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ПСИХОЛОГИЯ

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В НОМЕРЕ

Approaches to General
Personology



Emotional Framing



Моральная конформность



Переживание духовного
кризиса

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Special Theme of the Issue.
The Psychology of the Personality
at the Approaches to General Personology

It is a well known fact that the term “personology” was originally coined by Henry Murray to denote a special field of research focused on the personality of an individual as a unique, integral whole. Murray’s personology laid claim to being a scientific investigation into the personality which took as its basis the author’s unique research method within the paradigm of psychoanalysis.

In contrast to Murray’s work in the field of personology, the current issue’s special theme explores the discipline of *general personology* as a methodological basis for the synthesis of science, culture, and consultative practice centered on the personality of the individual as an area of psychoanalytical research and diagnosis.

It would be a gross exaggeration to contend that all the works presented in this section wholly represent the notion of general personology as an established project of the “science of the personality”. Some of the articles open up individual facets of what will in time become a whole, drawing together theoretical-empirical, cultural-phenomenological and consultative-therapeutic developments in the field of personality psychology.

Impressive both in terms of its scope and depth of thought, the article by V.G. Gryazeva-Dobshinskaya and her co-authors unfurls a whole panorama of patterns characterizing the connection between a person’s creative identity and the types of creativity in their thinking. Four types of indicators of creative thinking are identified: searching, adaptive, high-creative, and low-creative. These in turn correlate with preferred styles of thinking (“petitioner”, “inspirer of ideas”, “developer”, “innovator”), specified in accordance with the profession of the research subjects: technical (with an onus on automation), humanitarian (with a weighting towards personalized multimedia communications), and social (with a focus on human social adaptation).

The article raises a number of questions with implications for the continuation of research into the prospects for implementing four general personology-related projects: an assessment of the non-triviality, informativeness, and existential significance of the results obtained; the implementation of strategies for the two-tiered construction of personological knowledge (the first tier being the collection of empirical data; the second tier to present the data to respondents based on the effects of constructive feedback); the interpretation of the facts obtained, with account taken of the specifics of the subjects’ activities in specific socio-cultural

conditions; and research into the phenomenological components of creative identity, among many other things.

Among the articles dealing with the current issue's special topic is an original study by E.V. Bityutskaya, A.G. Dokuchaeva and A.A. Korneev, conducted in the genre of the psychological classics, which sets out the profiles of a person's response to life-changing situations. The authors' interest is focused on analyzing how people perceive changes in their lives and what coping strategies they utilize. Two opposing strategies are clearly distinguished: *openness to change*, and *resistance to it*. Each of the strategies is integral in the sense that the "vectors" forming them are intentionally unified, we would say "coherent", expressing a multifaceted determination of intentions: in one instance to embrace the uncertainty of the future, meeting it "with an open visor", while in the other - to deliberately reject any ongoing or possible changes. There is also an *ambivalent profile, a kind of third way*, which occupies an intermediate position between opposite ways of dealing with change.

Some possible questions for the personologists to pose to the authors could be: are the bearers of the three profiles aware of the incipient peculiarity of their reactions? Does the *latency* of the profiles noted by the authors mean that there is no thought for alternatives in the minds of the subjects (in the same way that no one sees themselves in profile when looking at themselves in the mirror)? How rigid is each of the three coping strategies when it is realized along with the others? Let's also set a task for our colleagues with the following question: "Let's assume that someone is completely satisfied with their life *right before* a change takes place, what is the probability of them using pessimistic, optimistic or ambivalent coping strategies in this case?" The spread of expert opinions, along with the discrepancy between the average expert assessment and the characteristics of the distribution of the empirical data (variance), provide an assessment of the non-triviality and, consequently, the informativeness of the results (V.A. Petrovsky criteria).

N.A. Shevchenko's article puts forward an idea which is unusual in its "personologicality". Following the personological trend towards interdisciplinarity and integration, the author outlines a new research area at the intersection of the psychological theory of the Self and the concept of the "internal picture of disease" currently under development in medical science. He refers to both established and novel ideas about the development of the corporeal Self, the reflexive dialogue between the Self and the corporeal Self, identification and disidentification with oneself, and the self-identity of the Self in the corporeal aspect, allowing the possibility that these phenomena, when actualized in the life process of patients with motor-related disorders, can change their internal picture of the disease in the area of integration with the Self and subjectivity with the Self. The author sees one of the reasons for such changes as the engagement of the patient's Ego in the reflection of the relationship to their body in the "between Self and corporeal Self", "Self in corporeal Self", "corporeal Self in Self", "Self as corporeal Self" dimensions. The achievement of self-identity, its problematization, disidentification and a new identification with oneself in the dimensions of the Self-corporeal Self dialogue amplify the patient's Self, and can set a positive dynamic for their internal picture of the

disease and their behavior towards the disease. The article presents the technique of reflexive dialogue used by the author in his rehabilitation work, and describes some of the effects of its application. There can be no doubt that the author has outlined a pathway for multifaceted future research. To what extent this idea has already been implemented, “at the start”, is for readers to judge.

A unique picture in terms of its inclusiveness of the cultural phenomenology of *happiness* as a category of personology is presented in the article “The Experience of the Personology of Happiness” by E.B. Starovoitenko and Y.Y. Brook. The categories, ideas and paradigms that reveal this phenomenon are identified and systematized in this piece. The sources of the author’s constructions are philosophical, psychological and philological works, as well as the texts of fairy tales and works of poetry. Using the methods of hermeneutics and modeling, the author defines happiness as “a possible life of the personality” in which there is “the sense of joyful belonging to the world”, “the enjoyment of a full inner life”, “the surpassing of the meanings and expectations acquired over the course of life”, “consciousness of the fullness of ‘oneself’ and the fulfillment of one’s own being”. “Happiness” is revealed in the categorical system of the *personology of life*. The relationship of the personality to happiness is examined, a relationship which includes, in addition to conscious and reflexive elements, more profound components such as bodily and sensual pleasure provided by the very fact of life. A *classification* of emotional correlates of happiness is posited, in correlation with various sources of its genesis: spiritual practice, activity, preferred occupations and relationships. The existence of a *mental fabric* of happiness and the means of its expression is emphasized, and culturally specific options for its individual acquisition are uncovered. The *oppositional elements* in the architectonics of happiness, the system-shaping values that form its basis, and the “impressions” as units of living happiness in its value dimension are highlighted, and the ways and nature of the presence of the idea of happiness in individual consciousness are set out in detail. At the same time, E.B. Starovoitenko relies on her own method of “reflexive interview”: it is important to note that this interview method is not just a way to diagnose and activate the consciousness of a personality (the concept of “happiness” in individual consciousness), but also a means for the formation and “elevation” of consciousness to the images of happiness existing in human culture.

V.A. Petrovsky’s article, “Transactional Analysis in the Perspective of General Personology”, is the first attempt at synthesizing fundamental, cultural–phenomenological, and consultative–therapeutic psychology to be made centered on transactional analysis (TA). The author’s methodological observations are devoted to the design of research in the field of general personology focused on the transactional and analytical model of personality (the TA-model). The article sets out to consider the language of everyday communication as opposed to academic terminology, linguistic solutions characterizing the structure of personality in first- and second-order models, including prejudices and illusions, the cultural origins of “games” and “scenarios”, the “dramatic triangle” and the “tragicomic pyramid” (V.A. Petrovsky), “personality adaptations”, and the stylistics of texts by Bern et al.

The author sets forth a *complete structural and functional first- and second-order personality model* (including contamination and confusion) in combination with empirical studies of the possible interrelationships of their elements with fundamental psychological variables (components of the Big Five, etc.). The manifestations of the “energy-based” concept of “physis” is interpreted in connection with the author’s concept of “excessive possibilities”, which are born in “activity” and operationalized in terms of self-actualization and “suprasituational” (maladaptive) activity.

The prospects for modifying existing methods of personality research in the context of transactional analysis (TAT, CAT) and the development of new methods (“reflected subjectivity”, “transactional reinterpretation of fundamental questionnaires”), along with the use of reflexive techniques are also discussed in the article. The modification and validation of the Russian-language version of the Joines Personality Adaptation Questionnaire is also highlighted. Finally, the idea of using the “personological triangle” (incorporating the “vertices” of fundamental, cultural, phenomenological, and counseling psychology) as a “psychological tool” for transactional and analytical interventions is proposed.

This article, *as is the case with all the other articles of the current issue’s special theme*, characterizes the **approaches** towards the construction of general personology, without making any claims regarding a perfected form or established pattern for its implementation.

V.A. Petrovsky

CREATIVE IDENTITY: INTEGRATING OPTIONS FOR COGNITIVE, PERSONAL, AND SOCIOCULTURAL RESOURCES OF SUBJECTS

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Креативная идентичность: варианты интеграции когнитивных, персональных, социокультурных ресурсов субъектов

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Abstract

The challenges of subjects' creative development are consistent with the global values of self-expression in the profession and everyday life, occur in the conditions of innovative changes and imply selective formation of creative identity. It is relevant to study the Identity of subjects with different creative resources involved in modern technological and informational processes: technical (with the priority to automation), humanitarian (with the priority to personalized communications), social (with the focus on human social adaptation). The aim of the study: to reveal the creative identity types of subjects with

Резюме

Вызовы креативного развития субъектов согласуются с глобальными ценностями самовыражения в профессии и в повседневности, происходят в условиях инновационных изменений и предполагают избирательное формирование креативной идентичности. Актуально исследовать идентичность субъектов с разными креативными ресурсами, включенных в современные технологические и информационные потоки: технические (с приоритетом автоматизации), гуманитарные (с приоритетом персонализированных коммуникаций), социальные (с ориентацией на социальную адаптацию человека). Цель исследования: выявить типы креативной идентичности субъектов со специфическими инновационными и адаптационными

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specific innovational and adaptational resources of creative thinking and corresponding variants of integration of cognitive, personal, sociocultural resources of subjects representing different professional fields (humanitarian, social, technical). Sample: 397 university students; 255 females, 142 males ($M = 20,5$ years). Methods. The Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking-Figural (Form A) (TTCT) and the methodology Role Relations between Social Subjects and Creative Personalities, by V. G. Gryazeva-Dobshinskaya et al. based on the psychosemantic method. Results. The factor structure of subjects' creative thinking includes an innovational factor and adaptational factor. According to the ratio of innovational and adaptational factors of creative thinking subjects were differentiated into four types: exploratory, adaptive, high-creative, and low-creative. The specificity of socio-role and sociocultural identity factor structure in subjects representing three professional fields was revealed. Conclusions. The types of creative thinking based on the structure of innovational and adaptational factors have been identified. Subjects of different professional fields show the specificity of creative identity types, including cognitive, personal, socio-cultural resources.

Keywords: creative thinking types, creative identity, the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking (TTCT), socio-role identity, innovational factor, adaptational factor.

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ресурсами креативного мышления и соответствующие варианты интеграции когнитивных, персональных, социокультурных ресурсов субъектов, представляющих разные сферы деятельности (гуманитарную, социальную, техническую). Выборка: 397 студентов университета; 255 девушек, 142 юноши ($M = 20,5$ лет). Для диагностики использовались Тест креативного мышления Е.П. Торренса и методика «Рольевые отношения социальных субъектов с творческими личностями» В.Г. Грязевой-Добшинской с соавт., основанная на психосемантическом методе. Показано, что факторная структура креативного мышления субъектов включает инновационный фактор и адаптационный фактор. По соотношению показателей инновационного и адаптационного факторов креативного мышления субъекты дифференцированы на четыре типа: поисковый, адаптивный, высоко креативный, низко креативный. Выявлена специфика факторной структуры идентичности (социально-ролевой и социокультурной) у субъектов, представляющих три профессиональные сферы (гуманитарную, социальную, техническую). . Выявлены типы креативного мышления на основе структуры показателей инновационного и адаптационного факторов креативного мышления. Субъекты разных профессиональных сфер проявляют специфику типов креативной идентичности, включающую когнитивные, персональные, социокультурные ресурсы.

Ключевые слова: типы креативного мышления, креативная идентичность, тест Торренса (TTCT), социально-ролевая идентичность, инновационный фактор, адаптационный фактор.

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Modern studies of creativity have an integrative vector and are aimed at identifying universal cognitive and personal factors, as well as options for their integration and ascent to generalized creativity factors (Barbot et al., 2016; Corazza & Glăveanu, 2020; Fürst et al., 2016; Ushakov, 2020; Shumakova, 2021). At the same time, studies reveal a diversity of creativity factors that differentiate subjects according to the spheres of creativity, sociocultural contexts, reflection of subjectivity (Feist, 1998; Erez & Nouri, 2010; Kaufman et al., 2016; Lubart et al., 2022), and show the ascent to different typologies of creativity (Kroeger & Goldstein, 2013; Kim & Pierce, 2013; Puryear et al., 2017).

