dramatic self-presentation. Both verbal and non-verbal communication are used and a number of scenes are represented that describe, for example, memories of past events, fantasies, dreams, future plans, internal conflicts and the mental state of the individual in the here and now [19].

The protagonist who is the first in both the action and in the psychodramatic process is the representative voice through which the other members of the group can "process" themselves [7].

Performance stress is a generalized fear before a presentation or performance in front of an audience, which usually focuses on the consequences of failing to meet the requirements of the occasion [20].

Stress is a prolonged period of psychological and physical stimulation, which has negative effects on mood, cognitive ability, immune function and physical health [20].

Theoretical background of research

"Spontaneity" as a concept is the source manifestation of behavior, that is, when someone acts following one's inner impulses without accepting external influences and is characterized by the element of competence, while when it refers to an already known situation it contains a degree of innovation [7; 21]. Fine (1979) [22], states that when spontaneity is limited, suspended then the individual is led to individual and social psychopathology. According to the founder of psychodrama [21] the level of individual spontaneity functions as a criterion for assessing his mental state, social ability and involvement in this situation. Psychodramatic intervention promotes spontaneity and creativity, as is the case with children's play. This mental mechanism then facilitates new roles and coping with new situations [23; 21]. In psychodramatic intervention, individuals meet each other in «here and now", that is, the immediacy of the situation, the focus of their consciousness on the issue, the

treatment of themselves and others in the foreground [24]. In the psychodramatic encounter, concepts and mental phenomena develop themselves such as; we are together, silence, eye and physical contact, body language, uniqueness, love, hate, anger, fear, past, present, future [25].

A key feature is the "tele" the two-way flow of emotions between the participants in the intervention [7; 21]. The "tele" is that connecting factor that connects the members of the team; it is the mutual exchange of empathy and appreciation [21].

"Purification" is a concept used by the ancient philosopher Aristotle and meant the "emotional relief, discharge" of the viewer watching the tragedy. The members of the psychodrama group "see, observe and reflect" on a new version, perspective on an old problematic situation and begin to feel differently about it [21].

According to sociological theory, "role" is the social behavior that is expected from a person who holds a social position in relation to the holder of another position [26].

The exposure of the individual in the psychodramatic process relates to communication and the way in which it relates to other players within the team [27]. The other players have different perceptions of the situation and perhaps different perspectives on things in psychodrama. The diversity of views, decisions makes its appearance within the team of psychodrama.

The "transition" to psychodrama refers to many issues, such as in the phases of the process e.g. transition from warm-up, to the dramatization and to the post-dramatization phase, to the roles that the individual assumes, before, during and after playing, as well as the transitions to the spiritual level from a real state, to imaginary and symbolic and vice versa [28; 21].

The child in the present psychodramatic process adopts the other's attitude (rival athlete, athlete's, coach's, sports fans, champion's, and parent's) and realizes, performs this role with himself herself, that is, handles this role as an object. This role has a social structure, characteristics which the child becomes in familiar with psychodrama. These characteristics of the role are associated with the systems of social, historical and cultural structure in the community in which the child lives and develops [29; 30]. The fact that the child adopts and internalizes the characteristics of the role that have been mentioned above means that he / she adopts and internalizes the characteristics and attitudes of the wider society as a whole in the community in which he /she develops. This is very important for the child and his social development. The child adopts and internalizes the above behaviors and makes an effort to respond appropriately to this role through the psychodramatic process. The child also understands and adopts the other participants' attitude in the group, e.g. of athletes, coaches, fans, parents, friends involved in this process. At this point it has to do with his individual and group duty that he perceives and the characteristics of other roles and behaviors. This is exactly the fact that the adoption and realization by the child of the characteristics and behavior of the other roles, but also the relationship between the roles, influences and shapes the behavior of the child but it is also very important for the socialization of child's according to Mead [29]. The child will therefore organize
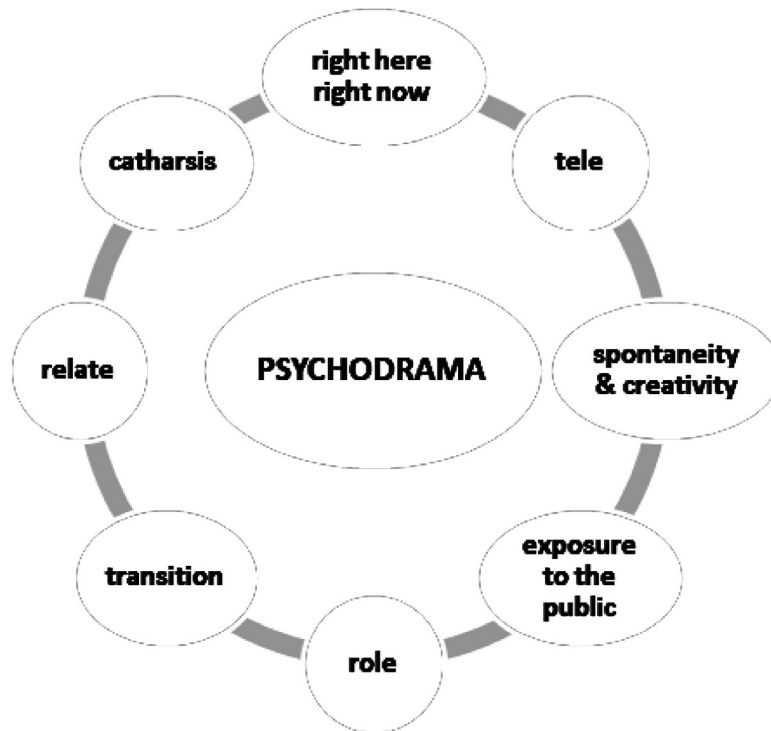
Fig. 1. Basic concepts of the psychodramatic process

his /her behavior in the psychodramatic game according to the above, but at the same time he / she is related to the others and expresses his /her behavior in the game, in the team in a spontaneous way. According to Vygotsky [31], the factors of mental development are not inside the child's body but outside, it in the child's social interaction with other people (especially in adults) in the course of which information, habits and patterns of social behavior are not simply assimilated, but the main mental structures are formed that then determine the whole flow of mental processes. Once these structures are formed, we can speak of the existence in man of the corresponding higher (that is, conscious and voluntary) mental functions of the same consciousness. The main peculiarity of consciousness lies in the fact that any conscious content assumes a symbolic (mainly verbal, internal speech) form. According to the above, the psychodramatic process contributes significantly to covering the distance of the existing mental age of the child with the limit of his /her possibilities to solve problematic situations. Vygotsky defined as the Zone of Immediate Development (ZEA) the distance between the existing mental age of the child and the level of problem solving that the child can reach, with the help of others [31]. Within this zone learning initially and cognitive development are later accomplished.

Research methodology

Sample research

The children who participated in the research (N = 10, 6 boys, 4 girls and aged 12 years ± 5 months), are judo athletes, students of the sixth primary school, had a coaching age of 2-4 years and have participated many times in competitions . The children and their parents were informed about the purpose and method of the research. The principles of scientific research ethics were observed, the relevant permission had been given by children and the parents before the research was carried out. The anonymity of the participants was also ensured. The participation of the children was optional and they were given the opportunity to leave at any stage of the research. Children regularly participate in training three times a week for 90 minutes. The psychodrama was performed every fifteen days, twice a month for 90 minutes in the same place as the training, which was shaped appropriately for the phases of the psychodrama.

Psychodrama process in the present research

There were 22 psychodramatic meetings for a whole year. Many psychodrama researchers emphasize the need for longer interventions beyond the 12 sessions in order to make the results and improvements in the condition of individuals from the psychodrama process more stable [6; 32; 33]. The psychodramatic process is divided into three phases: warm-up, action, and feedback [7].

The warm-up or pre-reaction phase lasts about 15 to 20 minutes and attracts the attention of the participants in the "here and now". The purpose of the psychodramatic process in this phase is to enhance the readiness of the team members for emotional and active involvement and the choice of the protagonist about what he/she wants to work on stage. The warm-up includes a free-flowing discussion, commenting on team-related issues such as: size, coherence, emotions, structured exercises, guided fantasies and thoughts. "Sometimes I can't sleep; my opponents are stronger than me, etc." When the group focuses on a protagonist, then the group coordi-

nator who also has the role of director "reads, observes" the verbal and non-verbal messages transmitted by both the protagonist and the other members of the group and investigates his own reactions. Based on these messages and the internal reactions of the coordinator — director, the acting phase is planned and evolved.

In the second phase of the play, the protagonist's inner reality is structured and represented on stage. This phase lasts about 30 to 40 minutes. The coordinator asks the protagonist to select members of the team who will play on stage. The role of the coordinator in the selection of specific roles for the other members who will play on stage is crucial. In the acting phase we have the action on stage. The experienced coordinator distinguishes the dramatic depiction of the present difficulty of the protagonist, the investigation of this difficulty and the representation through the realization of the possible solutions and alternative ways of dealing with it [34].

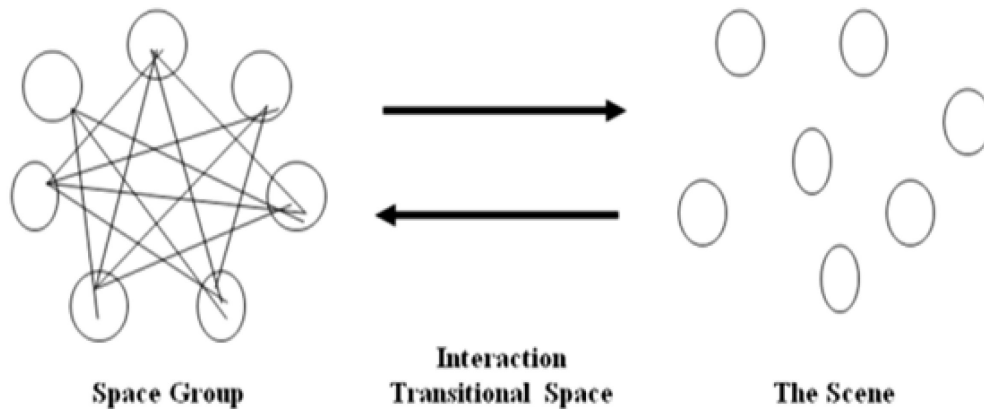In the third phase of the feedback, the team members who played leave their roles on stage and return to the team. This phase lasts about 30 to 40 minutes. All members of the group spectators, protagonist and those who played express their thoughts and feelings around the action. The coordinator protects team members from criticism [7]. All members experience therapeutic effects as they process the emotions they experienced during the performance [7].

Methodology of the present research

The present work presents a combination of methodological tools of case study and action research. The present study is limited to a single case of the combined method of physical therapy with psychodrama aimed at strengthening the personality of young judo athletes — developing their ability to effectively deal with the fear they feel about the games — but from which it is hoped that generalizations can be made for similar cases, then

we refer to the case study. This type of qualitative research is a complete and detailed examination of a community of primary school students which is carried out for a long time in the physical space of the gym, where it is possible to study phenomena that occur rarely [35]. The present research is carried out in a sports environment, involving athletes, projects and processes that need a solution, or where changing a characteristic can bring about a desired result, such as the adoption of an integrated learning method as opposed to training and learning individual tactics, sports skills — which is the requested thing of the present study and then we can talk about the method of action research [36].

Description and results

Then an indicative meeting from the other eighteen ones follows and it is analyzed that relates to the experiential communication and participation of children in difficult self-management processes such as fear of the fight, stress before the fight by developing a problem-solving strategy.

Warm-up: duration 20 'minutes.

The coordinator welcomes the children. They all sit together in a circular pattern. The group discusses how they did but also about the events of the interval of 15 days that mediated from the previous meeting and they consider them important for discussion. A member (A) brings for discussion the matches that took place but also for those that are going to take place soon. He mentions the fact that he constantly thinks about them and that he makes a great effort to calm his thoughts about it. Specifically, it states:

"On Sunday in the games I played four times, I made two wins and two defeats and I came out fifth in the end. I am not at all happy with myself and my performance. I lost my third race to this athlete who was much stronger

T a b l e 1

Annual plan of psychological and physical preparation of judo athletes for the pan-Hellenic children's judo competitions in the last week of January 2021

Months	JAN. 2020				FEBR. 2020				MARCH 2020				APRIL 2020				MAY 2020				JUNE 2020				JULY 2020				AUGUST 2020				SEPTEM. 2020				OCTOB. 2020				NOV. 2020				DEC. 2020				JAN. 2021			
Week	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Psychodrama	Christmas	*		*		*		*		*		*		*	Easter	*		*		*		*		*		*		Summer Holidays					*		*		*		*		*		*		*	Christmas	*		*	

C: Panhellenic games, **C:** inter-club matches,

Fig. 2. Switch between the mass process and the stage action

than me. I will have to face him in the national championship and I am afraid that I may lose again. I will train; I will not miss the trainings but how to beat it since it is stronger. "This worries me; I think about it all the time and I cannot calm down."

The coordinator then states: "So what creates this phobic situation for us is not so much the fight as a fight, as a process, but a difficult opponent that we have to face and he may have made it difficult for us in other fights. "None of us like to lose, we want to play as much as possible, to win and win medals for it and we train regularly".

The coordinator guides the discussion so that all the children express themselves present a flow in the discussion and they do not talk to each other.

Coordinator: "What we all notice is that this feeling is common to all of us. This feeling of fear has a dynamic which is greater in others and less in others. It is important that this happens to all of us, it is a universal situation, phobic, but we can manage it and overcome it, as you very nicely mentioned before. We ask for the help of the coach, we participate in the training; I intensify the effort even more. Well done guys, these are actions that you thought of yourself and did to provide a solution. So guys, how do we see this situation? How could we compare this situation? With what object, animal, history, and human could we compare it? "

Member (F): "looks like Homer's Odyssey".

Member (I): "with the story of Sisyphus".

Member (C): "with Mount Everest, a big mountain that we are trying to climb".

Member (I): "the story of children in Thailand who were locked up and isolated for twenty days deep in a cave without contact with the rest of the world".

The coordinator then gives each member some time to tell their own story — analogy.

Coordinator: "Which of the stories you have heard would you like us to play in different roles?"

The children thought and after a dialectical discussion decided to make a composition of all four stories. The member (F) receiving trust in his face from the other members of the team announces to the coordinator and to the team the story that the team finally ended up playing.

Coordinator: "We have to choose who wants to play on stage, what role he wants to play, who wants to be a

spectator». Even those who choose to play can improvise on stage freely and about the story."

Children voluntarily choose the roles. The coordinator gives the group members some time to think about the story and the roles they will play and then get up to go on stage.

Main part: duration 40 'minutes

The divided roles were: a) Sisyphus, b) two members would play Sisyphus's comrades who would help him in his endeavor, c) "The Dog" a member of the group opened and closed his arms trying to trap his victim for to eat it, d) the Cyclops and e) the two robbers who would try to steal the "fearless". Three children and the coordinator preferred to be spectators, sitting in the group area and watching the others play while not taking an active part with a role on stage.

The event begins. Sisyphus is lying on one side of the stage, he and his two companions are supposed to be sleeping in the depths of an underground cave and have an episodic sleep with Sisyphus dreaming and talking in his sleep.

After the main action: duration 30 'minutes.

The facilitator gives some time to the members who played to calm down from the intensity of the dramatic play and to return to the reality of the team.

Coordinator: "How are we before, during and after the game? Did we like the game?"

All the children replied that they liked the process and would like to be given the opportunity to repeat it for many other issues. The emotions reported by the children are worth noting below.

Member of the team that played Sisyphus: "I really liked the process and generally similar activities, so I asked the team to take on the role of Sisyphus. Interest, enthusiasm, question if I am in the role, curiosity to play well, how others will judge me, anxiety not to escape the story with what I say. I had a lot of fun. "

Coordinator to Sisyphus: "First of all, big thumbs up to everyone you played, you were all really great, as professional actors. Sisyfe you showed not to be afraid at all and for every obstacle that was presented you had a plan that you followed with composure and great care. Although I do not hide from you that in the beginning with

the thoughts you had in your sleep you showed us how much you are afraid. "But then you wake up very well."

Member of the team that played Sisyphus: "This is how I try to be in reality too. I'm afraid too if I can describe this situation that way. I am also afraid in the competition but I do not allow this feeling of fear to overwhelm me, I want to win it every time, to control it. I am afraid when I have not prepared well for the next day at school that the teacher examines me and I do not answer, I know that even if I did not answer, nothing happened but I do not like it. That's why I prepare and read in advance. I do the same in training. I do not like to lose, so I try harder in training. I'm afraid of losing games. I implement a plan but apart from training I ask the coach to find me videotaped matches of my opponents to watch them first and then to fight with them. I do not want to leave things to chance, as they come. It is a fact that I experience some important things very intensely and many times I dream about them while I sleep."

Member who played partner 1: "At first I felt interest, curiosity, embarrassment, anxiety about what I would do, what I would say in the event, what others would tell me, if I performed well at the game, if I was in the game. In the end I liked everything that happened and I would love to play again. I felt a little tight at the beginning of the game, even though we all know each other very well. However, this feeling of anxiety is similar to what I feel and have when the competition is approaching. I felt relieved and confident when Sisyphus explained to us the plan he had in mind and when we implemented it to overcome the difficulties. "

Member who played partner 2: "I was afraid if we succeed but at the same time I had a hope that we will succeed in the end. I was a little scared if I did the role correctly. I really liked it and I had fun. "I was trying to find out where what we did on stage was similar to what we feel in training and competitions."

Spectator of the event: "I liked the spectacle from the children and at first I did not think that it would develop into such a nice situation. At first I did not want to play and I preferred to sit down. In the end I wondered why I should not play too. Something I will pursue next time in the team. I was scared at first to play because I was not sure I would make it and others would laugh with me, and I did not want that to happen. I was curious to see what others would do on stage. It strongly reminded me of the effort I make and all the kids do with training and competitions. I made a parallel between the training and the race by going from the underground cave to the mountain climbing, the difficulties, the fears that we will face and in the end we will emerge victorious. It's all in the game. I was very worried and even now I think a lot about these processes that take place in my mind. "Is fear part of the game, in what we do to intensify our attention and effort on what we do to be the winners in the end?"

A member impersonating Scylla: "And if we are defeated by someone, what happened? Will they kill us? Absolutely nothing happened. Since I know that I tried hard and failed to beat someone, then this means either that the other is better with more capabilities and abilities than me (like the ones that Sisyphus applied

to deceive me and pass through my area) or that I was unlucky. "Personally, I am scared when I go to school illiterate and I am worried that the teacher will not examine me, when I do not train properly and we go down to competitions, then yes, I am very scared".

Another spectator: "I was curious what we would see. It makes it difficult for me to go on stage and play, congratulations to the children who played. They were really good and I liked them. I was satisfied that they did it after they had an action plan and put it into practice. I liked the whole scene and it left a very good impression on me."

After all the children had spoken, the coordinator then spoke about the summary of the psychodramatic process.

Coordinator: "through this experiential, thoughts, feelings, attitudes emerged on the surface. These emotions in order of appearance and as you mentioned them were embarrassment, interest, curiosity, anxiety, worry, satisfaction, excitement, fun. The whole team experienced these feelings that are common to all of us. So when we feel a feeling of worry, fear of something like the fights and our opponents experience exactly the same feeling we are not the only ones experiencing it. I can't know how much what I say can help us. So I inform you about an emotional factor that refers to the universality of emotions [37]. In the face of the same situation, the participants experience common feelings, so it is not only you who are afraid, so your opponent is also afraid. You all mentioned your concern if I would play my role properly, what others would say about how I played, I did not want to be exposed playing. Isn't this concern what we feel in the races as well? The question then is what happens to this feeling, what creates it? What do we do about it? How do I dominate it and not let it dominate us? Many of you rightly said that I am very worried if I am illiterate, if I am untrained, I am scared of what others will say if I fail, I am not sure if I succeed, I felt confident and relieved when Sisyphus explained the action plan. Indeed some of the thoughts you have made and are doing as well as the feelings are common to all people in the face of difficult situations. The following thoughts that referred to the psychodramatic process and reflect the reality as you experience it and these are the insufficient training, our self-confidence, the difficulty and importance of the fight, the important other parents and friends, the perception of defeat and victory (and if I lose did anything bad happen? Next time I will try harder, it's also luck that each of us has the uncertainty of the result and the cohesion of the team. The three partners worked together perfectly and succeeded. This means bonding and cohesion between team members. I do not hide the fact that because you did not mention the cooperation through the psychodramatic process, in a way, in parallel with the lack of cooperation and coherence, it is also in the training, that is, even though you train together, everyone cares about what they will achieve. He and not all together as a team. It is a fact that according to sports psychology [16] the above thoughts are causes of anxiety in athletes. The point, however, is that we recognize our thoughts as okay, but what are we going to do to domi-

nate over these thoughts and situations? Here again you mentioned that: an action plan made me feel confident and relieved, when I train, when I ask the coach after training to watch videotaped matches of my opponents, when I do not care so much if I lose and what happened then If I lose and that is in the game, as victory is also defeat is part of it. I will try more and more systematically next time. There are some actions I need to take that will guide me so that these concerns are completely or largely eliminated. But does it take some tolerable level of concern for each of us to keep us motivated to succeed? If we consider that Sisyphus, after reaching the top of the mountain and completing his mission, rested for a while the precious fearless on the top of the mountain and then threw it down to continue the process of taking it again and bringing it to the top. You chose the story, you played it, and you show it way and the solution of the situation in a nice and experiential way. I really thank you very much. "

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to study the application and effectiveness of psychodrama in a group of children of late childhood involved in the sport of judo to enhance their athletic performance. The program presented refers to the combination of extracurricular physical education in children's leisure time through the combination of judo and psychodrama and showed that it is an appropriate supportive method of psychological support for children of late childhood involved in sports and athletic performance. Specifically, the psychodramatic process of the present work is an innovative and original action — intervention for sports and children's competition which in parallel with the sports process helps children to perform better. This conclusion is drawn from the children's own assessments, in addition to their reports that they liked it very much and ask to be repeated, the children report that it helped them a lot to reduce the effects of the negative thoughts they had and that they were relieved and respond better to races. The team consists of 10 children who would take part in the Panhellenic competitions of boys and girls category A. Among them two boys won first place, one boy won a silver medal, one girl and two other boys won bronze ones, two girls and one boy won fourth place winning but has lost in the small final, while a boy and a girl failed to stand out. The results for the positive contribution of psychodrama to the educational process of the present work are in line with those of other researches in the international scientific field [13; 14; 15]. The innovation of the present research refers to its application in parallel with the sports physical preparation. Research reports on the positive contribution of psychodrama to psychotherapy but there are not enough reports specifically on sports, something that the present study attempted. This work is a continuation of an effort to apply psychodrama or better the method of psychodrama in education and especially in the field of sports and physical education of school and extracurricular form [38; 39; 40; 41; 42].