Studies have revealed two universal factors of creative thinking that unite its most researched properties – fluency, flexibility, originality (innovational factor), elaboration of ideas, abstractness of titles (adaptational factor) according to the results of the Torrance test (Kim & Pierce, 2013; Krumm et al., 2014; Nogueira et al., 2017). The most universal properties of a creative personality have been investigated: openness to experience, extraversion, reflexivity (Fürst et al., 2016; Puryear et al., 2017). The model of generalized creativity factors “chaos” – “order” is proposed for discussion, which includes, at different levels (cognitive, personal), the properties of creative thinking and creative personality with the opposition of “generating”, “divergent” – “evaluative”, “convergent” (Fürst et al., 2016).

The studies of diverse creativity factors have revealed the specificity of cognitive and personal manifestations of subjects in different domains, – technical, artistic, scientific, everyday creativity (Feist, 1998; Baer, 2016; Campos et al., 2015; Erez & Nouri, 2010; Kaufman et al., 2016; Lebedeva et al., 2019; Lubart et al., 2022). The cultural specificity of creativity has been identified and a sociocultural manifesto for creativity research has been pronounced (Erez & Nouri, 2010; Glăveanu et al., 2020; Cabra & Guerrero, 2022).

Differential psychology studies of creativity are oriented to the study of creative thinking styles during the creational process (Kim & Pierce, 2013; Campos et al., 2015; Puccio et al., 2019; Belova, 2021) and creative personality types (Kroeger & Goldstein, 2013; Barbot et al., 2016) as well as variants of their integration (Kaufman et al., 2016; Puryear et al., 2017; Gryazeva-Dobshinskaya et al., 2020).

The significant role of creative identity has been revealed: the conditionality of effective creativity by the specificity of reflection of the subjects' multiple Selves, acceptance of their own resources and possibilities of creative communities; a sociocultural concept of creative identity has been developed (Glăveanu & Tanggaard, 2014; Goçłowska & Crisp, 2014; Karwowski, 2016; Haslam et al., 2013; Barbot & Heuser, 2017).

The problems of a modern person identity are discussed in several contexts. The diversity of self-identity 's structural components and their dynamic characteristics are studied: the plurality of personal identification structures is relevant to the diversity of a person's choice of his or her “Self” in a dynamic society (Belinskaya, 2018; Ivanova & Rumyantseva, 2009). The contributions of subjects' identities to the studied life activity sphere are revealed: from culturally specific to global value orientations as the foundations of local or global identity (Nestik & Zhuravlev, 2020), from personal to organizational role positions that determine the specifics of personal, microgroup, organizational identity (Sidorenkov et al., 2020). The com-

plex social identity of subjects is defined by cultural values, experienced activities and communications, and individual differences in information preference (Khukhlaev & Khayt, 2012).

Literature review reveals less variability of cognitive components of creativity, and a greater contribution of personal and sociocultural factors to the diversity of subjects' creative manifestations.

The assumption about variants of subjects' creative identities turns to personological studies of multiple Selves. Personological models include the multi-subject phenomena of Self – Others: “subjectness of Self” as self-causality, as creative Self, reflexive or spontaneous; “reflected subjectness” – “Self in Others” and “Others in Self”, mediated by joint activity (Petrovsky, 2021b; reflexive equivalence of “Self as Myself” and dialogical equivalence of “Self as The Other”, mediated by creativity and productive facilitation (Starovoytenko, 2020). The plurality of forms of Self reflects the paradoxical formation of an individual as the subject and object of their life, as its author and co-author (Petrovsky & Starovoytenko, 2023).

The reflexive complexity of the subject's Self reflects inclusion in the diversity of activities and communities, in the processes of adaptation-individualization-integration into these communities, and reveals the “supra-situational” ascent of the individual to their own uniqueness, as understood-accepted by Others (Petrovsky, 2021a). The subject's reflection of the dynamic opposition “uniqueness” – “integration” is a source of complex identity.

The creative identities of subjects manifest their reflections of the relationship between Self and Others, and reflect subjectness in the acceptance of creative resources, comprehension of the opportunities in life and activity in multidirectional sociocultural contexts. Creative identities of subjects include paradoxical acceptance of their own uniqueness and self-identity with other creators, creative movements, and groups. This study examines two types of creative identity. *The socio-role creative identity* – identification of Self with roles of collaborative creative activity. *The sociocultural creative identity* – identification of Self with the position of certain cultural subjects who have different priorities of existential values: oriented either to the preservation of traditions (“social individual”), to relevant social priorities (“social subject”), or to unique self-expression (“individuality of personality”). Types of creative identities have different foundations, genesis and personal resources. *The social-role creative identity* reflects the processes of adaptation-individualization-integration of personality in professional activities (creative, innovative), reflection and acceptance of their role in it. *The sociocultural creative identity* reflects the processes of adaptation-individualization-integration of personality outside the narrow professional sphere, in the domain of metacognition of meanings and cultural values, through identification with creators, innovators (historical figures or unique contemporaries), who determine the vectors of cultural development. “Social subject” is more focused on adaptive creativity, “individuality of personality” – to innovative creativity. Identity can be a resource or a barrier to the realization of creative abilities of subjects.

Researchers of creativity emphasize in their manifesto the necessity of studying the diversity of creativity, as it is determined by many factors – personality, field

of activity, situation, culture (Glăveanu et al., 2020). Differential psychology research allows us to reveal the diversity of variants of creative identity as resources of both individual and community sociocultural development (Asmolov et al., 2024; Leontiev, 2022).

The challenges of subjects' creative development are consistent with the global values of self-expression in professional activities as well as in everyday life, occur in the conditions of continuous innovative changes and imply selective formation of creative identity.

It is relevant to study the identity of subjects with different creative resources involved in modern technological and informational processes: technical (with the priority to automation), humanitarian (with the priority to personalized multimedia communications), social (with the focus on human social adaptation).

The aim of the study is to identify the types of subjects' creative identities with specific innovational and adaptational resources of creative thinking and the corresponding variants of integration of cognitive, personal, sociocultural resources of subjects representing different fields of activity (humanitarian, social, technical).

Methods

The sample consisted of 397 students from three professional fields: humanitarian (linguists, journalists, philologists), social (psychologists, social psychologists), technical (power engineering, motor transport, aerospace); 255 females, 142 males, $M = 19.5$ years old.

The Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking-Figural (Form A) (TTCT) was applied to diagnose the structure of creative thinking. The test results were used to calculate following indicators: originality, fluency, flexibility, elaboration, abstractness of titles (Matveeva & Markina, 2004; Tunik, 2006).

The originality indicator characterizes a respondent's ability to generate unique ideas. The fluency indicator characterizes a person's ability to generate a large number of ideas; the flexibility indicator characterizes the ability to apply different strategies in problem solving; the elaboration indicator characterizes the ability to elaborate ideas in detail. The abstractness of titles indicator characterizes the ability to highlight the main points, to understand the essence of the problem.

The psychosemantic methodology "Role Relations between Social Subjects and Creative Personalities" (RRSSCP) by V. G. Gryazeva-Dobshinskaya, N. Y. Bakun-chik, V. A. Glukhova, and A. S. Maltseva was used to diagnose the components of subjects' socio-role identities. The RRSSCP methodology is based on repertory grids method by J. Kelly (Gryazeva-Dobshinskaya et al., 2008).

Each participant created "their" project team by selecting 10 images from 27 pictures with different types of creative people representing mythological prototypes (Prometheus, Orpheus, Icarus, etc.) to the following role positions: Self, social roles (chiefs, deputies, dismissed – males and females), personal roles (creator, in-demand employee, rescuer in critical situation). Examples of images are shown in Figure 1.

The images selected for 10 role positions were evaluated according to 12 bipolar constructs created by respondents from 72 idioms expressing either a positive/negative attitude to one of six existential values: Labor, Knowledge, Love, Game, Life, Freedom. For each value, the idioms represented the attitudes of different cultural subjects: those oriented towards traditions (“social individual”), towards relevant social priorities (“social subject”), and towards unique self-expression (“individuality of personality”). For example, the following are idioms related to the value of Knowledge: “live and learn”, “curiosity killed the cat”, “wit works woe”, “blaze the trail”.

Subjects filled out a repertory grid, where 10 images are rated on 12 bipolar constructs. Example of RRSSCP protocol is shown in Figure 2.

Factor analysis was used to process the data. Indicators of socio-role identity were calculated on the basis of factor loadings as the basis of their ranking for each role in the factor, including the subject’s Self (ranking indicators from 10 to 1). The following indicators of the socio-role identity were used in the study: reflection clarity of one’s socio-role identity (Self), reflection of the roles of Creator, Chief and demand in the team (In-demand employee). Indicators of sociocultural identity were defined by the values of a cultural subject (social individual, social subject, individuality of a person) and were calculated as the sum of Self-assessments according to the relevant idioms.

The RRSSCP methodology was validated on samples of managers working in companies with different levels of innovativeness (Gryazeva-Dobshinskaya et al., 2023).

Figure 1

Examples of Stimulus Images from RRSSCP Methodology, Representing Different Types of Creative People: Hephaestus (Left) and Icarus (Right)

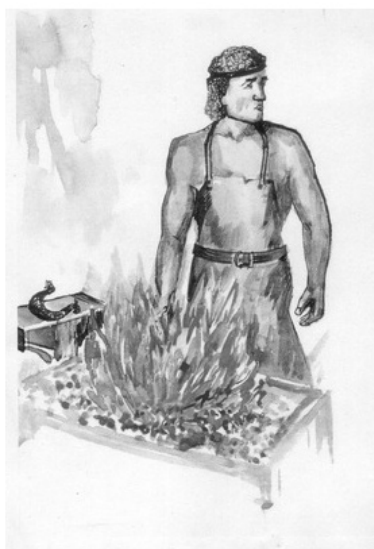


Figure 2

RRSSCP Protocol

Self	Male chief	Female chief	Male deputy chief	Female deputy chief	Creator	In-demanded employee	Rescuer in critical situation	Male dismissed employee	Female dismissed employee								
a											1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d	*	*									1	b					
	*		*	*							2						
		*			*	*					3						
			*				*	*			4						
*				*					*		5						
					*	*			*		6						
*					*	*	*				7						
	*				*			*			8						
		*	*						*		9						
			*	*		*	*				10						
			*		*				*		11						
e						*	*	*			12	c					

Note. a – boxes for filling in the numbers of the selected images; b through c – boxes for writing pair of idioms, forming bipolar constructs; d through e – boxes for evaluating chosen images based on bipolar construct of the corresponding row.

Results

Differentiation of Subjects into Types of Creative Thinking in Dependence to the Level of Generalized Factors Indicators

The factor structure of creative thinking of the whole sample includes the innovational factor – fluency, flexibility, originality indicators, and the adaptational factor – elaboration and abstractness of titles indicators (Table 1).

Factor analysis was conducted applying the principal component method with the use of varimax rotation. The limitation of the number of factors was carried out calculating eigenvalues (greater than 1). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett’s criterion of sphericity are 0.718 and 945.0 ($p \leq .001$), respectively.

Table 1

Creative Thinking Factor Structure

Generalized factors	Creative thinking indicators					% d
	Fluency	Flexibility	Originality	Elaboration	Abstractness of titles	
Innovational	.95	.93	.88			51.7
Adaptational				.73	.82	24.7

According to the ratio of indicators of innovational and adaptational factors of creative thinking, the subjects were differentiated into four types: exploratory, adaptive, highly creative, and low creative.

- exploratory type (N = 149). Subjects with average or above average results for indicators of the “innovational” factor, with below average indicators of the “adaptational” factor;

- adaptive type (N = 84). Subjects with average or above average results for indicators of “adaptational” factor, with below average indicators of «innovation-
al» factor;

- high creative type (N = 55). Subjects with above average results for indicators of “innovational” as well as “adaptational” factors;

- low creative type (N = 80). Subjects with below average results for indicators of “innovational” as well as “adaptational” factors.

The fifth group “Atypical” included subjects (N = 29) whose indicators of creative thinking were different from the above mentioned four types. These subjects were excluded from further calculations.

Descriptive statistics for the entire sample and for each type of subjects are presented in Table 2.

Significance of Creative Thinking and Identity Indicators for Subject's Differentiation into Types (Results of Discriminant Analysis)

The accuracy of differentiating subjects into types in dependence to the ratio of indicators of innovational and adaptational factors and identification of the most significant for this process indicators was performed using discriminant analysis with step-by-step selection of variables. The coefficients of the standardized canonical discriminant functions are presented in Table 3.

The accuracy of differentiating subjects into types in dependence to the indicators of creative thinking was 86.7%.

Only the first two standardized discriminant functions with dispersion values of 63.4% and 36.3% contribute to the subjects' differentiation. The first discriminant function corresponds to the “innovational” factor of creative thinking and includes indicators of fluency, flexibility and originality. The second discriminant function corresponds to the “adaptational” factor of creative thinking and includes indicators of elaboration and abstractness of titles.

Further, discriminant analysis was used to select those indicators of the RRSSCP methodology (clarity of reflection of Self, socio-role and sociocultural identity), which significantly differentiate the types of subjects by the indicators of creative thinking.

The accuracy of differentiating subjects into types based on the combination of indicators of creative thinking and indicators of socio-role identity and the combination of indicators of creative thinking and socio-cultural identity amounted to 84.0% and 83.2%, respectively.

The first two discriminant functions for both methods of subjects' differentiation correspond to the discriminant functions, revealed previously when using only

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics

Subjects' groups		Whole sample		Exploratory		Adaptive		High creative		Low creative	
Sample size		397		149		84		55		80	
Male/Female		142/255		61/88		29/55		13/42		30/50	
Indicator		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Creative thinking indicators (TTCT)											
Innovational	Fluency	23.6	7.1	28.7	4.8	16.9	3.6	29.6	5.7	17.7	3.8
	Flexibility	18.8	4.9	22.3	3.1	14.2	3.1	22.5	3.4	14.8	3.1
	Originality	34.9	13.9	43.2	11.1	23.0	6.8	46.1	13.4	25.2	8.1
Adaptational	Elaboration	99.4	44.0	92.2	41.6	107.9	38.7	146.4	43.2	67.0	18.4
	Abstractness of titles	5.8	4.2	4.3	3.2	8.1	4.1	9.7	3.2	2.7	1.7
Identity indicators (RRSSCP)											
Socio-role identity	Self	8.7	1.3	8.7	1.3	8.8	1.2	8.7	1.3	8.7	1.3
	Creator	5.0	2.8	4.9	2.7	4.9	2.9	4.8	2.9	5.2	3.0
	In-demand employee	5.1	2.7	4.8	2.7	4.9	2.8	5.3	2.5	5.3	2.9
	Chief	5.4	2.8	5.3	2.9	6.1	2.7	5.6	2.9	5.0	2.6
Socio-cultural identity	Social Subject	3.3	5.0	3.3	5.4	3.1	4.7	3.3	4.9	3.7	5.1
	Individuality of Personality	3.3	5.3	3.7	5.5	3.0	5.1	2.5	5.4	3.1	4.7

Table 3

Significance of Creative Thinking Indicators for Subjects' Differentiation into Types

Creative thinking indicators	Coefficients of the standardized canonical discriminant function		
	1	2	3
Fluency	.47	.08	-.13
Flexibility	.43	-.28	-.66
Originality	.21	-.10	.92
Elaboration	.16	.68	.38
Abstractness of titles	.13	.82	-.35
% d	63.4	36.3	0.3

creative thinking indicators. These functions correspond to the «innovational» and «adaptational» factors of creative thinking.

The third discriminant function for both methods of subjects' differentiation is formed by the indicators of Identity according to the RRSSCP methodology. In

the first differentiation it is the function of the socio-role identity, showing the subjects' reflection to the roles of a Creator (.20), an in-demand employee (.57), a Chief (-.22), and a Deputy (.48). In the second differentiation – the function of subjects' sociocultural identities, representing the reflection of individuality of a person (.41).

Variants of Integration of Identity and Creative Thinking Resources in Subjects of Different Professional Fields

There was investigated the specificity of identity (socio-role, sociocultural, value components) in subjects of different types of creative thinking (according to the ratio of indicators of innovational complex, – fluency, flexibility, originality, and indicators of the adaptational complex, – elaboration, abstractness of titles), representing three fields of professional education at the university, – humanitarian ($N_h = 120$), social ($N_s = 132$), technical ($N_t = 116$).

In order to reveal the specificity of identity and variants of integrative structures of cognitive, personal, sociocultural resources of subjects with different types of creative thinking, two factor structures were calculated for each of the groups:

- The structure of socio-role identity of personality and creative thinking;
- the structure of sociocultural identity and creative thinking.

Variants of Integration of Socio-Role Identity and Resources of Creative Thinking in Subjects of Different Professional Fields

The factor structure of socio-role identity and creative thinking resources in subjects of three professional fields was analyzed; the results are presented in Table 4.

The analysis of the results revealed that in subjects of the **low creative type of the three professional spheres** reflection of Self does not correlate with indicators of creative thinking.

Integrative Structures of Subjects from the Humanitarian Field

Subjects of the **exploratory** type. Factor structure: 1 – reflection of the *Creator role* and thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*); 2 – reflection of the *Chief role* is opposed to the indicator of creative thinking *elaboration*; 3 – *creative identity of Self* with the *Creator role* is opposed to the indicators of *originality* and *abstractness of the titles*.

Subjects of the **adaptive** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) do not correlate with reflection of *Self* and team roles; 2 – *creative identity of Self with the Creator role* is opposed to being *demanded* in the team; 3 – *reflection of Self* and the indicator of *abstractness of titles* are opposed to reflection of the *Chief role* and the indicator of *elaboration*.

Subjects of the **high creative** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) and reflection of the *role of in-demand employee in the team*; 2 – *creative identity of Self* with the *Creator role* and indicators of *flexibility*

Table 4

Factor Structure of Socio-Role Identity and Creative Thinking Resources of Subjects

Factor	Socio-role identity components				Generalized creative thinking factors					% d
					Innovational			Adaptational		
	Self	Cr.	Ind.	Chief	Fluency	Flex.	Orig.	Elab.	Abstr.	
Exploratory N _h = 39				KMO = .508			Bartlett's c. 56.7*			
1		.45	–		.86	.81	.67			25.8
2			–	.80				–.82		18.4
3	.53	.46	–				–.59		–.70	18.3
Adaptive N _h = 35				KMO = .499			Bartlett's c. 87.8**			
1					.93	.90	.70	.41		26.6
2	.55	.58	–.79							18.6
3	–.58			.73				.49	–.53	16.1
High creative N _h = 20				KMO = .506			Bartlett's c. 69.5**			
1			.45	–	.93	.77	.85			31.7
2	.50	.76		–		.53			.75	22.0
3	.57		.69	–				–.87		21.1
Exploratory N _s = 51				KMO = .659			Bartlett's c. 94.4**			
1			.62		.89	.78	.82			28.8
2		.78							.80	15.4
3			–.45	.80						12.7
4	.41							.90		12.4
Adaptive N _s = 31				KMO = .590			Bartlett's c. 63.9**			
1		.45			.78	.91	.76			26.3
2				.69				.50	–.84	17.9
3	.77	–.70	.57							17.9
High creative N _s = 18				KMO = .544			Bartlett's c. 33.7*			
1		–.52	–	–	.87	.80	.80			33.8
2	–.88		–	–			.41	.60		20.6
3		.59	–	–				–.48	.77	17.9
Exploratory N _t = 59				KMO = .509			Bartlett's c. 81.5**			
1					.69	.73	.80	.65		23.3
2		.89	–.46	–.48						15.2
3			.67						.77	14.0
4	.81			.49						13.9
Adaptive N _t = 18				KMO = .549			Bartlett's c. 57.4**			
1			–	.48	.89	.94	.79			34.7
2		.87	–					.79		19.5
3	.85		–	.74						18.6
4			–						.95	13.6

Table 4 (ending)

Factor	Socio-role identity components				Generalized creative thinking factors					% d
					Innovational			Adaptational		
	Self	Cr.	Ind.	Chief	Fluency	Flex.	Orig.	Elab.	Abstr.	
High creative N _t = 17					KMO = .521			Bartlett's c. 34.8*		
1			–	–	.80	.86	.82			31.5
2	.90		–	–				–.90		26.1
3		–.87	–	–					.85	21.8

* – $p \leq .05$, ** – $p \leq .01$.

Note. Cr. – the role of a Creator, Ind. – the role of an In-demand employee; N_h – humanitarian field; N_s – social field; N_t – technical field; “–” – the parameter is not included in the calculated factor structure; Flex. – Flexibility; Orig. – Originality; Elab. – Elaboration; Abstr. – Abstractness of titles.

and *abstractness of titles*; 3 – identity of *Self* as *in-demand employee* is opposed to the indicator of *elaboration*.

Integrative Structures of Subjects from the Social Field

Subjects of the **exploratory** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) are reflected as *demanding from the employee*; 2 – the reflection of the *Creator* role and the indicator *abstractness of titles*; 3 – the reflected *roles of Chief* and *in-demand employee* are opposed; 4 – the reflection of *Self* and the indicator *elaboration* are not correlated by socio-role aspects.

Subjects of the **adaptive** type. Factor structure: 1 – reflection of the *Creator* role and thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*), 2 – reflection of the *Chief* role and a set of indicators (*elaboration–abstractness of titles*); 3 – *identity of Self* as *in-demand employee* is opposed to the *Creator* role.

Subjects of the **high creative** type. Factor structure: 1 – reflection of the *Creator* role is opposed to thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*); 2 – reflection of *Self* is opposed to the indicators *originality* and *elaboration* and does not correlate with social and role aspects; 3 – reflection of the *Creator* role and the indicator *abstractness of titles* are opposed to the indicator *elaboration*.

Integrative Structures of Subjects from the Technical Field

Subjects of the **exploratory** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality–elaboration*) have no social-role correlation; 2 – reflection of the role of the *Chief* as an *in-demand employee* is opposed to reflection of the *Creator* role; 3 – reflection of the role of the *in-demand employee* and the indicator of *abstractness of titles*; 4 – social-role identity of *Self* with the *Chief* role.

Subjects of **adaptive** type. Factor structure: 1 – reflection of the *Chief* role and thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*); 2 – reflection of the *Creator* role and the indicator *elaboration*; 3 – socio-role identity of *Self* with the *Chief* role; 4 – the indicator *abstractness of titles* does not correlate with socio-role aspects.

Subjects of **high creative** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) do not correlate with socio-role aspects; 2 – reflection of *Self* does not correlate with socio-role aspects and is opposed to the indicator *elaboration*; 3 – reflection of the *Creator role* is opposed to the indicator *abstractness of titles*.

Thus, the comparison of variants of integration of socio-role identity and creative thinking in subjects of different professional fields revealed their specific features.

Creative identity is most pronounced in the subjects of the **humanitarian** field: there is a correlation of the reflection of *Self* and the *Creator role* with the indicator of creative thinking adaptational factor, and in case of high-creative ones – also with indicator of innovational factor. In subjects of the **social** field, reflection of *Self* and reflection of the *Creator role* more often form separate factors associated mainly with indicators of creative thinking adaptational factor. Students of the **technical** field are characterized by the manifestation of status socio-role identity.

In most variants of the subjects' integrative structures, the indicators of creative thinking innovational factor do not correspond with the reflection of *Self*, identity, but often corresponds with the reflection of the socio-role aspects of the personality (the *roles of Creator, in-demand employee and Chief*).

Variants of Integration of Sociocultural Identity and Creative Thinking Resources in Subjects of Different Professional Fields

The results of analyzing the factor structure of subjects' sociocultural identities and creative thinking resources in subjects of three professional fields are presented in Table 5.

The analysis revealed that subjects of the **low creative type of the three professional fields** have minimal integration of sociocultural identity and creative thinking: a variant of the opposition between the social subject and individuality of personality (in subjects of the **humanitarian field**); integration of the social subject and individuality of personality with the indicator of originality (in subjects of the **social field**) and with the indicator of elaboration (in subjects of the **technical field**).

Integrative Structures in Subjects of the Humanitarian Field

Subjects of the **exploratory** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) do not correlate with sociocultural identity; 2 – assessment of *Self* as an *individuality of personality* and the indicator of *abstractness of titles*; 3 – the indicator of *elaboration* does not correlate with sociocultural identity.

Subjects of the **adaptive** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) do not correlate with sociocultural identity; 2 – assessment of *Self* as a *social subject and individuality of personality* and the indicator of *abstractness of titles* are opposed to the indicator of *elaboration*.

Table 5

Factor Structure of Sociocultural Identity and Creative Thinking Resources of Subjects

Factor	Socio-role identity components		Generalized creative thinking factors					% d
			Innovational			Adaptational		
	Social subject	Individuality of personality	Fluency	Flexibility	Originality	Elaboration	Abstractness of titles	
Exploratory N _b = 39			KMO = .522			Bartlett's c. 44.6**		
1	–		.91	.76	.75			33.1
2	–	.78					.78	23.5
3	–					.94		18.6
Adaptive N _b = 35			KMO = .562			Bartlett's c. 80.2**		
1			.94	.93	.64	.42		34.1
2	.56	.80				–.50	.65	25.1
Exploratory N _s = 51			KMO = .577			Bartlett's c. 70.8**		
1			.90	.84	.81			32.3
2	.72						.73	17.8
3		.75				.72		17.0
Adaptive N _s = 31			KMO = .581			Bartlett's c. 41.4**		
1			.78	.91	.76			32.4
2		.54				–.53	.85	18.7
3	.83					.54		18.2
High creative N _s = 18			KMO = .600			Bartlett's c. 28.1*		
1	–	–.55	.94	.68	.87			41.1
2	–					.82	–.69	19.5
Exploratory N _t = 59			KMO = .587			Bartlett's c. 66.4**		
1			.77	.80	.73	.54		31.1
2	.57	.60					–.77	20.5
Adaptive N _t = 18			KMO = .600			Bartlett's c. 38.2**		
1		–	.87	.95	.85	.46		44.8
2	.81	–				.62	–.52	22.6

Subjects of the *high creative* type. No significant factor structure of integration of subjects' sociocultural identities and creative thinking was revealed.