Conclusions

Taking into consideration the empirical research and the positive results for the contribution of psychodrama in the scientific field of physical education, it is considered as necessary the systematic study of the application of the psychodramatic process in the formal education of children and in other cognitive fields beyond physical education. Some of the advantages of psychodrama are the democratic element of communication, with the type of horizontal communication of team members, the discipline, respect and responsibility that members display in sessions. The spontaneous expression and creation of the members on the stage which is supported in all the meetings of the groups. The method is experiential, collaborative, communicative and most importantly obstetric. Through discussion, the thoughts and the solutions of the problematic situations are extracted by the participants themselves. We can observe this in every session and especially in the "fearless and sun" session. Of course, in order for the psychodramatic process to be applied in formal education, teacher training will be needed. We applied psychodrama to extracurricular physical education and sports, something original for the Greek scientific data, that is, we applied a psychotherapeutic method by lending it from psychotherapy to sports and physical education. This presupposes many things: a) more research on an empirical level for application in education, b) training and special education of teachers in psychodrama.

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Психодрама и ее роль в детских соревновательных противоборствах. Исследование случая из практики

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Настоящая работа преследует сразу две цели: во-первых, глубинное изучение и анализ феноменов в психодраматической группе; во-вторых, привлечение внимания к результатам применения техники психодрамы в работе с подростками-спортсменами, постоянно принимающими участие в соревнованиях. Группа из 6 мальчиков и 4 девочек (N = 10, 100%) в возрасте 12 лет ± 5 месяцев участвовала в 90-минутных сессиях психодрамы каждые 15 дней на протяжении года (с января 2019 по январь 2020). Параллельно с сессиями ребята трижды в неделю посещали 90-минутные тренировки по дзюдо. И сессии, и тренировки проходили в одном и том же месте. Настоящая работа представляет собой изучение кейса, подробное исследование и качественный анализ процесса психодрамы в группе юных дзюдоистов. Результаты комбинирования программы физического развития и метода психодрамы оказались впечатляющими не только по свидетельству самих ребят, но и по официальным результатам чемпионата Греции по дзюдо для девочек и мальчиков. Делается вывод о том, что психодраму можно рассматривать как альтернативный метод обучения в школах.

Ключевые слова: психодрама, дзюдо, стресс, спортсмены, физическое воспитание, дети.

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DISCUSSIONS AND DISCOURSES
ДИСКУССИИ И ДИСКУРСЫ

On Revisionism in Vygotskian Science.
Commentary on "In August of 1941" by Yasnitsky and Lamdan (2017)

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Translated by A. Shvarts, with new footnotes by T. Akhutina and by A. Shvarts[1]

In this article we analyze the shift in Vygotskian science from "archival revolution" to the revelatory "revisionist revolution", which Yasnitsky and colleagues proclaimed in 2012. The aim of revisionist revolution supporters is a critical analysis of the scientific heritage of Vygotsky, Luria and their colleagues, and the demythologization of Vygotsky's personality as well as the scientific contribution of his school. We analyze in detail a selected set of the papers within "revisionist" movement and describe their advantages and disadvantages, and further question the soundness of statements of these papers. We justify our disagreement with the exposed by revisionist papers undervaluation of the results of Luria's Central Asian expeditions. We also refute the assumptions of Yasnitsky and his colleagues about the absence of documentary evidence demonstrating that the heritage and name of Vygotsky were under administrative prohibition during the years of Stalinism, and provide corresponding documents. We conclude that ignorance of one group of facts, tendentious analysis of the other facts, and partiality in the discussion lead the researchers who work on "revisionist revolution" to misrepresent psychological science development.

Keywords: Vygotsky, Luria, cultural-historical psychology, Vygotskian heritage, archival revolution, revisionist revolution, Yasnitsky, administrative prohibition, history of psychology.

Why a critical analysis of the "revisionist revolution" is needed?

In 2017, Anton Yasnitsky and Eli Lamdan published "In August 1941: The Unknown Letter of A.R. Luria in the United States as a Mirror of the Revisionist Revolution? in the journal *History of Russian Psychology in Persons: Digest* (No. 2) [42]. The article is remarkable because Luria's newly discovered letter provided

the authors with an opportunity to outline the basis of their approach, which they call "the revisionist revolution in Vygotsky studies". Of the 68 pages, only 10 are focused on Luria's letter, with the rest devoted to the "revisionist revolution". The title of the approach is somewhat surprising, because in Russian the word "revisionism" has negative connotations [13, 30, cf. 31]. The idea of a "revisionist" approach is actively promoted by Yasnitsky, as can be seen, for example, in the

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[1] The original article was published in open access in Russian as: Akhutina, T.V. (2019). O revizionizme v vygotskovedenii. Kommentarii k statye A. Yasnitskogo i E. Lamdana "V avguste 1941-go" (2017) [On Revisionism in Vygotskian Science. Commentary on "In August of 1941" by Yasnitsky and Lamdan (2017)]. *The Russian Journal of Cognitive Science*, 2019, 6(1), 4—13.

article on "Lev Vygotsky" in Wikipedia, written with Yasnitsky's active participation [37]. Both the Wikipedia entry and the 2017 article refer to the "cult of Vygotsky", which is opposed by the "revisionist revolution in Vygotsky studies". Since there has never been a public response to the "revolution" from Russian historians of psychology, it makes sense to carefully consider the apology of "revisionism". The factual side of the Yasnitsky and Lamdan article is a polite letter from Alexander Romanovich Luria and a polite reply from its addressee, Horace Kallen. The history of relations between Luria and Kallen, who facilitated the publication in English of Luria's book *The Nature of Human Conflicts* in 1932 in the U.S. [19], is noteworthy. For the authors publishing this document, on the one hand, the letter is evidence of Luria's (as well as Vygotsky's) desire for international relations, as Yasnitsky and Lamdan advocate for the important role of horizontal links between scientists, and here we can only agree with them. However, this letter is otherwise just a pretext for them to acquaint the reader with the "research potential of the "revisionist turn" in Vygotsky studies" [42, p. 225]. So, what does the new approach offer us?

The purpose of the "revisionist revolution in Vygotsky studies" is "critical study of the scientific heritage of L.S. Vygotsky (1896—1934), A.R. Luria (1902—1977) and the circle of their collaborators" [42, p. 225]. Another article by the leader of this revolution, Anton Yasnitsky, co-authored with Jennifer Fraser [12] points to the task as "to deconstruct the mythologized persona of Lev Vygotsky" (p. 135; here the term postmodern philosophy is used to refer to understanding through the destruction of a stereotype or inclusion in a new context). It should be noted that, back in 2010, the authors referred to their approach using the more neutral term "archival revolution" [38], but in 2012 they changed the name to the emotionally colored "revisionist revolution" [40]. And since 2012, it is the critical, "revealing" character of the texts that has been dramatically strengthened [32].

In the literature review presented in the article under our consideration [42], the authors want to give the reader the impression that it is this critical direction that is now leading the study of the Vygotsky heritage. But that is far from the case. For example, the works of Ekaterina Zavershneva [44; 45; 46; 47; 48; 49] hold a prominent place in their review. But her work can only be attributed to the "archive revolution". Zavershneva is alien to the unmasking pathos of Yasnitsky and his followers[2]. As we discuss further, the main boundary of the "revisionist turn" is determined exactly by emotion and the subjective "revealing" bias of Yasnitsky and colleagues. From this point of view, it is possible to identify particular dynamics in the works by Yasnitsky and co-authors presented in the review [42].

An analysis of three pre-revisionist papers

For an example, let us consider the article "I wish you knew from what stray matter ..."[3] in *Dubna Psychological Journal* [39], written before the revisionist turn. This is a substantial article, which reveals the erudition of the author. The question raised, in particular, about the place of the work "Tool and Sign" in the heritage of Vygotsky is quite rational, because its earlier proposed solutions are opposite. Yasnitsky believes that this is a relatively insignificant work by Vygotsky, which did not deserve publication. I am closer to David Kellogg [15], who defends the view that this book plays an important role in the development of Vygotsky's ideas and that he not only planned to print it, but also took steps to publish this work abroad (as evidenced by the discovery of the English text).

However, already in the 2011 article, there is a worrisome reduced estimation of "Thinking and Speech", in particular its seventh chapter. Yasnitsky writes: "All of the author's attempts to reason on linguistic topics in chapter seven of his last book look quite naive and somewhat unprofessional, especially in comparison with works on similar topics of his predecessors and contemporaries (e.g., [33]). An absence of references and weak elaboration of the corresponding conceptual apparatus further worsen the overall impression of the text with all the signs of incomplete work and draft" [39, p. 38].

It should be noted that this is the very chapter, written with a foreboding of death (pulmonary tuberculosis, possible arrest), which discloses Vygotsky's mature understanding of inner speech, the pathway from thought to word. In the future, this understanding will be sought in the fields of neuropsychology, psycho- and neurolinguistics and developmental psychology [22; 18; 1; 2; 3; 4; 11; 6; 5 and many others]. Using the key words "inner speech Vygotsky" in a Google Scholar search provides 33,900 responses, of which 11,400 date from the past five years (2014 to 2018).

Another article, which can be attributed instead to the "pre-revisionist" period, is the publication of Lamdan and Yasnitsky [17] about a paper by Luria [20], published in Paris in the materials of the First International Conference of Child Psychiatry. It presents the case of a boy with mental retardation in whom an early disturbance of visual gnosis led to a chain of pathological consequences due to which meaningful productive speech was not formed. This case is an illustration of the principle of dynamic (chronogenic) organization and localization of functions, which Vygotsky proposed in his last published work and in his last Moscow talk taking an example of visual agnosia. Luria cites this work by Vygotsky [35] in his paper, however, Lamdan and Yasnitsky [17] do not mention it, thus diminishing the influence of Vygotsky. Nowadays, such a chain of events first described by Vygotsky is called the "cascade effect", and

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[2] Andrey Maidansky [29] showed in his review "Anton Yasnitsky and Ren van der Veer (eds.), *Revisionist Revolution in Vygotsky Studies* (Routledge, London, 2017)", that editors, when including Zavershneva's articles in the collection, deleted or changed passages that did not fit the revisionist ideology.

[3] This is a quote from a poem by Anna Akhmatova (1889—1966): "If only you knew what trash gives rise / To verse, without a tinge of shame". Yasnitsky used another translation "I wish you knew from what stray matter..."

it occupies an important place when discussing the dynamic principle of developmental neuropsychology [14].

An analysis of the papers after revisionist turn

Let's move on to the "revisionist" articles. We begin with three articles by Yasnitsky and Lamdan, which the authors refer to as "historical-methodological and historical-theoretical works" [42, p. 233]. They discuss Luria's research on optical illusions among the Uzbeks [41; 16], and both authors are categorical in their judgments. They cite the well-known Luria phrase, that "the Uzbeks have no illusions", and his statement that the results of the expeditions were not published for "political reasons" — in their opinion, these views "do not quite correspond to reality" [41, p. 4]. In addition, it is argued that "Luria's experimental data on optical illusions do not stand up to criticism" [16, p. 63]. Let us turn to how the authors draw conclusions made in these "methodological works".

Arguing against the statement that "the Uzbeks have no illusions", Yasnitsky ignores the fact that Luria never claimed that the Uzbeks have no visual illusions at all, since cultural differences were obtained only on certain illusions. Luria gives two different examples of perception of illusions in a letter to Wolfgang Köhler in December 1931. He said the same thing in his 1974 talk: "I found it quite astonishing that all the geometrical optical illusions fall into two categories: some already exist in all our subjects, while others do not, including obviously categorial components" (the report was published in Luria's heritage collection: [26; 27], see p. 274)[4]. And most importantly, in his book on the Central Asian expeditions [23; 25], he notes that "almost all" experienced the Müller-Lyer illusion, "even ichkari women[5] (two thirds of them)" [25, p. 43]. Contrasting the conclusions of Luria and those of Kurt Koffka, who believed that the Uzbeks have illusions, Yasnitsky does not pay attention to the fact that Koffka did not reproduce the main method of Luria — conducting experiments with subjects of *different educational levels*. Koffka conducted experiments in the Ferghana Valley, a relatively "cultured" area where massive collectivization and literacy training were carried out. When the expedition moved to the area of the village of Shahimardan, with a predominantly illiterate traditional population, Koffka's health deteriorated due to several consecutive attacks of malaria and he had to leave.