Integrative Structures in Subjects of the Social Field

Subjects of the *exploratory* type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) do not correlate with sociocultural identity; 2 – assessment of Self as a *social subject* and the indicator of *abstractness of titles*; 3 – assessment of Self as an *individuality of personality* and the indicator of *elaboration*.

Subjects of the **adaptive** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) do not correlate with sociocultural identity; 2 – assessment of Self as an *individuality of personality* and the indicator of *abstractness of titles* are opposed to the indicator of *elaboration*; 3 – assessment of Self as a *social subject* and the indicator of *elaboration*.

Subjects of the **high creative** type. Factor structure: 1 – assessment of Self as an *individuality of personality* is opposed to thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*); 2 – the indicators *elaboration* and *abstractness of titles* are opposed to each other and do not correlate with sociocultural identity.

Integrative Structures in Subjects of the Technical Field

Subjects of the **exploratory** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality–elaboration*) do not correlate with sociocultural identity; 2 – assessments of Self as a *social subject and individuality of the personality* are opposed to the indicator of *abstractness of titles*.

Subjects of the **adaptive** type. Factor structure: 1 – thinking indicators (*fluency–flexibility–originality*) do not correlate with sociocultural identity; 2 – assessment of Self as a *social subject* and the indicator of *elaboration* are opposed to the indicator of *abstractness of titles*.

Subjects of the **high creative** type. No significant factor structure of integration of the sociocultural identity of Self and creative thinking resources was revealed.

Comparison of variants of integration of sociocultural identity and creative thinking resources in subjects of different professional fields shows their specific features.

In all variants of subjects' integrative structures, the indicators of creative thinking innovational factor do not correspond with sociocultural identity, it is not reflected as the resource of subjectness manifestation in culture.

In subjects of *humanitarian and social fields* creative sociocultural identity as *individuality of personality* corresponds with the indicators of adaptational factor of creative thinking – with careful development and comprehension of the meaning, ideas.

In subjects of the *technical field* either the factor of the social subject or the factor of *social subject and individuality of personality* is revealed, in which socio-cultural identity is corresponded with thorough elaboration of ideas and is opposed to ascending to their meaning.

Thus, the study reveals the specificity of types of creative identity, – socio-role and socio-cultural – in subjects with different resources of creative thinking, representing three professional fields (humanitarian, social, technical).

Discussion

The study of creative identity types (socio-role and sociocultural) in subjects with different creative thinking resources confirmed the heuristics of the assumption about their professional specificity in the context of inclusion in modern technological and informational processes: technical (with the priority to automation),

humanitarian (with the priority to multimedia communications), social (with the focus on human social adaptation).

Identification of two generalized factors in the structure of creative thinking – innovational and adaptational – is consistent with the results of existing studies: a two-factor structure of creative thinking, innovative and adaptive creativity according to the Torrance test (Krumm et al., 2014; Kim & Pierce, 2013), two-factor model with the factors “innovativeness” and “adaptiveness” according to the Urban test (Nogueira et al., 2017), thinking styles of “innovators” and “adaptors” by the Curton test (Campos et al., 2015).

Subjects are differentiated into four types according to the structure of creative thinking indicators: exploratory, adaptive, high creative, low creative. The identified exploratory – adaptive types of creative thinking (with opposite dominant indicators) may correlate with preferred thinking styles in the creative process: “clarifier”, “ideator” – “developer”, “implementer” (Campos et al., 2015; Puccio et al., 2019).

Exploring creative identity in the context of integrating cognitive, personal and sociocultural resources of subjects from different professional fields correlate with the sociocultural theory of creative identity centered on the research of socio-role components, representation of creative personality in socio-cultural contexts (Glăveanu & Tanggaard, 2014), and with the study of the relationship between the choice of professional occupations and preferred activities in the creative process (Puccio et al., 2019).

The specificity of creative role identity in subjects of three professional fields has been revealed. In subjects of the humanitarian field, it includes adaptational and innovational resources of creative thinking; in subjects of the social field – adaptational resources of creative thinking; in subjects of the technical field the role identity is focused on achievements beyond the resources of creative thinking. The innovational complex of creative thinking is minimally connected with identity (in subjects of the social field it is opposed to identity), but it is included in the complex of reflected team roles. Achievements in the professional field require the balance of creativity resources: a study of business professionals, who were qualified the competitive selection for entrepreneurship training, revealed a balance of innovational and adaptational thinking styles, and a preference for the activity of the “ideator”, and openness to experience (Campos et al., 2015).

There have been revealed specific features of sociocultural identity in subjects of three professional fields. In all variants of integration of subjects’ sociocultural and cognitive resources, the innovational factor of creative thinking does not correlate with sociocultural identity and is not reflected as a resource of subjectness manifestation in culture. In subjects of *humanitarian and social fields* creative sociocultural identity as *individuality of a personality* correlates with the indicators of the adaptational factor of creative thinking, including the ability to develop ideas thoroughly and comprehend their meaning. In subjects of the *technical field* the variants of sociocultural identity are presented as complexes of properties of a *social subject* or a *social subject and individuality of a personality*, in which the ability of thorough development of ideas is opposed to comprehension of their meaning. This

correlates with the study of how creativity is influenced by the social contexts of professional activity (task structure), cultural values (individualism – collectivism, novelty – usefulness), and individual needs to be unique or assimilated (Erez & Nouri, 2010). The specificity of the value aspect of the sociocultural identity of university students from different professional fields can be understood in the context of the peculiarity of the formation of metacognition resources that give meaning to creativity (Lebuda & Benedek, 2023) and requires further research.

Creative identity is a dynamic phenomenon, formed in the process of learning, professional activity (Karwowski, 2016; Barbot & Heuser, 2017); the complexity of its structure is comparable to the structure of organizational identity (Sidorenko et al., 2020). Formation of creative identity includes subject's identification with real creative communities, with style trends in culture (Haslam et al., 2013); the "dual identity" intensifies creativity (Gocłowska & Crisp, 2014).

In this context, the phenomenon of the *multiple creative role identity in high creative subjects of the humanitarian field* can be interpreted. The positive meaning of this vector of creative identity development is based on the study of the phenomenology of multiple Selves as a variety of manifestations of human subjectness in activity and communication (Petrovsky, 2021b), as reflecting one's Self – Others relationships in culture (Starovoytenko, 2020).

The phenomenon of a discrepancy between the subjects' identities and creative thinking resources has been revealed. In *high creative subjects of the social and technical fields* the reflection of the Commanding-role Self is opposed to innovational and adaptational resources of creative thinking. The discrepancy between creative leadership resources and identity has been identified in studies of innovative leadership of managers (Gryazeva-Dobshinskaya et al., 2023). University students' positive perceptions of the demand for creative resources provide reasons to use them outside of team projects. This correlates with studies of everyday creativity: the links of its intensity and achievements with divergent thinking and creative personality properties were revealed in the sample of university students (Fürst et al., 2016); a cross-cultural study revealed links of global (everyday) creativity with values of openness, readiness for changes (Lebedeva et al., 2019).

Differential psychology studies of creativity integrative structures focus both on the theoretical foundations of this direction (Glăveanu et al., 2020; Asmolov et al., 2024; Leontiev, 2022) and on the development of technological capabilities to conduct empirical research (Barbot et al., 2016) and show possible prospects for future psychological research.

Conclusion

The types of creative thinking have been identified based on the structure of innovational and adaptational factors of creative thinking: exploratory, adaptive, high creative, low creative.

Determined the variants of integration of creative thinking indicators and identity components (socio-role, socio-cultural) among representatives of three professional fields – humanitarian, social, technical, which provides an opportunity for

differential identification of resources and learning barriers of creative and innovative activity for students of a university.

Subjects of different professional fields display the specificity of creative identity types – socio-role and socio-cultural – which includes cognitive, personal, and socio-cultural resources. The creative role identity of humanitarian field subjects includes innovational and adaptational resources of creative thinking. The creative role identity of social field subjects includes adaptational resources of creative thinking. The status socio-role identity of the technical field subjects does not include creative thinking resources. The creative socio-cultural identity of subjects includes various adaptational resources of creative thinking (specific for representatives of different fields) and does not correspond with the innovational resources of creative thinking.

The prospect for further differential psychology research is based on the possibility of revealing the diversity of variants of creative identity as resources of socio-cultural development of individuals and communities.

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PROFILES OF RESPONSE TO LIFE CHANGES: SITUATION PERCEPTION AND COPING STRATEGIES

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Профили реагирования на жизненные изменения: восприятие ситуации и копинг-стратегии

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Abstract

This study uses latent profiles analysis to identify types of responses to life changes. We had two goals: 1) to define profiles depending on the combination of strategies for responding to a situation of change; 2) to identify differences in the perception of a situation of change among people with different profiles. Latent profiles were identified based on scales of the questionnaire “Types of Response to a Situation of Change” (TRSC); perception of a situation of change was determined based on content analysis of qualitative data. The study involved 216 people from different cities of Russia (ages 17–55; $M_{age} = 28.5 \pm 9.8$). Three profiles of response to a situation of change were identified: 1) acceptance of changes; 2) ambivalent profile; 3) rejection of changes. The change rejection profile is characterized by a negative attitude towards

Резюме

Исследование посвящено выявлению типов реагирования на жизненные изменения с помощью анализа латентных профилей. Мы преследовали две цели: 1) определить профили в зависимости от сочетания стратегий реагирования на ситуацию изменений; 2) выявить различия в восприятии ситуации перемен у людей с разными профилями. Латентные профили выделялись по выраженности шкал опросника «Типы реагирования на ситуацию изменений» (ТРСИ); восприятие ситуации перемен определялось на основе контент-анализа качественных данных. В исследовании приняли участие 216 человек из разных городов России (17–55 лет; средний возраст – 28.5 ± 9.8). Выделены три типа реагирования на ситуацию изменений: 1) принятие изменений; 2) амбивалентный профиль; 3) отвержение перемен. Профиль отвержения перемен характеризуется негативным отно-

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change, and coping by withdrawing from the situation. The change acceptance profile is defined by a positive attitude towards change and a feeling of emotional uplift. The ambivalent profile is characterized by a large repertoire of coping methods associated with finding positive meanings in a situation of change and intense activity in analyzing experience, which allows the subject to accept changes. This is combined with avoidance coping, which helps to relieve emotional stress. The results are discussed in the context of the theme of this issue: general personology. We analyze ways to apply the obtained knowledge about the types of response to change, in the consultative practice of a psychologist.

Keywords: situation perception, life changes, coping, psychological situation, latent profiles analysis, acceptance of change, rejection of change, valence of appraisal, ambivalence, mixed-methods research.

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шением к изменениям, копингом ухода от ситуации. Напротив, профиль принятия перемен определяется позитивным отношением к изменениям, чувством эмоционального подъема. Амбивалентный профиль описывается большим репертуаром способов копинга, связанных с нахождением положительных смыслов ситуации изменений и высокой активностью по анализу опыта, что позволяет субъекту принять изменения. Это сочетается с копинг-стратегиями ухода от ситуации, позволяющими снять эмоциональное напряжение. В контексте темы данного номера, посвященного общей персонологии, мы обсуждаем возможности применения полученных знаний о типах реагирования на изменения в консультативной практике психолога.

Ключевые слова: восприятие ситуации, жизненные изменения, копинг, психологическая ситуация, анализ латентных профилей, принятие изменений, отвержение изменений, валентность оценки, амбивалентность, смешанный дизайн исследования.

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Changeability is a basic characteristic of the modern world, and the ability to adapt quickly and flexibly is becoming one of the most sought-after human skills. However, this does not preclude patterns of resistance to change: people react differently to its conditions. In situations of change, people use a repertoire of strategies rather than a single method, even if it is the one that best suits the person's goals in a particular situation. These two statements – about different types of response to a situation of change and their repertoire – determined the perspective of this work.

Personality Changes – Situation Changes – Life Changes

Modern research reflects at least two aspects of life changes. The first examines how the personality, its status and roles, change in the process of encountering significant life events (Luhmann et al., 2014), how personality changes throughout life (Caspi et al., 2005), and self-change (Grishina, 2022). And although “life transitions do not necessarily lead to change [of the personality – authors] but may also foster stability” (Neyer et al., 2013, p. 539), there is still agreement that major life events influence people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, as well as changing their personality (Dugan et al., 2024; Specht, 2017).

The second aspect of research studies situation changes, which involves consideration of the following features:

- 1) the situation can be studied from an objective or subjective point of view;
- 2) situational information includes a) cues as environmental stimuli, b) characteristics as interpretations of cues, and c) classes of situations with similar profiles of stimuli and characteristics;
- 3) different approaches can be used: nomothetic or idiographic (Rauthmann & Sherman, 2016).

Note that situation changes require participants to invest time, resources, or energy to situation modification (van Bockstaele et al., 2020), which can lead to exhaustion of resources and, consequently, susceptibility to stress in the process of change.¹

Although it is possible to analyze these two aspects separately – personality changes and situation changes – their mutual influence or interaction, as reflected in the interactionist paradigm, should be recognized. For example, this is expressed in the idea of “fit” between personality and environment, which involves searching for situations that are consistent with the person's identity (Roberts & Wood, 2006), or in the fact that people “choose and create their daily environments according to their personality” (Wrzus et al., 2016, p. 782).

The psychological situation, including the decision made by a person, is given decisive importance in S. L. Rubinstein's definition: events are “key moments and

¹ According to one of the generally accepted definitions, stress occurs when a person evaluates a situation as making excessive demands that exceed his or her resources, which further determines the emergence of coping as a process aimed at a person's adaptation to environmental conditions, which involves the attraction of new resources (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Coping is “constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person” (Ibid., p. 141).

turning points in an individual's life path, when the adoption of one decision or another determines the person's future life path for a more or less extended period" (Rubinstein, 2015, p. 643). It is this aspect – situations that involve life changes – that is important to us in this work.

Perceived Characteristics of Change

One of the ways to study personality–situation interaction is to analyze the person's perception of the situation (Furr & Funder, 2022). The model of the process of perception of a situation presented by J. Rautmann and colleagues includes the following components: 1) the perceived setting or external environmental cues; 2) processing of these cues that depends on both stable and variable person-bound variables (such as traits, roles, and mental states); 3) the experience of the situation, which the authors call a psychological situation (Rauthmann et al., 2015). In that regard, people with similar patterns of situation perception may be grouped together (Rauthmann & Sherman, 2019). We believe that perceptions of life changes are inter-related with strategies of response to them, and aim to determine how situations of change are perceived according to different types of response. The type is determined by an repertoire of such strategies; and the perception model used in this work includes cues (that life changes are happening or are about to happen), their appraisal and attitude towards them (which assumes cognitive and emotional components), and ideas about ways of acting in the situation (including coping strategies).

In the study of responses to change, uncertainty is considered their most significant perceived characteristic (Bordia et al., 2004; Cullen et al., 2014; et al.). Uncertainty is often identified as a stressful and aversive state, which may be associated with a loss of control (Bordia et al., 2004) or with the perception of ambiguous situations as a threat to one's well-being that requires coping with the threat (Rosen et al., 2014). This aspect of the relationship between perceived uncertainty and stress is the most frequently studied. It should be noted that changes and uncertainty can also cause other reactions: for example, positive emotions and creative transformation of the situation (Sokolova, 2015). This perspective on the topic of life changes is less often subjected to empirical analysis.

In the present study, we are interested in different aspects of the perception of change: both negative attitudes (rejection) and positive ones (acceptance). We are also studying the ambivalent or mixed type of response. Ambivalence towards life events is being approached in contemporary studies as ambivalent feelings towards a decision (Chow et al., 2024; Saint Denny et al., 2024) or vacillations between denying an adverse event and accepting it (Zhong et al., 2024). We consider an ambivalent type of response to life changes, in which a person simultaneously reports both acceptance and rejection of changes.

Types of Response to Change

A review of studies that analyzed the types of response to change (Bityutskaya & Khanaliyeva, 2022) showed that the following typologies can be identified:

a) people grouped according to the speed of acceptance of change (for example, innovators, early adopters, laggards (Rogers, 2003)); b) types of attitudes (for example, a cognitive-exploratory attitude to the world: in one case, the world is perceived as stable and orderly, and in the other as changing and unstable (Poddiakov, 2001)). A recent study (Bityutskaya & Khanaliyeva, 2022) attempted to identify types based on analysis of an individual profile using a questionnaire. It turned out that most people reported using strategies of accepting and not accepting changes simultaneously. This type of response was defined as ambivalent. In addition, it was shown that life changes are often perceived as presenting a difficult, stressful situation. Based on the criteria of dynamism, uncertainty, and the need for high resource expenditure, it can be considered “objectively” difficult. Accordingly, the response strategies that a person uses in such a situation can be considered as coping strategies (Ibid.).

This work aims at describing the types of perception of a situation of change, based on identifying groups of people relate to change in different ways. The problem of identifying such groups can be solved using a modern method – latent profiles analysis (Ferguson et al., 2020). It is used to divide a sample into groups using a set of numerical parameter scales and to determine possible combinations of these parameters. In the field of research on coping strategies, it can be used to form groups of respondents, considering not separate coping strategies, but their combinations, defining a repertoire of responses to situations in the form of patterns that include several different strategies (Kavčič et al., 2022; Kornilova et al., 2023; Nagy & Balázs, 2023). In the context of our work, this method appears to be a suitable tool with which to identify groups of respondents demonstrating different repertoires of response strategies (or types). It also seems advisable to further analyze the characteristics of these types from the point of view of perception of the situation.

Methods

Participants

The study involved 216 people aged 17 to 55 years (mean age 28.5 ± 9.8), including 182 women (mean age 27.3 ± 9.01) and 34 men (mean age 34.8 ± 11.3), residents of different cities of Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tula, Rostov-on-Don, Tyumen, Kazan, Kaliningrad, Saratov, and others). The participants were students and employees in various specialties (student profiles: journalism, philology, psychology, economics, and others; employee professions: programmers, bank employees, teachers, engineers, and others). The questionnaires were presented online using the “testograf” platform. The participants were first asked to familiarize themselves with the general objectives of the study and provide informed consent; then they proceeded to answer open-ended questions and then to answer the questionnaire items. All respondents were provided with feedback in the form of a questionnaire profile with interpretation.

Procedures

The *TRSC questionnaire* (Bityutskaya et al., 2021) consists of 48 items in seven scales. The scales operationalize two types of strategies for responding to a situation of change: acceptance and non-acceptance (rejection) of the changes. The first type includes four scales: mastering change, overcoming difficulties, creating change, preferring uncertainty. The second type includes three scales: avoiding change, preventing change, maintaining stability. To evaluate the questionnaire items, we used a Likert scale from 0 (least often) to 3 (most often).

Qualitative data obtained through open-ended questions were used to study the perception of the situation of change. The questions are aimed at studying signs that are significant for determining life changes (questions 1, 2) and ways of accepting and coping with changes (3, 4): 1. By what environmental cues do you understand that life changes are occurring? 2. What signs of change (external, internal) are the most important for you? 3. What helps you accept change? 4. How do you eliminate resistance to change?

Since a situation of change can be considered as a type of life difficulty that involves the use of coping strategies, two additional questionnaires were used:

1) “*Types of Orientations in a Difficult Situation*” (TODS), designed to diagnose orientations such as the focus of attention in a difficult situation on approaching the difficulty (drive, thoroughness, opportunity orientation) and avoiding it (rejection, inaction, insouciance), as well as two orientations towards threat cues and obstacles (Bityutskaya & Korneev, 2020);

2) the Russian-language version of the “*Ways of Coping Checklist (Revised)*” (WOC), which operationalizes nine coping strategies: planful problem-solving, seeking social support, positive reappraisal, confrontive coping, self-controlling, self-blame, wishful thinking (fantasizing), distancing, escape/avoidance (Bityutskaya, 2014; Folkman & Lazarus, 1985).

Procedure for Content Analysis

First, coding instructions were drawn up describing *the general categories*, their corresponding specific subcategories, and their indicators. Two researchers independently coded a random sample of 20 cases for an initial test of the coding instructions. The instructions were then revised and consensus was reached on their fit to the data and clarity, as well as on discrepancies in data coding. The remaining responses were then coded.

The study examines seven categories and 74 subcategories, identified inductively (based on the responses). For example, the general category of *coping orientation* includes five specific subcategories: 1) coping focus on the goal, 2) on oneself, 3) on others, 4) on the situation, 5) other. Responses to questions 1 and 2 (signs of change) were coded using five categories. The coders determined whether the signs related to *external* or *internal* cues or *activity*; which of them the respondent considered important; and then, whether there were indicators of the *appraisal*. The answers to questions 3 and 4 (coping) were analyzed using two categories: first, the

described *methods of coping with the situation of change* were identified (for example, positive reappraisal or postponement), and then the entire description of coping was related to the *orientation*. We recorded and then counted all the indicators of each subcategory present in the text.

Statistical Processing

Latent profiles analysis was used to identify groups with different levels of intensity of individual strategies for responding to a changing situation. The selected groups were compared using ANOVA and its nonparametric analogue, the Kruskal-Wallis test. Pairwise comparisons were performed using Student's t-test and the Mann-Whitney test with Holm's correction for multiple comparisons. The calculations were carried out in the R environment (version 4.3.3) using these packages: tidyverse (ver. 2.0.0; Wickham et al., 2019), rstatix (ver. 0.7.2), mclust (ver. 6.1.1; Scrucca et al., 2016), and tidyLPA (ver. 1.1.0; Rosenberg et al., 2019).

Results

Latent Profiles Analysis

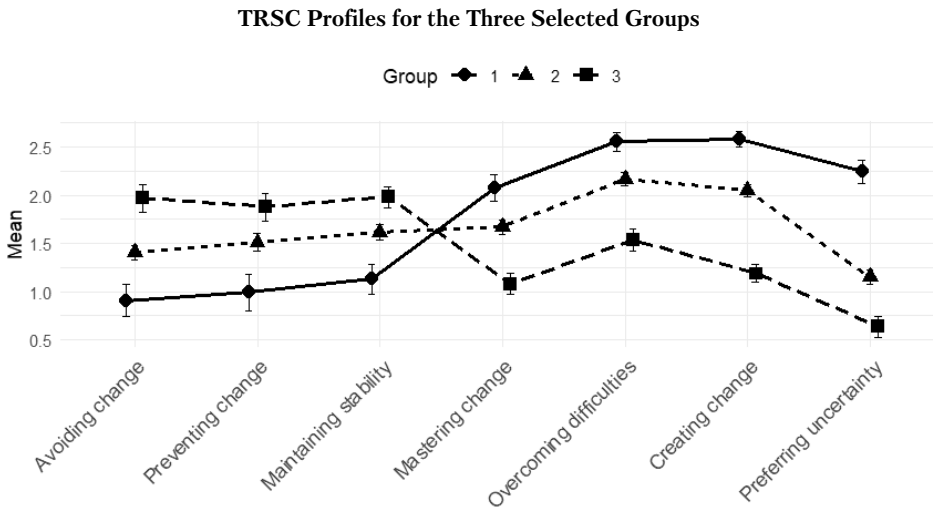
Latent profiles analysis was used at the first stage. To determine the number of groups, models were evaluated that identified from one to six groups, with each option evaluated according to different assumptions (equal/varying variances and covariances across the groups). The quality of the solution was determined according to the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). The best AIC indicator was obtained in the model that divided the subjects into three groups with equal variances and non-zero covariances between the variables. The BIC in this model was second only to single-group models. The entropy coefficient (average estimated probability of an object belonging to a group) in this solution is quite high — .90. On this basis, three groups of subjects were identified; their composition is described in Table 1, and the mean scores of the TRSC scales in the groups is shown in Figure 1. Analysis of variance and pairwise comparisons showed that differences between all the groups on all the scales were significant at the level of $p < .001$.

Table 1

Size and Composition of the Selected Groups

Profile name and acronym	Group	N	Male/female	Percentage male/female	Age
Acceptance G-AC	1	45 (20.8%)	13/32	28.9/71.1	28.1±10.1
Ambivalence G-AMB	2	111 (51.4%)	14/97	12.6/87.4	28.7±9.9
Rejection G-REJ	3	60 (27.8%)	7/53	11.7/88.3	28.3±9.5
	Total	216	34/182	15.7/84.3	28.5±9.8

Figure 1



As can be seen in Figure 1, the first group has relatively high scores on the acceptance scales: *mastering change*, *overcoming difficulties*, *creating change*, and *preferring uncertainty*, and relatively low scores on the rejection scales: *avoiding change*, *preventing change*, and *maintaining stability*. The third group, on the contrary, has relatively high scores on the rejection scales and relatively low scores on the others, which describe acceptance. The second group occupies an intermediate position: it has average scores on all scales.

The first group can be called “the group with a change acceptance profile” – G-AC;

the second is “the group with an ambivalent profile” – G-AMB;

the third is “the group with a change rejection profile” – G-REJ.

Descriptive statistics for the content analysis categories are presented in Table 2. As the table shows, the differences between categories are small. Comparison of the three groups on these measures using analysis of variance showed no significant difference among the groups for all categories except *appraisal of change* ($F(1, 214) = 3.891, p = .05$). The average score for this category in the G-AC and G-REJ groups was higher than in the G-AMB; that is, the group with the ambivalent profile describes appraisals of change less often.