This is the main difference between the experiments of Luria and Kofka that "history-methodology experts" do not notice. However, it is the cultural and educational contrast between the participants in the experiments

that is of importance to today's readers (see, for example, the article by scientists Vadim Deglin from Russia and Marcel Kinsbourne from the USA on the hemispheric differences in thinking styles [9]). In this context, it is perhaps worth remembering also the work of Stanislas Dehaene, Lauren Cohen and Regina Kolinski [10] on the changes in behavior and brain organization caused by the acquisition of reading.

Is it correct to compare Koffka's results on illusions to Luria's results? Do Koffka's results cancel Luria's conclusions, given that Koffka did not replicate the main methodical technique —investigation of subjects of different educational levels (literate and illiterate populations)? Of course not. Luria could have discussed Koffka's results, but was certainly not obliged to.

Yasnitsky calls into question the statement that the results of the expeditions were not published for "political reasons" [41, p. 4]. It is known that in 1932 the Moscow Control Commission of the WPI[6] started to work in the Institute of Psychology, which "demanded from Luria material on the work carried out under his leadership on a psychological expedition to Central Asia" (from A.R. Luria's letter addressed to the Culture and Propaganda section of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and to People's Commissar A.S. Bubnov, quoted from [28, p. 66])[7]. As A.R. Luria himself said: "I was accused of all mortal sins, even racism, and I had to leave the Institute of Psychology" [27, p. 274]. His move to Kharkiv is also connected with these events. But our "history-methodology experts" think that "the criticism that these studies <of Luria> received in the Soviet Union... nevertheless, does not explain why these studies were not published abroad" [41, p. 19]. It is abundantly clear that it was dangerous to publish on this topic (he was threatened with arrest)[8], and in a situation where Nazism was flourishing in Europe, all the more so. However, Yasnitsky claims that Luria and Vygotsky knew about the results of the study and Koffka's critical conclusion as early as the summer of 1932. This implied, if not a complete failure of Luria's entire Central Asian study in 1931—1932, then at least serious reasons to doubt the conclusions of the 1931 expedition and the need for a critical review of both the conclusions and Luria's experimental methods [41, p. 19].

In Yasnitsky's opinion, it was not the fear of reprisals but the uncertainty in his conclusions that impeded publication. Moreover, Yasnitsky is in some way in tune with those who accused Luria of nationalism. He writes:

"were the reason for criticism of Luria's research, which — contrary to the beliefs and open declarations of this researcher and his collaborations — nevertheless allowed one

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[4] It is after these words that Luria continues: "I sent Vygotsky a telegram: "The Uzbeks have no illusions", to which I received such a very affective letter from Vygotsky, which I have preserved" [27, p. 274]. Yasnitsky seems to mix scientific texts and telegrams.

[5] Ichkari women are women who never leave the female half of the house in traditional Uzbek culture.

[6] WPI — Workers and Peasants Inspection.

[7] The control commission "without those conclusions in their hands, without which neither the tasks of the work, nor the draft material can be correctly understood, ... made a number of grave accusations, presenting our work as an example ... of a colonialist study based on racial theory and trying to show the inferiority of the thinking of our border nationalities" (from the same letter [28, p. 67]).

[8] Luria knew that people were arrested for smaller deeds. In 1928, there was the Shakhty Trial (*Shakhtinskoye delo*), in which mining engineers were accused of spying. In 1929, there was a Case of the Academy of Sciences, when 150 people – historians, philologists, literary scholars — were arrested and accused of creating a secret archive and preparing the counter-revolution. In 1930-1931, the former political allies of the Bolsheviks' party — representatives of the Industrial party, the Farmers' party and the Mensheviks — were slaughtered.

to draw a conclusion about the existence of intellectual and psychological *superiority of some nationalities over others* in the multinational Soviet state" [41, p. 7; *italics ours* — T.A.].

This can be written only without understanding the essence of the facts stated by Luria, the interpretation of which became the basis of cultural-historical psychology. The facts clearly demonstrated the influence of new cultural and educational experience on the formation of mental functions, rather than indicating the superiority of nationalities. As Yasnitsky allows himself to deny the statement made by Luria on March 25, 1974 in his talk at the Institute of Psychology on sending a telegram to Vygotsky saying "The Uzbeks have no illusions!" [27, p. 274], and to call this episode "apocryphal history", "tradition" [41, p. 2], Yasnitsky refuses to respect Luria. He also shows his misunderstanding of Luria's experiments, arguing that Vygotsky's rave reviews of the results of Luria's expeditions "did not justify themselves" [41, p. 23]. Yasnitsky's work is characterized by an abundance of factual material, meticulous digging out facts, but understanding the essence of what lies behind the facts is often lacking.

Was there a ban of Vygotsky's publications in USSR? New archival evidence

Let us consider another essay, written by Jennifer Fraser of the University of Toronto and Anton Yasnitsky [12]: "Deconstructing Vygotsky's Victimization Narrative: A Re-Examination of the 'Stalinist Suppression' of Vygotskian Theory". Based on the title, it is apparent that the authors suppose that modern psychology has developed a view of Vygotsky as a victim and want to re-examine whether there was a ban on his theory. In another article published in 2017, Yasnitsky and Lamdan refer to the "opinion that the works, heritage and name of Vygotsky were under administrative ban during the years of Stalinism" as "widely spread but undocumented" [42, p. 8].

Fraser and Yasnitsky use the fact that Rubinstein in *Fundamentals of General Psychology* and Luria in *Traumatic Aphasia* both cited Vygotsky as evidence that there was no official ban on the publication and citation of Vygotsky. But it is important to examine how these authors cite Vygotsky.

I did a small search on the citation of Vygotsky by Luria in his works on aphasia in 1940, 1947 and 1975. In 1975/1976, in *Basic Problems of Neurolinguistics* [24], Luria cites Vygotsky 27 times in 250 pages of text (and no one else so often). In 1948/1970, in *Traumatic Aphasia* [22], within 365 pages of text Luria cites Vygotsky 10 times, and Esther Bein and Kurt Goldstein 11 times each, according to the author index of the book. The first reference to Vygotsky (p. 56) appears under the "cover" of Piotr Anokhin: "As the studies of physiologists (Anokhin) and psychologists (Vygotsky) have shown...". On page 85, Luria speaks of inner speech according to his understanding of Vygotsky, but there is no reference to

Vygotsky in the text; the name appears only in the index of authors. All other references to Vygotsky in the index appear in a chain of other authors, that is, again *masked* among less provocative names. Only once does Luria mention the book *Thinking and Speech* (p. 77), but this reference is not in the index of authors. A book from 1940 entitled *The Doctrine of Aphasia in the Light of Brain Pathology. Part Two. Parietal (Semantic) Aphasia,* which exists only in manuscript form and in typewriting (family archive) [21], unlike Luria's book of 1947 [22], was not prepared by the author for printing. There are nine references to Vygotsky within 219 pages of the typewritten version, and they are given without "cover".

In my opinion, the technique of "undercover" citation suggests that there was a ban, and that Luria deliberately "gradually" introduced the name of Vygotsky in order to teach censors from science that Vygotsky can be mentioned. Of course, A.R. Luria was afraid, but he took the risk, hoping that the time would come when it would be possible to talk about Vygotsky in full voice. It was safer not to cite Vygotsky at all, but the scientists considered it their duty to mention him.

There is a lot of other evidence that suggests that there was such a ban. It is mentioned quite often by Gita Lvovna Vygodskaya and Tamara Mikhailovna Lifanova in their book about Vygotsky (see, for example, [34, pp. 141—144, 344—349]). They talk about the removal of Vygotsky's books and articles from libraries; in the collections with Vygotsky's articles cut out, there was a stamp: "Withdrawn according to the 'Regulations on Pedological Perversions...'". The authors talk about Rachel Markovna Bosskis's rescue of books by Vygotsky designated for destruction and about the visit of Daniel Borisovich Elkonin and Mira Abramovna Levina to the communist party boss of Leningrad, Zhdanov (Vygotsky's students were aware that they might be arrested after the visit, but they considered it their duty to protect the teacher), and much more.

Yasnitsky and his co-authors label the testimonies of Vygodskaya and Lifanova as "myths". Without discussing the ethical side of such disregard, let us consider other evidence of the existence of the ban. I will introduce two such documents.

In August 2015, Eli Lamdan, one of the co-authors of the article that we examine here, and I worked in the Luria family archive at their dacha (summerhouse) in Svistukha. There, while examining the folders in the bookcase, we found a document that convincingly proves the existence of a ban on the work of Vygotsky. Nevertheless, knowing of this evidence did not change Yasnitsky's opinion about the ban. It is quite possible that at that time the first version of the article under discussion had already been written, but had not yet been published. This is the document (family Luria's archive, without number).

To the chief of Glavlit[9] *of the USSR.*

We hereby consider it necessary to draw your attention to the unacceptable situation that has developed with re-

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[9] Glavlit (Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing) is the supreme department created by a special resolution of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of the USSR on June 6, 1933, in order to "unite all types of censorship".

gard to the work of one of the outstanding Soviet psychologists — L.S. Vygotsky.

His books (including the book "Thinking and Speech") have been removed from the general library storage, references to his works are crossed out of the corresponding bibliography.

We consider this fact to be unjustified and detrimental to scientific work.

Professor L.S. Vygotsky, who died in 1934, was one of the outstanding Soviet psychologists. His book "Thinking and Speech" is still one of the most serious attempts to approach the most complex issues of psychology; in particular, it gives a serious critique of many foreign psychological theories, is based on deep knowledge of their work, and retaining its significance to date.

We believe that there are no circumstances to tarnish the name of this major Soviet researcher, and we ask you to reconsider the issue of him, in particular — to restore his book in general storage.

Full members of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR[10]:
/A. N. Leontiev /
/B. M. Teplov /
/B. M. Teplov /
/C. L. Rubinstein /
/A. R. Luria /
/K. N. Kornilov /

In the lower left corner of the pencil writing of A.R. Luria: *Sent via APN (Academy of Pedagogical Sciences) 8. VII. 55.*

This document was submitted in July 1955[11], and then *Selected Psychological Research* by L.S. Vygotsky (Moscow: Publishing House of the RSFSR Academy of Sciences) was published in 1956.

The second piece of direct evidence of the ban on Vygotsky's books was provided by the Italian researcher Dorena Caroli. Thanks to Luciano Mecacci and Ekaterina Yurievna Zavershneva, we have access to Caroli's report [7], which first published a list of books officially seized due to the decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of July 4, 1936 (See also [8]).

This list, stored in GARF[12] (GARF. F. A-2306. Op 69. D. 2232. L. 6—12) and presented in pages 97 to 103 of Caroli's report, contains 108 books, including three major works by L.S. Vygotsky (*Pedagogical Psychology, Paedology of the Adolescent* [1929 to 1931], *Fundamentals of Paedology*), a book by A. Gesell with a foreword of Vygotsky, as well as books by P.P. Blonsky, A.A. Nevsky,

A.B. Zalkind and K.N. Kornilov, a collection of works edited by A.A. Shein (a coworker of Vygotsky) as well as other books[13].