We maintain that the categories, being large units of analysis, indicate signs of change and features of coping that were generally mentioned by respondents from the selected groups. At the same time, within one category, there may be different subcategories (for example, a problem-oriented coping strategy of *planful coping* and emotionally oriented *distraction, postponement*). In this case, a general summation by category of *methods of coping with a situation of change* determines the frequency at which coping strategies in general were mentioned. What is more interesting in this study is the analysis of specific subcategories. It is in the frequency by which they are mentioned that one should expect differences.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Content Analysis Categories in the Three Groups
(means are given, with standard deviations in parentheses)

Category	Profile		
	G-AC	G-AMB	G-REJ
1. External signs	1.422 (1.53)	1.252 (1.21)	0.983 (0.93)
2. Internal signs	2.111 (1.93)	2.117 (1.72)	1.833 (1.63)
3. Activity of the subject	0.578 (0.75)	0.613 (0.84)	0.683 (0.85)
4. Appraisal of change	0.4 (0.94)	0.171 (0.45)	0.3 (0.83)
5. Important signs of change	0.933 (0.33)	0.937 (0.31)	0.983 (0.34)
6. Ways to cope with a situation of change	3.222 (1.46)	3.523 (1.79)	3.533 (1.83)
7. Coping orientation	0.978 (0.34)	1 (0.30)	1 (0.184)

Note. Categories 1–5 were used to code responses to questions 1 and 2; categories 6 and 7 for questions 3 and 4.

Assessment of Differences within Subcategories

At the second stage, we compared specific subcategories of content analysis; several significant differences (at the level of $p < .05$) and sub-significant differences ($p < .1$) were found, which are presented in Table 3.

Differences were found to be significant in the following subcategories:

Table 3

Comparison of the Three Groups by Subcategories

Category	Subcategory	Profile			Significance of the differences
		G-AC	G-AMB	G-REJ	
Internal signs	Negative emotions	0.178 (0.535)	0.225 (0.517)	0.417 (0.72)	$F(2, 213) = 2.783$, $p = .064$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$
Appraisal of change	Positive appraisal	0.178 (0.442)	0.045 (0.208)	0.050 (0.22)	$F(2, 213) = 4.024$, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .036$
Ways to cope with a situation of change	Postponement	0.044 (0.208)	0.117 (0.323)	0.267 (0.516)	$F(2, 213) = 5.226$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .047$
	Resistance to change	0.044 (0.208)	0.018 (0.134)	0.117 (0.372)	$F(2, 213) = 3.369$, $p = .036$, $\eta_p^2 = .031$
	Readiness for change	0.156 (0.424)	0.171 (0.445)	0.033 (0.181)	$F(2, 213) = 2.623$, $p = .075$, $\eta_p^2 = .024$
Coping orientation	Oneself	0.800 (0.405)	0.928 (0.322)	0.900 (0.303)	$F(2, 213) = 2.339$, $p = .099$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$

Note. Averages for profiles are given, standard deviations are in parentheses; the significance of the differences was determined by analysis of variance.

*Positive appraisal of change**². In G-AC, the average frequency of mentions of this subcategory is higher than in the other two groups ($p = .039/.019$ ³ when compared with G-REJ and $p = .021/.007$ when compared with G-AMB).

Postponement describes the need for a long time to accept change, to expect “it to go away on its own.” In G-REJ, the average number of occurrences of this subcategory is higher than in G-AC ($p = .008/.002$) and than in G-AMB ($p = .025/p = .012$).

*Resistance to change**. In G-REJ, the average number of occurrences of this subcategory is higher than in G-AMB ($p = .031/.010$).

Sub-significant differences were found for the following subcategories:

*Negative emotions**. In G-REJ, the average frequency of mentions of this subcategory is higher (but not significant in pairwise comparisons) than in G-AMB ($p = .117/.042$).

*Readiness for change**. In G-AMB, the average frequency of mentions of this subcategory is sub-significantly higher than in G-REJ ($p = .080/.026$).

Orientation towards oneself. In G-AMB, the average number of occurrences of this subcategory is sub-significantly higher than in G-AC ($p = .097/.032$). This subcategory is associated with the mention of a number of coping strategies that allow one to improve one’s condition, which is analyzed in detail below (“Analysis of Results”).

Assessment of Differences within Subcategories

At the third stage of analysis, subcategory blocks were identified for a more detailed analysis of the qualitative data results. For this purpose, we performed a grouped the subcategories into blocks, analyzing their meaning. As a result, 18 blocks of subcategories were described, after which we compared the sums of the corresponding subcategories in the three groups of respondents. Significant and sub-significant differences were obtained for three blocks of subcategories, which are given in Table 4. The subcategory indicators of each block and examples from respondents’ reports are presented in Table 5.

The *internal motivation* block includes the following subcategories: *motivation for change, interest, self-development, readiness for change, interesting goal*. Pairwise comparisons showed that for this block, significantly higher values were obtained in G-AMB compared to G-REJ ($p = .031/.010$), and sub-significantly higher values were obtained in G-AC compared to G-REJ ($p = .082/.041$).

The block of *negative attitudes towards changes* included the following subcategories: *negative emotions, negative appraisal of change, lack of understanding of changes, inability to overcome difficulties, resistance to change*. Higher values were

² The characteristics of the subcategories marked with an asterisk* are presented in Table 5.

³ From here on, the first significance is with Holm’s correction, the second – without correction. We discuss the significance of differences adjusted for multiple comparisons, but given the exploratory nature of our study, we felt it was important to also present the unadjusted significance, as an indication of possible meaningful differences.

Table 4

Comparison of the Three Groups by Blocks of Subcategories of Qualitative Appraisals

Block	Profile			Significance of the differences
	G-AC	G-AMB	G-REJ	
Internal motivation	0.578 (0.783)	0.586 (0.847)	0.267 (0.578)	$F(2, 213) = 3.685$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$
Negative attitude towards change	0.378 (0.886)	0.396 (0.856)	0.783 (1.236)	$F(2, 213) = 3.465$, $p = .033$, $\eta_p^2 = .032$
Positive attitude towards change	0.311 (0.701)	0.126 (0.384)	0.117 (0.415)	$F(2, 213) = 2.807$, $p = .063$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$

Table 5

Characteristics of Subcategories Included in the Blocks

Subcategory	Indicator	Examples from respondents' descriptions
<i>Internal motivation block</i>		
Motivation for change	Desires and motives to change one's life	"I want to radically change my life"; "a strong inner desire to do something new"; "a desire to change everything"
Interest	Changing interests	"New interests are appearing", "interest in life", "inner curiosity"
Self-development	A coping method that involves awareness of personality development, skills, etc.	"Behind every change there is something new that ... can teach me how to cope with situations"; "the awareness that any change is a marker of development and movement"
Readiness for change	When describing coping, the focus is on readiness for changes, openness to them	"Openness to new experiences and courage help me cope with change"; "confidence in the ability to cope with new things and adapt to them"
Interesting goal	Interest in achieving a goal	"The main thing is that I am motivated to move towards this goal; if I were not interested, I wouldn't want to move towards it."
<i>Negative attitude towards change block</i>		
Negative emotions	Mentions of anxiety, worry, stress, panic, fears, etc.	"Tension, anxiety", "periods of stress and tension"; "my body gives me cues in the form of neuroses, fatigue, anxiety"
Negative appraisal of changes	Changes for the worse	"Changes are associated with negative situations for me"
Positive appraisal of changes	Changes for the better	"Everything is getting better", "changes that mean progress"

Table 5 (ending)

Subcategory	Indicator	Examples from respondents' descriptions
Lack of understanding of changes	Mentions of lack of understanding and uncertainty	"I don't understand what's going on," "I may not fully understand the problem," "I don't understand how to cope"
Impossibility of overcoming difficulties	When describing coping, the impossibility of overcoming difficulties is noted	"With global changes, I go deeper into myself, close myself off and cannot make decisions"; "there's no way to eliminate resistance to change"
Resistance to change	The words "resistance", "struggle" with changes; a need to force yourself to accept them	"I overcome what is happening through force", "grinding my teeth"; "I have a hard time convincing myself"
<i>Positive attitude towards change block</i>		
Positive emotions	Mentions of joy, delight, pleasure, etc.	"I feel emotionally uplifted", "a feeling of drive, excitement"
Positive appraisal of changes	Changes for the better	"Everything is getting better", "changes that mean progress"

obtained in G-REJ compared to G-AMB ($p = .044/.015$), and sub-significantly higher values compared to G-AC ($p = .074/.037$).

The block of *positive attitude towards change* included the following subcategories: *positive emotions*, *positive appraisal of change*. Sub-significantly higher scores were obtained for G-AC when compared with both G-AMB and G-REJ ($p = .086/.029$ and $p = .086/.039$, respectively).

Assessment of Differences in Questionnaire Scales

At the fourth stage of the analysis, we used data from the TODS and WOC questionnaires, which were completed by some of the respondents (82 people). They were distributed among the groups as follows: 16 respondents in G-AC, 40 in G-AMB, and 26 in G-REJ. Due to the small sample size, the comparison was performed using nonparametric statistics, and significant results are presented in Table 6.

Significant differences between groups were found on the following scales:

WOC questionnaire – planful problem-solving. In G-AC and G-AMB, the average score on this scale is significantly higher than in G-REJ ($p = .038$ and $p = .002$ for G-AC and G-AMB, respectively).

WOC questionnaire – positive reappraisal. In the G-AC and G-AMB, the average score on this scale is significantly higher than in G-REJ ($p = .034$ and $p = .002$ for the G-AC and G-AMB, respectively). This and the previous results indicate that in difficult life situations, people with the acceptance profile and with the

Table 6

Comparison of Questionnaire Scores for the Three Groups

Scale	Profile			Result of the Kruskal-Wallis test
	G-AC	G-AMB	G-REJ	
WOC – planful problem-solving	1.865 (0.427)	2.038 (0.565)	1.474 (0.59)	$\chi^2(2) = 14.314, p < .001$
WOC – positive reappraisal	2.01 (0.928)	1.996 (0.695)	1.333 (0.733)	$\chi^2(2) = 12.237, p = .002$
TODS – obstacle orientation	1.587 (0.659)	1.84 (0.536)	2.054 (0.626)	$\chi^2(2) = 6.965, p = .031$
TODS – rejection	1.41 (0.705)	1.544 (0.566)	1.974 (0.633)	$\chi^2(2) = 1.010, p = .007$

ambivalent profile more intensively use the coping strategies of planful problem-solving and positive reappraisal.

TODS – obstacle. In the G-REJ, the average score on this scale is sub-significantly higher than in G-AC ($p = .057$). Here and below, pairwise comparisons were performed using the Mann-Whitney test, with Holm’s correction for multiple comparisons.

TODS – rejection (avoidance). In the G-REJ, the average score on this scale is significantly higher than in G-REJ and G-AMB ($p = .016$ in both cases). This and the previous results indicate that in difficult life situations, people with a profile of rejecting change are more likely to attach importance to obstacles and are also more likely to avoid difficulties.

Qualitative Data Analysis

Next, we will analyze the qualitative data according to the profile comparison.

A distinctive feature of *the change rejection profile* is a *negative attitude* towards change, associated with negative experiences, a pessimistic perception of change (“everything gets worse”), a lack of understanding of what is happening, and a loss of emotional strength. This is associated with resistance to change and difficulty coping with their situation. The method of coping most often reported by G-REJ respondents is emotionally oriented: “not to think about change.” Great importance is attached to support by other people.

In the group of participants with *the ambivalent profile*, the category of *self-oriented coping* is described more often than in the G-AC. A qualitative analysis of the G-AMB reports shows the semantic richness of this topic and the internal work on accepting change. *Positive reappraisal* is most commonly encountered within this category. Moreover, in such descriptions, this is a targeted coping strategy, such as an effort to “convince oneself,” “to find the positive aspect of change.” The second significant factor that allows a person to accept change is *analysis of the experience*, “analysis of all the paths of development and choice of the one that is most suitable

for me.” At the same time, a number of emotionally oriented coping methods involve coping by withdrawal from the situation (distraction, distancing). The combination of withdrawal and approach (focusing one’s thoughts on the situation, rethinking it) defines the ambivalent perception of change.

A positive attitude towards change, which distinguishes *the change acceptance* profile, involves mentioning the following semantic themes: 1) a boost in strength and positive emotional experiences, “a sense of harmony”; 2) positive, optimistic appraisals of what is going on: “it is getting easier and more pleasant to live”, “all the changes are for the better”; 3) flexible acceptance of change.