In addition, Caroli writes that among the papers in the Narkompros archive[14] was found a report of August 7, 1936, compiled by A.S. Bubnov and sent to the Party Central Committee and Stalin, on the implementation of the Central Committee's decision "On the paedological perversions in the Narkompros system on July 4". The report pointed out measures taken to "restore pedagogy" ([7, p. 92], a reference to the place of the document in the archive: GARF, A-2306 (Narkompros Foundation). Op. 69. D. 2232. L. 90—91). Among these measures were the book seizure already mentioned above, as well as the direct order to conduct a campaign "to criticize and expose" perversions pointed out by the Party (ibid.). Caroli writes with reference to this source: "Theoretical research on paedology by S.S. Molozhavy and L.S. Vygotsky should have been criticized..." [7, p. 92]. It also shows that there was an *official ban*, contrary to the opinion of Yasnitsky.

In her article, Caroli provides evidence that after the Central Committee resolution "On Paedological Perversion…"[15] and subsequent orders, a wave of arrests of paedologists and teachers swept the country. For example, in Kharkiv, Ukraine, from August 12, 1937 to April 6, 1938, 1,341 teachers were arrested, of whom 918 were shot, 402 were sentenced to ten years and 21 to eight years in camps" [7, p. 95].

So, the ban on publication and citation did exist. The threat of arrest is enough reason to avoid citing and the more recent publications on topics that are not approved from above. To sum up: Prejudice, the desire to "debunk" or "expose", can disserve a historian. This is exactly what we see when reading revisionist articles by Yasnitsky with his colleagues.

The future of Vygotsky studies is not in revisionism, but in a more thorough reading of Vygotsky, in the collection and analysis of new scientific achievements, which have been obtained using the ideas of Vygotsky and his circle.

The leader of revisionist revolution, Anton Yasnitsky, as well as René van der Veer and Michel Ferrari, earlier went in this direction. In 2014, they prepared and released an impressive 533-page volume of *The Cambridge Handbook of Cultural-Historical Psychology* [43]. Another great event for readers was the publication of *Notebooks by L.S. Vygotsky* (2017, English edition 2018) [36] and the comments to them, which were prepared by Ekaterina Zavershneva and René van der Veer with

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[10] RSFSR — Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

[11] This letter was written at the beginning of the "thaw" (*ottepel*) which is the unofficial term for the period in the history of the USSR after the death of Stalin that lasted about ten years (mid-1950s to mid-1960s). It was characterized by the condemnation of the cult of Stalin's personality and the repressions of the 1930s, the emergence of some freedom of speech, and the relative liberalization of political and public life.

[12] GARF — State archive of the Russian Federation.

[13] According to Zavershneva, similar lists of books for withdrawal are also available in the archives of the Nizhny Novgorod region (GANO. F. 1457. Op. 2. D. 18. L. 17).

[14] Narkompros is People's Commissariat of Education of the RSFSR.

[15] "On Paedological Perversion…" refers to the decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). "On Paedological Perversions in the System of Narcompros" of July 4, 1936 prohibited paedology and negatively affected the development of psychology in the USSR.

a thorough analysis. We hope that all these authors will continue in this direction.

Conclusions

Although the Vygotsky legacy has a long history, we are still now in the process of understanding his ideas and uncovering his lines of thinking. In this process, I call for accuracy in treating historical factuality and interpreting the results and evaluating the ideas of the cultural-histor-ical approach. Paying tribute to Anton Yasnitsky and his co-authors for their activity in searching for new facts, we (colleagues and readers) should be careful in accepting their conclusions: publications of the "revisionists" can mislead readers owing to a biased selection and interpretation of facts. The suppression of some evidence and the tendentious analysis of other facts, partiality in the discussion, including the desire to "demythologize" the scientific significance of the works of Lev Vygotsky and scientists of his circle, led Yasnitsky and his co-authors to distort the historical pic-ture of the development of psychological science.

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О ревизионизме в выготсковедении
Комментарий к статье Ясницкого и Ламдана «В августе 1941-го» (2017)

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Перевод А. Шварц, с новыми примечаниями Т. Ахутиной и А. Шварц[1]

В этой статье мы анализируем переход в изучении Выготского от «архивной революции» к откровенной «ревизионистской революции», которую Ясницкий и его коллеги провозгласили в 2012 году. Целью сторонников ревизионистской революции является критический анализ научного наследия Выготского, Лурии и их коллег и демифологизация как личности Выготского, так и научного вклада его школы. Мы подробно анализируем выбранный набор публикаций в рамках «ревизионистского» движения и описываем их преимущества и недостатки, ставя под сомнение обоснованность утверждений этих документов. Мы обосновываем свое несогласие с обнаруженными ревизионистскими публикациями, недооценивающими результаты центральноазиатских экспедиций Лурии. Мы также опровергаем предположения Ясницкого и его коллег об отсутствии документальных свидетельств того, что наследие и имя Выготского находились под административным запретом в годы сталинизма, и предоставляем соответствующие документы. Мы делаем вывод, что незнание одной группы фактов, тенденциозный анализ других фактов и пристрастность в обсуждении приводят исследователей, работающих над «ревизионистской революцией», к искажению данных о развитии психологической науки.

Ключевые слова: Выготский, Лурия, культурно-историческая психология, наследие Выготского, архивная революция, ревизионистская революция, Ясницкий, административный запрет, история психологии.

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MEMORABLE DATES
ПАМЯТНЫЕ ДАТЫ

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Лев Семенович Выготский (1896—1934)

17 ноября 2021 г. исполняется 125 лет со дня рождения Льва Семеновича Выготского — гениального ученого, создавшего нечто большее, чем новый подход в отечественной и мировой психологии. В системе понятий культурно-исторической теории Л.С. Выготским, по сути, был задан особый способ мышления, который позволяет раскрыть источники происхождения, историческую логику развития *специфически человеческого в человеке*. Этот способ мышления вносит принципиальные коррективы в тот образ человека, который создается совокупными усилиями всего комплекса наук о нем, а не только психологией. Владимир Петрович Зинченко, первый главный редактор журнала «Культурно-историческая психология» (в этом году ему исполнилось бы *90 лет*), любил повторять, что двум психологам XX века — Ж. Пиаже и Л.С. Выготскому зарезервировано место в XXI веке. Действительно, оба они привнесли в науку о человеке свой взгляд и особый способ мышления, которые выходят за пределы известных научных описаний.

О культуре как «*факторе*», «*среде*», «*контексте*» человеческого развития писали и до, и после Выготского. В зарубежной науке существует направление исследований — «культурная психология», которую интересуют те или иные «влияния» культуры на индивидуальное сознание и его развитие. К теории Выготского это не имеет никакого отношения. Более того, его теория — не «о влияниях», характеристика которых «на выходе» дает нам очередную версию социального бихевиоризма. По словам Выготского, «центральная проблема всей психологии» — *свобода*, т. е. то, что принципиально не может быть выведено из совокупности «влияний». Культура для Выготского — не свод конвенциональных директив,

а аккумулятор исторически сложившегося опыта, а главное — потенциала свободного действия — культурного, социального действия человека, главным эффектом которого является «создание новых форм поведения». Именно так Выготский определял творчество. Поэтому культурно-историческая психология во всем диапазоне своих проблемных полей — от анализа искусства (тот факт, что Выготский начинал с него, совсем не случаен) до исследования аномальных сценариев детского развития — это наука о свободе и творчестве человека.

Г. Эббингауз предлагал своим испытуемым *запоминать* бессмысленные слоги, а Л.С. Выготский создавал *проблемную* ситуацию, в которой эти слоги, наделяясь *значениями*, становились средством означивания осваиваемого материала. Уже на этом простом примере прослеживается различие между «классической» и «неклассической» психологией — в ней моделируется сам *процесс порождения смыслов* как особого отношения человека к миру, основанного на самоотношении, как отношении других и с другими. Бессмысленные слоги приводят к дополнительной проблематизации самой ситуации собственного действия, в которой поставлена задача на классификацию признаков как общезначимых смыслов. В поиске и понимании смыслов — ключ к решению задачи. Придать *смысл* бессмысленному слогу — значит, найти смысловой «знаменатель» для группы непохожих друг на друга фигурок, а понимание и посвящение в это «открытие» других людей превращает найденный смысл в значение. Поэтому, какие бы фигурки далее «ни попадались на глаза» действующему человеку, они будут вписываться в класс в соответствии с общепонимаемым значимым. Разумеется, — при понимании *условности* и границ того, что означается. Образно говоря, при понимании, например, того, что, хотя *«удав и не состоит из 38 попугаев» (как в известном мультфильме)*, но одним попугаем можно измерить и удава, и, гипотетически, расстояние до Луны. Здесь надо «мыслить по Выготскому» или просто *мыслить* в общем смысловом поле. Понимание сути вещей и взаимопонимание людей в этой ситуации, или «обобщение и общение» для Выготского, — это не два разных процесса, а две стороны общего, культурно строящегося совместного действия.

Об отдельном человеке Выготский всегда мыслил в категориях *общности*. Человек уже приходит в мир в образе общности — «психической общности» младенца и мамы. И в дальнейшем эта исходная по своей природе общность не расторгается, а развивается. Как известно, в зоне ближайшего развития происходит переход от совместного выполнения действия к индивидуальному, точнее, самостоятельному. В каком случае ребенок оказывается «ближе» к взрослому? С определенной точки зрения, очевидно, можно сказать, что во втором, поскольку самостоятельность и является, прежде всего, атрибутом взрослости. Причем, действуя

самостоятельно, он вступает в виртуальную общность не только с тем, кто поначалу содействовал ему (с мамой, педагогом, любым «другим»), но и возможными «другими», которые *способны* к самостоятельному действию. То есть опыт его *самостоятельного* действия с самого начала складывается в *обобществленной* форме. Ближайший ученик Л.С. Выготского Д.Б. Эльконин отмечал, что даже подростковый негативизм — это не противопоставление взрослому, а особая манифестация стремления занять его позицию.

Так что же «находит», по Выготскому, человек в культуре? Условия, инструменты, источники человеческого способа жизни? И их тоже — но, в первую очередь, образ себя самого как действующего, образ своих возможностей, их «*идеальную форму*», которая, конечно, всегда трансформируется, преобразуется в границах реальной. Обретает ее, например, как форму культуры: то же искусство — это прежде всего наши эмоции, которые не нуждаются в контроле, потому что их уже взял «под контроль» сам автор произведения, связав воедино «аффект и интеллект». «Гамлет — в толпе» — известная формула литературоведа Ю.И. Айхенвальда, одного из учителей Л.С. Выготского. Гамлет не испытывает ни одного переживания, которое так или иначе не испытывали бы другие люди. Но он переживает их в особой «идеальной форме». Об этом «Психология искусства» Выготского.

О «школе Выготского» можно говорить в двух смыслах. Во-первых, — это, прежде всего, научная школа. Во-вторых, — это школа в буквальном смысле слова. Та система развивающего образования (в ее разных вариантах), которая построена на базе его идей. Это — модель того, что Выготский называл «высокоорганизованной практикой», практикой самоизменения человека, строящейся в специально организованных формах его общности — общении и взаимодействии с другими людьми. Внутри такой практики собственно и возникают новые образцы подлинно творческого мышления. Именно идеи развивающего образования, заложенные Выготским, определяют сегодня новый вектор инновационного движения в образовательной практике. Неслучайно из уст практиков образования сегодня все чаще звучат обороты и термины из «словаря» Выготского и его научный школы — *«обучение, ведущее за собой развитие», «зона ближайшего развития», «социальная ситуация развития», «ведущий тип деятельности»* и др.

Чтобы такое словоупотребление стало еще более осмысленным, всем нам, работающим в традиции научной школы Л.С. Выготского, необходимо заново вернуться к анализу тех исходных понятий, которые стоят за устоявшимися терминами, и еще раз «прочитать» тексты самого Л.С. Выготского, чтобы лучше понять неисчерпаемую глубину его мысли, попробовать «мыслить как Выготский».

В.П. Зинченко через призму своих отношений (по автобиографическим материалам В.П. Зинченко)

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Владимир Петрович Зинченко принадлежит к выдающимся деятелям третьего поколения школы Л.С. Выготского — А.Р. Лурии — А.Н. Леонтьева, которая продолжает существовать и имеет широкую известность в мировой психологии, в том числе под названиями «культурно-историческая психология» и «теория деятельности». В.П. Зинченко — автор около 400 научных публикаций, свыше 100 его работ изданы за рубежом, в том числе 12 монографий на английском, немецком, испанском, японском и других языках.

Как известно, Петр I прорубил Окно в Европу, правда, не для психологии. А Лев Семенович Выготский прорубил окно для психологии и в Европу, и в Америку, и в другие Страны Света. Но даже если есть окно, то все равно нужны еще благоприятные условия и, главное, люди, которые этим окном смогут пользоваться. В.П. Зинченко был как раз тем ученым, кто успешно представлял нашу психологию на разных международных конференциях и вообще в международном сообществе и сыграл огромную роль в процессе интернализации КИП и теории деятельности.

Подтверждением этому могут служить слова Майка Коула и Джима Верча:

«Написание статьи о Владимире Петровиче Зинченко — замечательного ученого и интеллектуала международного масштаба — большая честь для нас.

Эта возможность побудила нас поразмышлять о нашем долгом и необыкновенно тесном сотрудничестве с Владимиром Петровичем. Мы, если так можно выразиться, родня Владимиру Петровичу и его другу, Василию Васильевичу Давыдову, а также многим другим последователям культурно-исторической теории. Мы разделяем с ними честь быть *«третьим поколением»* последователей Л.С. Выготского. Как и они, мы учились у А.Р. Лурия и А.Н. Леонтьева...» [1, с. 637].

К большому сожалению, среди многочисленных просто восхитительных воспоминаний В.П. о выдающихся людях, которых он лично знал и/или чье творчество нашло в нем глубокий отклик, не нашлось места, времени и внимания одному из ближайших друзей Зинченко — Владимиру Михайловичу Мунипову, который родился всего на 4 месяца раньше В.П. Как рассказывал мне сам В.П., он позвонил В.М. Мунипову в его день рождения (31 марта) и, в своем стиле, не без чуточки ехидства, спросил: «Ну, что, Володя, стоило ли доживать до 80-летия?». Ответ был положительным и ободряющим для спрашивающего. В.П. пережил своего друга всего на 2 года... Вспоминается, как весело и жизнерадостно прошел банкет, плавно перетекший в капустник, в честь 80-летия В.М. Мунипова (МГППУ, см. фотографию 1). Находясь в этой аудитории, невозможно было подумать, что они так скоро уйдут...

Совсем недавно, во многом благодаря титаническим усилиям жены и соратника В.П. — Натальи Дмитриевны Гордеевой, а также еще одного друга и соратника его — Анатолия Иосифовича Назарова, появился новый толстый том в тематическом собрании сочинений В.П. [1].

Том разбит на два раздела. Первый и самый большой раздел (3/4 тома) состоит, в свою очередь, из трех частей: 1) статьи В.П. о выдающихся деятелях гуманитарной культуры, психологии и философии, опубликованные в журналах и сборниках; 2) послесловия и предисловия, написанные В.П. в книгах отечественных и зарубежных авторов; 3) два гипероткровенных интервью с В.П. Второй раздел тома включает большое множество (столь большое, что даже не все упомянуты в «Содержании» тома) более или менее кратких воспоминаний людей о своем общении с В.П., своих впечатлениях о его личности, его работах, лекциях и т. д.

В этой книге, на наш взгляд, в предельно концентрированном виде представлены жизнь, душа и дух самого В.П. Конечно, очень интересны его анализы творчества выдающихся мыслителей, а также воспоминания о людях, которые сыграли значимую роль в его жизни. Но не менее интересно и то, *что* В.П. пишет о своем отношении к ним, и обратно — об их отношении к себе, о совместном с ними творчестве и общении. По-видимому, это и есть самый прямой и кратчайший путь к личности В.П., а это — важное условие и понимания его творчества. Кстати, вот что о том же писал В.П. в предисловии к книге Г.Л. Выгодской и Т.М. Лифановой [1, с. 297]:

«Сегодня становится общим местом методологии науки роль "познавательного отношения", "личностного знания", участвующих в научном производстве. Без данных о личности ученого, а тем более ученого-психолога, многое трудно понять в науке».

Начнем с фамилии

Этимология фамилии «Зинченко» коренится в древнегреческой мифологии и может быть расшифрована примерно так: «живущий как Зевс» [2]. Отсюда легко перейти и к богине памяти Мнемозине, и ко всем девяти Музам... Посмотрите на улыбку В.П., когда он впервые услышал об этом этимологическом расследовании на заседании Ученого совета факультета психологии Харьковского университета в честь 50-летия создания кафедры психологии и 110-летия со дня рождения отца В.П., вполне заслуживающего титула «Зевс Харьковской психологии».

О Зевсе Харьковской психологии: «... судьба и случай сделали П.И. Зинченко полноправным участником Харьковской психологической школы и на всю жизнь (кроме лихих годов Второй мировой войны, на которой ему довелось быть сапером) связала его с друзьями и коллегами, часть из которых потом переехали в Москву. Отъезд в Москву А.Н. Леонтьева, А.Р. Лурии, А.В. Запорожца, П.Я. Гальперина вынудил его после 1945 г. стать неформальным лидером Харьковской школы. Эту роль он исполнял добросовестно, ответственно, но без удовольствия. Значительно бóльшую радость ему доставляла его педагогическая работа со студентами и аспирантами и проведение экспериментальных исследований памяти» [1, с. 222].

В связи с давно утвердившимся названием «Харьковская психологическая школа» следует заметить, что оно не совсем точно, поскольку и в своем генезисе, и во время всего периода своего существования эта «школа» была физически и духовно неотделима от Московской школы психологии. Поэтому более точным нам представляется название «Московско-Харьковская психологическая школа». Так было и после того, как большинство ее участников переместились в Москву, продолжая тесное сотрудничество с остававшимися в Харькове психологами, с которыми их отчасти соединяли и родственные связи (в том числе и с В.П.).

О семье и династии

«П.И. Зинченко оказал огромное, почти неправдоподобное, хотя и вполне непроизвольное влияние

Фотография 1. 12 июня 2011 г. (МГППУ)

на судьбы своих близких. Его жена, моя мама, Вера Давидовна, училась вместе с ним, стала педагогом, затем начала преподавать психологию в Харьковской консерватории.

Моя сестра — Татьяна Петровна Зинченко (1939—2001) и я стали психологами. (Меня отец отговаривал становиться психологом, иронизировал по поводу психологии: это не профессия, а довольно узкая специальность; психология после теологии и медицины — самая точная наука и т. п.) Моя жена — Наталья Дмитриевна Гордеева (по образованию — биолог) стала психологом. Наш сын Александр тоже стал психологом и женился на психологе Алле Волович. Сейчас они оба психотерапевты и живут в Беркли.

Пожалуй, самое удивительное, что сын и дочь, вслед за ним, посвятили большое время исследова-

ниям памяти. А внук, попав в США, защитил докторскую диссертацию по ностальгии, которая представляет собой ярчайшую форму, хотя и непроизвольной, но неуничтожимой, постоянной памяти, возможно, памяти рода. Это такая непроизвольная память, которая прочнее всякой произвольной. А ведь некоторые сомневаются в существовании культурной генетической памяти. История нашей семьи — свидетельство того, что такие сомнения неосновательны.

Если бы случилось невозможное и вся наша семья собралась вместе, то мы во главе с П.И. Зинченко смогли бы открыть, надеюсь, неплохой Психологический колледж [1, с. 222—223].

«Отец, безусловно, повлиял на меня в смысле выбора профессии. Он занимался проблемой памяти, сам готовил какие-то нехитрые приспособления для экспериментов, как говорится, все делал сам. Испы-

Фотография 2. (30 мая 2013, г. Харьков)

Фотографии 3 и 4 (31 мая 2013, г. Харьков).
Рядом с В.П. Зинченко — выпускник факультета психологии МГУ, российско-американский психотерапевт
Александр Владимирович Зинченко

туемыми в его экспериментах были мои друзья или подружки моей сестры Татьяны, впоследствии тоже психолога; отец и к нам в класс приходил и там проводил коллективные эксперименты.

Мама была учительницей, впоследствии преподавала педагогику в Харьковской консерватории, в дальнейшем начала преподавать и психологию» [1, с. 524].

Детство и юность:
Харьков — эвакуация — Харьков

В.П. родился 10 августа 1931 г. в семье психологов и педагогов, в Харькове.

«Детство было замечательным. Наверное, у каждого человека, чем дольше он живет, тем оно лучше ему кажется, хотя там бывает, конечно, всякое.

Предвоенные, школьные годы... И вдруг — неожиданное взросление. У меня перед глазами 22 июня 1941 года, это было воскресенье. Наша семья собралась ехать снимать дачу под Харьковом. Я вышел на балкон, и соседский товарищ мне сказал, что началась война (мы радио не включали)» [1, с. 523].

«Ну и, конечно, наиболее ярко помнится военное детство, это две эвакуации — одна под Сталинград, слобода Николаевская, напротив Камышина, там родина отца, украинское село со своим бытом, языком. А когда немцы подошли к Сталинграду, то мы уехали в Южный Казахстан... Там настигли меня болезни: местный климат в этой Голодной степи (таково ее название) категорически мне не подходил. Я переболел и дизентерией, и желтухой, и брюшным тифом, и конъюнктивитом (от сбора хлопка).

Как только Харьков был освобожден, мать поняла, что нужно оттуда уезжать» [1, с. 523—524].

«На своем опыте знаю, что детство и юность накладывают неизгладимую печать на всю дальнейшую жизнь. Я покинул Харьков в 17 лет, в 1948 г. Минус четыре года эвакуации во время войны. Итого моей жизни в Харькове всего-то 13 лет. И, тем не менее, Харьков не только моя родина, но и самый дорогой и любимый город. Здесь прошли счастливые годы жизни с родителями, сестрой, бабушкой, появилось мое первое Я (когда образовались другие, теперь уже не припомнить), завязались первые дружеские отношения, вспыхнула первая любовь. Здесь возникла тяга к моей будущей профессии — психологии, которая была в то время узкой специальностью и ей не учили в моем родном городе» [1, с. 35].

В.П. — студент отделения психологии
философского факультета МГУ

«В Харькове не готовили психологов, Харьковская психологическая школа стала Московской, поэтому надо было отправляться за образованием в Москву, в МГУ.

Отец меня отговаривал. Шутя, говорил, что психология вообще еще не наука, или это наука, но еще не профессия, а всего лишь узкая специальность, что могут быть трудности. И советовал: "Лучше бы ты пошел в какой-нибудь сельскохозяйственный институт, стал бы лесником, а я бы, выйдя на пенсию, приехал бы к тебе, и мы жили бы с тобой в лесу".

Но этого не случилось. Я уехал в Москву» [1, с. 524—525].