Discussion

In this work, we identified groups of people (or types) who react differently to a situation of change; and we then analyzed the characteristics of perception of change and coping strategies for each type. In the structure of the perceived situation, we considered cues, their appraisals and attitudes towards them, and ideas about methods of action. Interestingly, we found no differences between the types in frequency of mentioning external signs (environmental cues) that are interpreted by the people as life changes. However, appraisals of these stimuli, attitudes towards them, and actions differ for representatives of the different groups. The fact that people *perceive and react differently* to similar stimuli clearly characterizes the psychological situation. As J. F. Rauthmann and colleagues note, cues are the environmental structures into which psychological situations (i.e., cognitive representations of the cues) are couched. The psychological situation itself is based on cognitive representations of cues (Rauthmann et al., 2015). N.V. Grishina emphasizes that “it is a person’s interpretation of a situation that determines whether this situation turns into an event in his or her life” (Grishina, 2020, p.168). Our study supports the view expressed in current literature that it is important to consider “not only the objective occurrence of life events, but also people’s *subjective perception* of these events” (Dugan et al., 2024, p. 133).

The approach used, related to the analysis of latent profiles, has a number of advantages: it allows researchers to study combinations or repertoires of response strategies (rather than isolated coping methods), to identify groups of people using similar response patterns (Nagy & Balázs, 2023). In the present study, this approach allowed us to comprehensively describe the types and associated features of perception of a situation. It should be noted that previous studies using latent profiles analysis were performed according to a quantitative research design (Kavčič et al., 2022; Nagy & Balázs, 2023; etc.). We, on the other hand, propose a new application of the method: in the context of a mixed design. This is made possible through the use of qualitative data as well as content analysis.

Another important result of this study is related to the description of three types of responses to situations of change as holistic patterns, including a complex of appraisals, interpretations of the situation, and coping strategies. Of particular interest is the least studied profile in responding to change, the ambivalent profile, as a type with specific characteristics. Compared to the G-REJ, people with an

ambivalent profile more often report a readiness for change and a focus on accepting it through analysis of the positive aspects of the situation. Compared to the G-AC, the reports of the G-AMB more frequently and more diversely describe coping strategies aimed at managing one's emotional state.

Previously, ambivalence in the field of coping research has been studied in the context of a difficult decision, which is associated not only with thinking it through, but also with the possibility of avoidance, aimed at reducing negative emotions. To explain coping strategies that describe ambivalence, the conceptualization of R. Lazarus and S. Folkman (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) was considered successful; they identified emotion- and problem-focused coping (van Harreveld et al., 2009; Luce et al., 1997). In this regard, we note that the reports of the G-AMB indicate the existence of dilemmas when it is no longer possible to live in the old way, and the need to live in a new way requires significant expenditure of effort to restructure one's life. That may cause internal resistance, which those in the G-AMB also manage. It is also confirmed that the G-AMB combines emotional- and problem-oriented coping strategies.

Based on analysis of the self-reports, it can be stated that the situation of change is associated with high stress and difficulty for two groups: the G-REJ and G-AMB. At the same time, for the G-REJ, coping by avoidance serves the function of reducing emotional tension. For the G-AMB, emotionally oriented coping is also associated with positive reappraisal, which prepares the ground for accepting change. For the G-REJ, the difficulty of the situation is determined by the need for additional efforts at adaptation. The differences in the expression of coping strategies and orientations in a difficult situation (discovered at the fourth stage of our comparison) are consistent with the characteristics of responding to change. For example, those in the G-REJ report avoidance both in their answers to open-ended questions about change and in the questionnaires about difficult situations. This may indirectly reflect the similarity of the constructs of response to change and coping strategies.

Practical Application

In the context of the topic of this issue of the journal — *general personology* as a field synthesizing academic and practical psychology (Petrovsky & Starovoytenko, 2012) — it is important for us to reflect on the practical implications of the results obtained.

First of all, the finding is important for consultative personology that, as perceptual cues change, attitudes towards and interactions with the situation of change also change. If we consider the three types from the perspective of acceptance of change, then the second conclusion about different effective coping strategies for each type will be significant. Let us take a look at them.

The group that is the most vulnerable and most in need of psychological support is the G-REJ. The key factor of adaptation for them is the need for a long time to recover their strength, including adequate rest, as emotional burnout in this group is often accompanied by physical exhaustion. It is also necessary to consider the

deterioration of a person's understanding of a situation when it is rapidly changing. Therefore, proactive activity (preparation) and learning simple techniques for analyzing a situation (before it happens) are important. At the same time, the person needs to think about the possibility of turning to people close to them for help.

For the G-AMB, the key factors are positive reappraisal and self-determination in a situation of change, and analysis of priorities. Therefore, two lines of support are important: 1) working towards a goal in the given situation, 2) working on one's emotional state. It is also important for this group to make a firm decision, which will help overcome a possible dilemma.

Even though people with the acceptance profile appear to be the group best adapted to change, psychological work with them could be aimed at encouraging purposefulness of actions in a situation of change, and control of euphoric experiences, since these can reduce the appropriateness of actions and distort the person's appraisal of their own capabilities.

Conclusion

Analysis of latent profiles has allowed us to identify three profiles of response to a situation of change. For each profile, differences from the other groups were identified. People with *an acceptance profile* more often described a positive and optimistic attitude towards changes. People with *an ambivalent profile* more often mentioned an internal motivation towards changes. This group described readiness to change more often than the rejection group, and a coping orientation to their emotional state more often than the change acceptance group. The results of the coping strategies questionnaire showed that people with an ambivalent or acceptance profile reported more intensive use of planful coping and positive reappraisal. People with *a rejection profile* were more likely to describe negative attitudes toward change, the need for a long time to accept changes. Compared to the ambivalent group, they were more likely to mention resistance to change and negative emotions. According to the questionnaire, people with a rejection profile had high levels of avoidance and orientation towards obstacles in difficult life situations.

The study opens up possibilities for analyzing the profile of the TRSC questionnaire, and not just its individual scales. This is important for psychodiagnostics using the TRSC, but it requires further research to test the questionnaire as a tool for determining types of response to change.

Limitations. 1. The ratio of men and women who participated in this study (16% / 84%, respectively) does not allow the description of gender differences in the perception of change. 2. This work discusses not only significant but also sub-significant differences between groups. This is because the work is exploratory in nature and is aimed at a preliminary assessment of the characteristics of the identified groups. The sub-significant results require further analysis and re-testing on independent samples.

Ethics statement. The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Psychology of Moscow State University.

Authors' contributions. E.V. Bityutskaya and A.A. Korneev designed the study. E.V. ($n = 189$) and A.G. Dokuchaeva ($n = 27$) collected the data. E.V. performed the theoretical substantiation, qualitative data analysis, content analysis (expertise), and wrote the primary manuscript. A.G. did most of the work related to the use of content analysis. A.A. performed the statistical processing, described its procedure and results. All authors took part in the preparation of the final version of the text.

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A PROBLEM STATEMENT ON THE ROLE OF DIALOGUE AND THE ACHIEVED SELF-IDENTITY OF SELF IN SHAPING THE INNER PICTURE OF AN ILLNESS

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Роль диалога и достижения самотождества Я в формировании внутренней картины болезни: постановка проблемы

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Abstract

The development of modern technologies and algorithms of medical care allows for the most effective treatment of patients with almost any pathology. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly important to create and develop new psychological rehabilitation programs for patients who have undergone or are undergoing treatment in outpatient or inpatient settings. Within the framework of psychological rehabilitation of patients in somatic wards, it becomes important to use an individual approach that considers the current state of the patient's inner picture of the disease, allowing to increase the effectiveness of treatment of the underlying disease, and improve the long-term prognosis for and the quality of life of the patient. The article presents the analysis and the result of the search for a connection between the process of identification of the Self with itself, the achievement of self-identity of Self, the inner dialogue and the formation of an inner picture of the disease in the studies of individuals with disabilities. The assumptions about the place

Резюме

Развитие современных технологий и алгоритмов медицинской помощи позволяет обеспечивать наиболее эффективное лечение пациентов с почти любой патологией. При этом все более важным становится создание и развитие новых программ психологической реабилитации пациентов, прошедших или проходящих лечение в амбулаторном или стационарном режиме. В рамках психологической реабилитации пациентов соматических отделений решающим оказывается индивидуальный подход, учитывающий актуальное состояние внутренней картины болезни пациента, позволяющий повысить эффективность лечения основного заболевания и улучшить отдаленный прогноз и качество жизни пациента. В статье представлены анализ и результат поиска связи процесса отождествления Я с собой, достижения самотождества Я, внутреннего диалога и становления внутренней картины болезни в исследованиях личности с ограниченными возможностями здоровья. Обосновываются предположения о

of the concepts of dialogue and self-identity of the Self in the model of an 'inner picture of illness' are substantiated. The study presents a case of positive dynamics of the self-identity of the Self in dialogue with itself of a young female patient with traumatic blepharoptosis who has undergone a course of medical and psychological rehabilitation.

Keywords: personality psychology, general personology, medical psychology, disability, rehabilitation, inner picture of illness, inner dialog, personality in the situation of illness, self-identity of the self.

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месте концепций диалога и самоощущения Я в модели «внутренней картины болезни». Представлен кейс позитивной динамики самоощущения Я в диалоге с собой молодой пациентки, страдающей травматическим блефароптозом и проходившей курс медико-психологической реабилитации.

Ключевые слова: психология личности, общая персонология, медицинская психология, ограниченные телесные возможности, реабилитация, внутренняя картина болезни, внутренний диалог, личность в ситуации болезни, самоощущение Я.

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The modern sociocultural paradigm develops the scientific idea of the individual's central position in society and the world. Several scientific achievements and discoveries in the fields of economics, sociology, psychology, cultural studies, and natural sciences have contributed to the justification and deepening of this idea. An important role was also played by the expansion of opportunities for self-development and self-realization of the individual along with the general improvement of the quality of life (Armstrong, 2016; Greene, 2021; Kotlovina, 1989; Porus, 2023; Harari, 2019).

However, the humanistic orientation of the worldview of modern society implies not only an increase in the levels of life well-being and comprehensive growth of individuals but also certain challenges, consisting in the need to consider a greater number of external and internal conditions of individual life and in the personalization of medical care. One of the tasks of the latter is the fastest and most effective rehabilitation and social reintegration of persons who have suffered or are suffering from certain diseases (Achkasov & Tvorogova, 2018; Dunn et al., 2016). Ensuring the most complete and effective rehabilitation results from a joint work of specialists from various fields, whose successful activity is built around the concept of the inner picture of the disease (IPD).

The Inner Picture of the Disease

For the first time, the patient's experiences and knowledge about his or her illness, or 'inner picture of disease,' were psychologically described by A. Goldscheider (1929), who distinguished the intellectual, sensory, emotional, and motivational

levels of the IPD. According to the definition of R. A. Luria, who made a great contribution to the development of the concept of IPD, the inner picture of the disease is a complex of a person's perceptions of his or her illness, as well as the result of the awareness and creative activity that the patient does in relation to his or her disease (Luria, 1977).

Now, there are many different variants of interpretation of IPD, which are reduced to its understanding as a system of experiences, assessment, awareness, and attitude of a patient to their illness, which is a set of objective manifestations of somatic disorders (Luria, 1977; Kovyazina et al., 2017; Kosenkova et al., 2018).

Any disease can have an impact on the patient's mental health and self-awareness, accompanied by an individual's subjective perception of his or her illness, as well as perceptions of the nature of the disease and related limitations. Such limitations form adaptive intrapsychic attitudes that set the vector of the patient's behavior and actions (Langle, 2017; Tkhostov, 2002; Uznadze, 1997; Yanovsky, 2022).

These attitudes are part of the psychological adaptation to the disease situation, which includes various coping strategies and psychological defenses. However, in our opinion, the patient's adaptive attitudes should be overcome through the formation of a subjective attitude toward their illness, the most important role in which belongs to the reflexive development of self-identity of the Self by actively identifying the Self with itself as a subject of mastering the illness (Shevchenko, 2023; Abrosimov, 2021).

Identification of the Self with Itself

To reveal the essence of the identification of the Self with itself, it is necessary to clarify the concept of 'self-identity of the Self.' Self-identity of the Self is the continuity of the Self realized by the Self in time and the experience of the difference and coincidence of the Self with itself in acts of self-awareness. Also, the self-identity of the Self consists in a steadily fulfilled possibility of the Self to be itself, in the constant feeling of its body and self-image, in the signification of itself as its own 'I,' as well as in the clarity of self-concept (the thinking model of the individual's 'I') and in the ability of the Self to be the subject of attitude to itself, dialogue with itself, and changes in itself (Petrovsky, 2021b; Petrovsky & Starovoytenko, 2012; Starovoytenko, 2019, 2023; Starovoytenko & Shchebetenko, 2020; Feldstein, 1994; Frankl, 1990; Shevchenko, 2023).

Self-identification is a process of achieving self-identity of the Self in an inner dialogue with the Self, which can be distorted by various external and internal influences. In some psychotic disorders, with symptoms revealing depersonalization, there will be disorders of inner dialogue, due to which the process of identifying the Self with itself may be impossible (Il'ichev, 2020; Sagalakova et al., 2023; Alderson-Day et al., 2014). This process related to dialogue can also be disturbed under the influence of long-term stress of a life with a serious bodily illness or when exposed to a strong mental trauma related to the illness. It can be assumed that psychological actualization of inner dialogue for the purpose of identifying the Self with itself on the way to achieving self-identity of the Self is an effective model of

restoration, preservation, and strengthening of mental health of the person in a state of illness.