Из статьи о С.Л. Рубинштейне: «Нашему поколению студентов отделения психологии (1948—1953) повезло — мы застали его еще профессором МГУ (до 1951 г.). Наш курс был леонтьевским, а не рубинштейновским. Поколения тогда различались по персональному признаку в зависимости от того, кто читал двухлетний курс «Общей психологии». Сергей Леонидович читал нам лишь небольшой курс по проблемам мышления. Его содержание, конечно, вымылось из памяти, но образ и облик академического и вместе с тем увлеченного профессора остался. Осталось впечатление и от стиля, от эрудиции, которая, казалось, не знает границ. Ни в его облике, ни в поведении мы не замечали следов тех неприятностей, которые его постигли. Нужно отдать должное и другим преподавателям, которые ни словом, ни намеком не посвящали нас в происходившее с ним. Нам было очень жаль, когда в 1951 г. Сергей Леонидович — создатель кафедры и отделения психологии на философском факультете — был уволен из Московского университета и все последующие поколения студентов были лишены удовольствия его слушать. Постыдная стенограмма с обсуждением его «заблуждений» была опубликована в «Вопросах психологии»[1]. Впрочем, быть уволенным из МГУ не стыдно. Знаю это на собственном опыте, правда, меня уволили без обсуждения, просто и со вкусом — по телефону. Досада, конечно, была, но я нахожусь в хорошей компании с С.Л. Рубинштейном, Н.А. Бернштейном, А.А. Зиновьевым, Вяч.Вс. Ивановым, М.К. Мамардашвили и другими» [1, с. 171].

Продолжение: «Вернусь в студенческие годы. Мне посчастливилось общаться с Сергеем Леонидовичем по поводу моей курсовой работы, руководителем которой он был. Сочинение, как я теперь понимаю, было вполне примитивным. Оно каким-то чудом у меня сохранилось, хотя давно исчезли обе мои диссертации. Я о другом. Консультации проходили у него дома, и меня потрясла его библиотека, в основном немецкой психологической и философской литературы (где она сейчас?). Такого богатства я не видел ни у А.Р. Лурии, ни у А.Н. Леонтьева. Я о ней вспоминал, когда мне доводилось быть на кафедрах психологии Вильнюсского, Берлинского университетов и в лаборатории В. Вундта в Лейпциге. И вновь впечатление от его доброты, душевной щедрости. Ни тени снисходительности, хотя повод для нее, несомненно, был. Он — одессит — без улыбки читал мои полудетским почерком написанные рас-

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[1] Страницы истории: о том, как был уволен С.Л. Рубинштейн. Вопросы психологии. 1989. № 4—5.

суждения о том, что думал И.М. Сеченов о памяти» [1, с. 172—173].

Из «Штрихов к портрету Д.Б. Эльконина»: «Узнал я Д.Б. Эльконина, еще будучи студентом, в конце 40-х гг., когда он хрипловатым голосом читал нам незабываемые лекции по психологии игры и детства. Затем я ближе познакомился с ним в лаборатории детской психологии НИИ психологии АПН РСФСР (ныне Психологического института РАО), руководимой А.В. Запорожцем. В этой же лаборатории работал Д.Б. Эльконин до тех пор, пока усилиями А.А. Смирнова не получил собственную лабораторию психологии младшего школьника. В эти годы у нас сложились теплые отношения, которые затем, несмотря на большую разницу в возрасте, переросли в дружбу. Думаю, что Д.Б. Эльконин перенес на меня часть своих дружеских симпатий к моему отцу П.И. Зинченко, как и я, в свою очередь, перенес свою любовь к Д.Б. Эльконину на его сына Б.Д. Эльконина, которого я знаю с детства. Мы с В.В. Давыдовым нередко бывали в доме Элькониных, где его семья жила на Красноказарменной улице в двух небольших комнатах, расположенных в хорошо известной советской коридорной (адекватно отражающей суть коммунально-социалистического бытия) системе. К счастью, этот быт не совпадал с бытием Д.Б. Эльконина и не определял его сознание» [1, с. 236—237].

Здесь уместно было бы дать ответное слово (аллахверды, — производное от одного термина из зинченковского фольклора, навеянного Владимиром Михайловичем Аллахвердовым [см.: 1, с. 570] Борису Данииловичу Эльконину, но из-за ограниченности объема сошлемся лишь на страницы [1, с. 720—721].

Начало преподавательской деятельности

Еще в студенческие годы (начиная с 4 курса) и далее уже в годы сначала заочной, потом очной аспирантуры В.П. преподавал психологию и логику в двух московских школах — 593-й и 598-й, высоко оценивая влияние полученного опыта для формирования своих педагогических способностей:

«В двух школах уже преподавал психологию и логику. Я "упаковывал" в три дня все свои уроки; в субботу уроки были в две смены в одной и другой школе. Остальное время отводил на научную работу. Так что пять лет школе отдал и не жалею об этом. А потом — это хорошая педагогическая подготовка перед преподаванием в вузе, которое затем последовало. Иногда трудно приходилось. Одному даже пришлось по физиономии дать, после чего я пошел к завучу, чтобы подать заявление об увольнении. Но он меня все же оставил, сказав: "Иди работай дальше".

Эти годы были взаимным ученичеством, серьезной подготовкой к преподавательской работе в вузе. Постепенно вырабатывалась и уверенность в себе как наставника. Прошел страх перед аудиторией» [1, с. 527].

Аспирантура.
Первые исследования под руководством
А.В. Запорожца

По окончании университета в 1953 г. В.П. поступил в аспирантуру НИИ психологии АПН РСФСР, которую окончил в 1956 г. Защитив в 1957 г. под руководством А.В. Запорожца кандидатскую диссертацию на тему «Некоторые особенности движений руки и глаза и их роль в формировании двигательных навыков» (официальными оппонентами были А.Р. Лурия и П.Я. Гальперин), работал в том же институте, сначала в качестве младшего, затем старшего научного сотрудника.

«Александр Владимирович более 30 лет дарил мне свою любовь и дружбу. Сначала я получил их в дар по наследству, по праву рождения, как сын Петра Ивановича Зинченко (с моим отцом А.В. Запорожец подружился в свой харьковский период, который у него, в отличие от других "харьковчан" — А.Н. Леонтьева и А.Р. Лурии, продолжался до самой войны. Вернувшись после рытья окопов, он эвакуировался из Харькова с последним поездом). Позже, мне кажется, я заслужил его расположение и сам. Его уроки, как и уроки моего отца, не просто хранятся в моей благодарной памяти, они вошли в мою плоть и кровь» [1, с. 201].

«А.В. Запорожец был терпимее А.Р. Лурии. Одного из своих действительно талантливых учеников он называл "доброкачественным лентяем" и многое прощал ему (наверное, читатель догадается, о ком здесь идет речь; не путать с упоминаемыми В.П. в другом месте "злокачественными лентяями". — *Б.М.*). Вообще, он нас так замечательно воспитывал, что мы, его ученики, этого совершенно не замечали. А он, смеясь, говорил, что человека после 12—13 лет воспитывать бесполезно. Не раззнакомился со мной Александр Владимирович, когда я в 1960 г. не принял его предложения организовать психологическую лабораторию в создаваемом им тогда Институте дошкольного воспитания или возглавить его лабораторию детской психологии в Психологическом институте, который он покидал. Я предпочел "сыграть в ящик" — в НИИ автоматической аппаратуры, где мне предложили организовать лабораторию инженерной психологии и заняться проблемами противовоздушной обороны (см. раздел 7. — *Б.М.*). А.В. Запорожец отпустил меня и искренне пожелал успеха. Хотя он был огорчен и не скрывал этого, мой отказ никак не повлиял на наши отношения. Он только как-то сказал мне: "Глядя на тебя, я иногда чувствую себя как курица, высидевшая утят и удивляющаяся, что они делают то, что она не умеет сама, например, плавают". Меня оправдывает то, что мы вместе с моей женой — Н.Д. Гордеевой еще при жизни А.В. Запорожца продолжили его исследования произвольных движений и предметных действий. К счастью, мы успели посвятить ему нашу первую книгу по исследованию моторики. Он был искренне рад тому, что почти забытая им, заслоненная директорскими обязанностями проблематика развивается» [1, с. 205].

В.П. называл аспирантский период и последующий период работы под руководством А.В. Запорожца «счастливым», впрочем, и период, который пришел ему на смену, — «не менее счастливым» [1, с. 530]. В его переходе в оборонку сыграл важную роль Д.Ю. Панов, о чем В.П. сообщал следующее:

«В конце 1959 года у меня произошла встреча с еще одним из моих учителей — дважды доктором, технических и физико-математических наук, профессором Дмитрием Юрьевичем Пановым. Он — организатор и создатель ВИНИТИ, первый декан физтеха, однокашник будущего академика, ректора МГУ Ивана Георгиевича Петровского. Д.Ю. Панов к тому же художник и поэт. Мы с ним случайно встретились, и он пригласил меня работать в закрытую организацию (почтовый ящик № 701), находившуюся в Уланском переулке, предложив мне заниматься инженерной психологией. Он сам уже на закате лет пошел в оборонную промышленность, возглавил там теоретический отдел. Поставил перед администрацией вопрос о том, что для средств вооружения и военной техники необходимо учитывать человеческий фактор. Я ему сказал, что для этих целей одного сотрудника будет мало, что есть человек из того же института, мой приятель Владимир Дмитриевич Небылицын. Он говорит: "Нет проблем". И мы оба пошли туда: несмотря на все запрещения о совместительстве нас оформили на полставки.

В течение 1960 года выяснилось, что нужно создавать лабораторию по инженерной психологии» [1, с. 530].

Первая в нашей стране лаборатория инженерной психологии, затем эргономика

«Я организовал первую в нашем государстве и в оборонной промышленности лабораторию инженерной психологии. Для меня и моих товарищей проблема деятельности операторов, принципов ее организации, оптимизации, проектирования была центральной проблемой. Это требовало не только психологического, но и философско-методологического мышления. И установился такого рода контакт. И когда я покончил с оборонной промышленностью, то перешел в Институт технической эстетики Комитета по науке и технике заведующим отдела эргономики. Мы (я и заместитель директора института Мунипов) решили к тем лабораториям, которые были в моем отделе эргономики — прикладные, экспериментальные, психологические, — еще добавить лабораторию методологии» [1, с. 280].

«Помню разговор с Федором Дмитриевичем (Горбовым. — *Б.М.*) во второй половине 1960-х годов. Он говорил:

"Ты — молод, инженерную психологию уже выпустили из бутылки. Даже если кто-то захочет, ее не остановить, это уже невозможно, заинтересованные люди не дадут этого сделать. Страна больная, хотя этого не осознает. Через двадцать лет ей очень понадобится психотерапия. Молодые должны это понять и начать осваивать это дело, а я помогу".

Жаль, что мы, молодые тогда, не прислушались. Он, в отличие от нас, далеко видел вперед» [1, с. 301].

Непростительно будет не привести слова В.П. о том, какое значение для него имел Ф.Д. Горбов:

«Мне очень повезло в жизни. Федор Дмитриевич Горбов (1916—1977) одарил меня своей дружбой, которая, впрочем, была весьма требовательна и сурова, какой и полагается быть мужской дружбе. <...> Помню, как в самом начале нашего знакомства он спросил меня, что мне нужно для полного счастья в моей научной работе. Я сказал, что мне нужен окулометр, разработанный одной американской фирмой, позволяющий регистрировать движения глаз и накладывать траекторию на рассматриваемый объект. Он, как-то с сомнением посмотрев на меня, сказал: я думал ты умнее. Я ведь не о том спрашиваю, причем здесь методика и техника, я спрашиваю о психологии. Позже он все же признал во мне психолога, что, не скрою, было приятно.

Федор Дмитриевич умел, как никто другой, как бы ненароком расширять сознание окружающих. А основания для этого у него были. Он вырос в семье, где высокая гуманитарная культура была естественной средой обитания, а образование получил медицинское. Как врач, он видел все: в студенческие годы работал на скорой помощи, потом врачом авиационного полка, далее работа в военных госпиталях, учеба и сотрудничество с замечательным неврологом М.Ю. Рапопортом в Институте нейрохирургии имени Н.Н. Бурденко, работа в авиационной и космической медицине. Как врач, он, казалось, изнутри видел телесный организм, а как гуманитарий, психолог, психоневролог, психотерапевт, он видел "анатомию и физиологию человеческого духа" (выражение А.А. Ухтомского)» [1, с. 299].

Интересное рефлексивное дополнение про работу в «ящике» и ее роли в формировании личности В.П.:

«Я тогда не вполне понимал, что такое инженерная психология, и сказать, что она меня сильно завлекла, не могу (хотя впоследствии она действительно завлекла меня). Но тут был вот какой момент. Я понимал, что все мои учителя представляют собой замечательное сообщество, что они друзья моего отца, Петра Ивановича Зинченко, глубоко его уважают и ко мне поэтому замечательно относятся. Но это как бы отраженный свет от отца, не являющийся моей заслугой. Тем более, что я не переоценивал своих достижений в науке. И я тогда подумал: что ж я так и буду все время сыном П.И. Зинченко?! Надо попробовать себя там, где никто не знает, кто такой Петр Иванович Зинченко, кто такой Алексей Николаевич Леонтьев, кто такой Александр Владимирович Запорожец... То есть постараться приобрести самостоятельность. И я действительно ушел туда, где вообще никто не отличает Леонтьева от не Леонтьева, Рубинштейна от не Рубинштейна... Там и складывался мой характер и тип общения с людьми. Я почувствовал себя вполне самостоятельным, потому что никого уже не было за спиной, не было подстраховки» [1, с. 531].

Чтобы облегчить читателю ориентацию во времени, приведем некоторую уточняющую информацию

из биографии В.П. Он организовал и возглавлял лабораторию инженерной психологии в НИИ автоматической аппаратуры (1961—1969), затем заведовал отделом эргономики ВНИИ технической эстетики ГКНТ СССР в 1969—1984 гг. Кроме того, был создателем и заведующим кафедры психологии труда и инженерной психологии факультета психологии МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова (1970—1982). В Московском институте радиотехники, электроники и автоматики (МИРЭА) он создал кафедру эргономики (заведовал в 1984—2001 гг.), а в Международном университете природы, общества и человека «Дубна» (ныне Государственный университет «Дубна») — кафедру психологии, которой руководил с 1998 по 2008 г., а позже (до 2013 г.) был ее научным руководителем. В довершение перечисленных организаторских и управленческих подвигов заслуживает упоминания тот факт, что конце 80-х гг. он был зам. директора Института философии РАН и руководителем Центра наук о человеке, а также «директором-организатором» Института человека РАН.

Стоит также упомянуть, что в 35 лет В.П. стал доктором психологических наук (тема диссертации — «Восприятие как действие», 1966 г.), в 38 лет — профессором.

Кафедра психологии труда и инженерной психологии

«И лишь в 1970 году после защиты докторской диссертации, — кстати, по общей, а не по инженерной психологии, — была создана кафедра инженерной психологии в МГУ, которой я заведовал на полставки. И главное внимание я уделял инженерной психологии, а если быть точным, то ее когнитивным аспектам.

Когда у тебя висят на шее отдел эргономики, в котором несколько десятков человек, три лаборатории, да еще кафедра в МГУ, то, конечно, кафедре я уделял меньше внимания, чем надо было бы. Хотя, между прочим, кафедра щедро питалась деньгами, источником которых была оборонная промышленность. На кафедре открылось целое направление исследований, являвшееся подразделом когнитивной психологии: это исследование кратковременной памяти и зрительного восприятия, исследование движений, микроструктурный анализ преобразований информации, осуществляющихся в кратковременной памяти, работы по оценке функциональных состояний, работы Анатолия Иосифовича Назарова, Юрия Константиновича Стрелкова, Натальи Дмитриевны Гордеевой, Сергея Константиновича Сергиенко, Анны Борисовны Леоновой, Бориса Ивановича Беспалова и др. По сути дела, инженерную психологию я рассматривал как экспериментальную психологию, но повышенной ответственности. Надо было и выдавать «на-гора» всевозможные рекомендации, требования и т. п. И кафедра достаточно успешно, на мой взгляд, существовала, она и сейчас существует. Я работал на кафедре до 1982 года, т. е. 12 лет. Кафедра в какие-то

интервалы времени становилась гигантской, потому что деньги были очень хорошие и было немало площадей и всевозможные творческие коллективы; курсовые, дипломные и диссертационные работы стали выполняться на компьютерной технике. Хотя эта техника и была похуже западной, но данный пробел компенсировался, как в России бывает, выдумкой, изобретательностью» [1, с. 533].

Кафедра эргономики в МИРЭА

Про эту кафедру следовало бы написать отдельную статью, одновременно с В.П. там же оказались В.М. Мунипов, А.И. Назаров, Е.Б. Моргунов, Б.Г. Мещеряков, И.А. Мещерякова и др. У В.П. были некоторые оптимистические надежды, что этот технический вуз может создать самые благоприятные материально-технические условия для развертывания экспериментальных исследований, но этого, к сожалению, не случилось (МИРЭА — не МТИ). Из-за недостатка места придется на этой теме сэкономить. Любопытно одно высказывание В.П., характеризующее особенности педагогического процесса в МИРЭА:

«Было, между прочим, испытание: одно дело читать лекции психологам, а другое — инженерам. Ты приходишь к ним, особенно к студентам 4—5 курсов, это уже почти состоявшиеся специалисты, а тут "какая-то психология" им читается. Так что было непросто овладеть этой публикой. Примерно так же, как когда-то "овладевал" школьниками старших классов. Конечно, без многолетнего опыта сотрудничества с инженерами я вряд ли справился бы» [1, с. 535].

Трудные 1990-е годы

В трудные 1990-е годы В.П. вместе с В.В. Давыдовым и Ф.Т. Михайловым читали лекции в разных городах страны — Надым, Тобольск, Усть-Илимск, Якутск, Анапа и многие другие. Очень вероятно, что они «мотались» по этим городам и весям не столько ради своего удовольствия и благополучия, сколько для того, чтобы поддерживать своих менее социально защищенных коллег. Разумеется, это не афишировалось, но так оно и было.

О Дубне

В интервью 2005 г. (с В.И. Артамоновым) В.П. не без гордости сообщал о кафедре:

«Сейчас я преподаю в Университете природы, общества и человека «Дубна», организовал сильную кафедру психологии (там 9 докторов наук). И уже два выпуска у нас было (кафедра выпускающая, там нет факультетов). По 25 человек в год мы выпускаем. Это такой губернаторский университет — единственный в Московской области. И там в основном преподают выпускники МГУ, доктора и кандидаты наук. То есть очень профессиональная команда» [1, с. 536].

В том же интервью есть еще интересный фрагмент. На вопрос *«Какие увлечения у Вас есть, как начинается Ваш день?»* В.П. ответил кратко:

«День у меня по-разному начинается. Вот вчера, например, встал в шесть часов утра, в восемь был уже у станции метро «Новослободская», а в десять — у себя на кафедре психологии в университете «Дубна». Потом — четыре лекционные пары и после девяти вечера — дома. МГППУ и ГУ ВШЭ тоже расслабиться не дают. К сожалению, лыжи, байдарка — в прошлом. Тусоваться не люблю. Удовольствие получаю от чтения и письма. Как говорят в Одессе: сам на себя удивляюсь по этому поводу» [1, с. 550].

Телопортация в Дубну и обратно к станции метро занимала (если не было неожиданностей), как минимум, 4—5 часов. В то время дорога, особенно по мере приближения к Дубне, была типично российской. И когда около 10 часов утра микроавтобус останавливался у здания университета, профессор иногда бодро произносил: «Перед употреблением — взбалтывать». И это сразу поднимало настроение у полусонных московских преподавателей.

Об актуальном

Актуальное и поучительное пророческое предупреждение В.П. Зинченко, произнесенное в интервью 2005 г.:

«Некоторые наивные, а чаще корыстные люди считают, что можно учить дистанционно. Я такое обучение называю диетическим. Уверен, что хамский ленинский стиль не только в политике, но даже и в философии объясняется его экстернатом: он живого профессора не видел. А ведь именно педагог является носителем живого знания, и он, по сути дела, очеловечивает институализированные знания. По глазам слушателей он судит, есть понимание или нет. Кстати, и педагогическое косноязычие — это мощнейший канал развития. Потому что там, где гладкая речь, где не видно, что педагог думает сам, — будет провал, «отскок» от восприятия слушателей. Когда приходит на кафедру человек и начинает вслух читать учебник, ничего хорошего ожидать не приходится» [1, с. 548—549].

Вместо заключения

Здесь не лишним будет повторить:

«Владимир Петрович был фантастически душевно и духовно щедрым. Он безостановочно дарил нам свою душу — и в непосредственном общении и общении опосредствованном. Рядом с ним всегда было тепло, весело и уютно. Он был подобен мобильному и просторному кабинету психологической разгрузки. С благодарностью помним этого замечательного человека большого ума и большой души» [1, с. 694].

По традиции, установленной В.П., закончим поэзией:

Не он ли нас приятной остротою
И нежностью сердечной привлекал!
Не он ли нас тесней соединял?
Сколь был он прост, не скрытен в разговоре!
Как для друзей всю душу обнажал!
Как взор его во глубь сердец вникал!
Высокий дух пылал в сем быстром взоре.

В.А. Жуковский

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Борис Гурьевич Мещеряков (1953—2021)

Слово о Борисе Мещерякове

24 июля 2021 г. умер Борис Гурьевич Мещеряков, доктор психологических наук, профессор Государственного университета «Дубна», заместитель главного редактора журнала «Культурно-историческая психология», наш коллега и друг. Он не дожил месяца до своего 68-летия, хотя его мама перешагнула порог столетия. В нынешнем мире наследственность — уже не «охранная грамота». Зато с ним и за ним все чувствовали себя уверенно и легко.

Борис Гурьевич не работал в психологии, он ей служил. С результатами его служения сталкивался всякий, кто впервые «постучался» в дверь психологии, — уже открывая «Большой психологический словарь» под редакцией В.П. Зинченко и Б.Г. Мещерякова. А ведь этот фундаментальный труд — лишь один из кирпичиков, который заложил в психологию Б.Г. Мещеряков.

Он был строителем психологии, как наши учителя (Борис Гурьевич посвятил им, их творчеству многие свои труды), а не пристраивался к «современным трендам», к которым — при всей своей доброй, человечной, деликатной натуре — порой относился весьма скептически. Прекрасно разбираясь при этом во всех новейших поветриях. Его натура была принципиально несовместимой лишь с суетностью, воинствующей и агрессивной поверхностностью в науке, тем более если все это «конвертируется» в «положение» и материальное благополучие.

Как организатор он неутомимо создавал пространство, в котором психология могла бы жить достойно: бесчисленные издания, конференции, семинары, куда он привлекал лучшие силы. Наш журнал «Культурно-историческая психология» стал одним из таких пространств во многом благодаря каждодневной работе Бориса Мещерякова в качестве заместителя главного редактора. Скромность не позволяла ему лишний раз выставлять свой собственный разносторонний научный талант, подпитываемый немыслимой, по нынешним временам, эрудицией. Он реализовывал его в «рабочем порядке». А диапазон поисков Б.Г. Мещерякова был чрезвычайно широк: от штудий в сфере истории и теории психологии до этнопсихологических дискурсов и экспериментатики в области психологии восприятия.

Борис Гурьевич ушел полным жизни, планов и замыслов, которыми щедро делился со многими.

Редакция журнала «Культурно-историческая психология»