Self-Identity of the Self Achieved in Dialogue

Speaking about dialogue, we should distinguish two types of dialogue that have a connection with the self-identity of the Self: Inner dialogue, which is a process of self-awareness and reflection (Reynolds, 2022), and a dialogue with another person, which implies external and internal interaction of an individual with the other, accompanied and determined by mutual changes (Mamardashvili, 1997; Starovoytenko, 2019, 2023).

Based on the idea of the interrelated functioning of various dialogues, M. M. Bakhtin's concept of the totality of dialogue was created, which could be correctly described as the concept of existential dialogue since dialogicality potentially covers almost all spheres of human life and the formation of the Self (Bakhtin, 1975; de Man, 2010).

Bakhtin's theory of dialogue is a promising basis for developing the concept of self-identity of the Self. However, when trying to investigate the phenomena of self-identity of the Self and identification of the Self with itself in relation to a particular personality, and especially to the one in the situation of illness, we encounter an obstacle, which is an inconsistency between Bakhtin's philosophical theory of dialogue and the natural science aspect in the study of a person with disabilities (Bakhtin, 1975; Boguslavskaya, 2011; Kinash et al., 2021; Libikh et al., 1968; Makhlin, 1993). To overcome this obstacle in the study of personality in the situation of illness, it is necessary to introduce the concept of dialogue as a way of achieving self-identity of the Self into the system of scientific ideas about the inner picture of disease.

The concept of inner dialogue is widespread in psychiatry and clinical psychology. According to this concept, the inner dialogue is a process of continuous communication of the personality with the Self, with the Other, and with the Self as the Other. Two substructures of personality, 'I' and 'not-I', are distinguished as subjects of inner dialogue (Vizigina & Stolin, 1989). In our research addressing the subjects of dialogue, we use the dichotomies of J.-P. Sartre's dichotomies of 'I-in-self' and 'I-for-self' (Sartre, 2020), as well as M. Buber's 'I' and 'You' (Buber, 1995). Inner dialogue in its manifestations can be conscious, reflexive, or unconscious, and is conducted either between the conscious parts of the Self, or between consciousness and the unconscious, or within the unconscious (Roanova, 2008). At the same time, the reflexive dialogue between the conscious aspects of the Self and, secondly, the dialogue between the conscious and unconscious will be of primary importance for the process of identifying the Self with itself and achieving self-identity.

Self-Identity of the Self, Dialogue, and Inner Picture of the Disease

We believe that the phenomena of self-identity of the Self and IPD are interrelated and similar in many respects, and yet, self-identity reflects the dynamics of

reflexive activity of the Self during identification and disidentification with itself (Starovoytenko, 2023; Starovoytenko & Shchebetenko, 2020), while IPD demonstrates the patient's established perception and attitude to the disease (Achkasov & Tvorogova, 2018; Kovyazina et al., 2017; Modest et al., 2020). In this system, inner dialogue is a condition and resource that supports the existence of both phenomena. The supporting function of the inner dialogue is realized by ensuring the individual's awareness and a constant flow of reflexive activity, forming a Self that has entered its own attitude to the disease (Reynolds, 2022).

In most cases, an individual's awareness of his or her illness is associated with negative emotions; however, in some cases, the patient may receive certain advantages and 'benefits' from their condition, realizing such needs as attracting the attention of others, receiving the care of loved ones, acquiring social advantages, compensating for feelings of inferiority, self-justification, etc. (Shevchenko, 2023). Effective psychological work to identify, understand, and work through the needs realized by the patient in connection with the disease and actualization of motivation aimed at strengthening the Subjectness of Self in relation to the disease can increase the rehabilitation potential of the patient, reducing the time of their treatment and stay in the treatment and prevention institution.

The patient's reaction to his or her illness and self-awareness in the situation of illness will largely depend on the significance of the illness for the individual and the activity of the self-aimed at changing the role of the illness in their life. In the patient's perception and motivation, illness can become an insurmountable threat, a dangerous challenge, or an opportunity to independently solve social and personal problems based on renewing and strengthening the self-identity of the Self.

The process of identifying the Self with itself can be distorted in the situation of illness, when the perceptions of the Self are unconsciously refracted through the prism of the subjective insurmountability of the disease and become a factor of acquired helplessness and psychological maladaptation. It can be assumed that an important role in this process is played by inner dialogue, where the Self acts for itself as an object of social support or neglect and abandonment. However, this theory requires further research (Vizigina & Stolin, 1989; Shevchenko, 2023; Reynolds, 2022).

An individual's psychological reactions to illness can manifest themselves in changes in emotional state and in the development of symptoms of psychosomatic disorders, which can present difficulties in the treatment of the underlying pathology. Reactions to illness can be dominated by either cognitive or behavioral components that increase or decrease the individual significance of the disease for the patient (Kovyazina et al., 2017; Libikh et al., 1968; Perre & Bauman, 2012; Shipova, 2021; Lo et al., 2021; Modest et al., 2020). At the same time, these reactions do not change the position of the Self in relation to the disease. Such changes are possible in the conditions of reflexive dialogue, forming an attitude to the disease as a significance that has the potential to develop subjectness of Self.

From our point of view, in reflexive response to the illness, changes in the patient's Self can be embedded in the structure of the patient's self-identity. This process can be described as the implementation of an inner dialogue in the format

of I-I-body and I-I-Self-as-I-body. The results of such a dialogue will be the patient's strengthening Self and their independent position in the situation of illness, which become the content of the IPD (Shevchenko, 2023; Modest et al., 2020; Reynolds, 2022). In addition to reflection, motivation for a fuller life, positive emotions, creative thinking, and productive communication between the Self and the Other are included in the context of the subjective attitude of the Self to itself and in the structure of its self-identity. The versatile self-identity of the patient's Self achieved in dialogues with the Self and the Other determines the 'subjectivity of the inner picture of the disease.'

Achieving and renewing the self-identity of the Self in a dialogue with itself can take place with various psychological techniques, including the reflective interview. We propose one such technique used in rehabilitation of patients who have a limited function of the motor system (Shevchenko, 2024).

Method: "Dialogue of Self with Itself in the Aspect of Corporeality" **(N.A. Shevchenko, E.B. Starovoytenko)**

The researcher informs the respondent that he/she is invited to turn inwardly to himself/herself, to enter a dialogue with their own body, and to reflect on their bodily possibilities. The researcher asks how ready the respondent is for such work with themselves and informs them that if they are not ready, they can refuse to participate in the interview. The respondent is warned that anything they feel they need to disclose in the interview is completely anonymous and that they can stop at any time.

1. The researcher invites the respondent to address the questions aloud to him/herself and, if possible, to answer them.

2. How important to me are other people's appearance, features of body structure, motor activity, and which 'others,' or perhaps 'Other,' are particularly significant to me in this respect?

3. How important to me is what other people or the most significant other think and say about me, my body, and which of these particularly affect me?

4. Am I someone who often thinks about myself, my body's strengths, and my bodily limitations? Can I talk to myself about this and what makes me happy or sad in doing so?

5. The researcher invites the respondent to look at and focus on themselves as the bodily Self, then engage in a dialogue with them by asking and answering the following questions:

- What are my activities and relationships in which my body is involved?
- How do I see myself in actions, movements, gestures, and speech?
- What do I like about myself?
- What do I want to improve?
- What do I need help from others with?
- How do I feel when I communicate, do something, or say something?
- Do I need a mirror to see myself?
- Do I have an ideal of a person with impeccable body skills?

- What bodily skills do I possess?
- What can I be proud of?
- What do I think I do well?
- What do I do together with others?
- How do I think they see me in action?
- Do I feel my influences on my own body?
- How do I view them: positively or negatively?
- What do I manage to change about my body, appearance, and movement?
- Do I feel that my body carries a trace of my feelings, thoughts, and imagination?
- Do I trust my body?
- Do I have the feeling that my body fulfills my expectations? Or even behaves beyond expectations?
- What am I doing to improve my health, body condition, and increase movement?
- Do I have plans to discover and realize new possibilities for my body?
- Can I say, 'I live in my body' and 'My body is me'?
- Am I friends with my body? Is it a friend to me?
- When do I like myself in possession of my body?
- What do I like about myself?
- At what times in my life do I not like myself?
- What bodily potential do I feel in myself?
- How do I feel now, as a result of my inner dialogue with my bodily Self?
- Has anything happened to my knowledge of my body?
- Has my knowledge become clearer, more detailed, and more holistic?
- Has a desire for self-change emerged?

As a result of the effective application of this type of technique, there are shifts in the knowledge of the Self based on the processes of disidentification and identification with the bodily Self, which means, if this knowledge is accepted, a renewal of the self-identity of the self, strengthening of the patient's subjectness, and positive changes in the IPD.

The process of active identification of the Self with itself in the situation of illness has a significant impact on the effectiveness of therapeutic and rehabilitation measures. Psychological work aimed at building reflexive dialogues with the Self and Other, at achieving self-identity of the Self, can have a positive impact on the inner picture of the disease of a particular patient, which will significantly increase their compliance and improve the prognosis of the course of the underlying disease (Achkasov & Tvorogova, 2018; Greene, 2021; Kinash et al., 2021; Petrovsky, 2021a; Starovoytenko, 2023).

Psychological Support for Patients Based on the Concept of Self-Identity of the Self Achieved in Dialogue

Psychological help based on the concept of self-identity of the Self achieved in dialogue is based on the principle of a client living in a state of unique awareness

and self-change. As part of the helping interaction, the specialist invites the client to answer questions about themselves to 'trigger' a reflexive dialogue between the Self—the bodily Self and the Self—the Other. For some patients, this dialogue can be supplemented with the use of art-therapeutic techniques, especially those aimed at projective reflection of the inner picture of a disease. When such techniques are presented, the patient can establish contact with the bodily Self and his or her illness through the depiction and symbolization of the illness and its imaginative transformation.

The following is a case study of a 25-year-old female patient who was disabled at the time of the examination due to blepharoptosis, which occurred as a complication of surgery for a benign brain tumor. The social complication was the divorce situation in which the patient was in during the rehabilitation period. At the time of referral and the beginning of our work, the patient was at the stage of late rehabilitation (2 months after surgery), in a state of clinical depression and its medication therapy.

The case duration was 18 months (counseling once a week with two breaks of up to 30 days each). The initial work was aimed at acceptance of the disease and psychological support of therapy of the depressive state. After working through the initial inquiries, which took 4 months, we began to work through the acceptance of the divorce situation and the development of a transformative attitude toward the bodily limitation. While developing this attitude, reflexive techniques aimed at actualizing a dialogue between the self and the self were used, as well as mentalization techniques. When working with the patient, the technique 'Dialogue of the Self with Itself in the Aspect of Corporeality' proved to be a good method, which allowed us to start the process of reflexion of the relationship between the Self and the bodily Self.

The technique 'Dialogue of the Self with Itself in the Aspect of Corporeality' was used twice in the patient's case. At the first presentation of the technique, the patient found it difficult to describe her condition and changes after the dialogue of the Self with itself. However, during the next consultation, the patient described subjective changes in her perception of her body and the disease expressed in acceptance, greater confidence in a successful outcome of the disease, and readiness to take measures for recovery: "I am still feeling scared and distressed by the situation I got into, but I realized that I must learn to live with it somehow until I feel better. I feel much calmer."

When confronted with the questions 'Am I someone who often thinks about myself, my body strengths, and my bodily limitations? Can I talk to myself about this and what makes me happy or sad about it?' the patient showed an outward manifestation of inner dialogue expressed in thoughtful self-questioning and full, reflective responses to the questions. During this process, the patient turned to the bodily Self and refocused on a different perception of her illness. As a result, the patient concluded: "It is hard for me to accept what has happened, but I feel that I can live with it, and I want to recover as well as possible."

During repeated applications of the methodology 'Dialogue of Self with Self in the Aspect of Corporeality,' conducted six months after the initial presentation, an

increase in the number of positive answers to questions related to the patient's attitude to her body was recorded. The patient noted a subjective feeling of a strengthened connection between herself and her body: "I feel that I have begun to understand myself and my feelings better"; "I feel that now I understand and control my body better."

The outcome was an acceleration of the patient's rehabilitation, her better adaptation to her condition and external stressors, her identification with the Self that can overcome her illness, as well as improvements in her bodily, emotional, and social well-being and positive changes in her IPD.

Conclusion

Self-identity of people with physical disabilities can be negatively affected by an underlying disease, which, as a result, can lead to a decrease in compliance and a worsening prognosis. To strengthen and substantially enrich the patient's self-identity of the Self, it is necessary to create situations of inner reflective dialogue and use the latter as a psychological resource for identifying the Self with itself as a subject of the attitude to the disease in the processes of treatment and rehabilitation.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF PERSONOLOGY OF HAPPINESS

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Опыт персонологии счастья

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Abstract

The goal of this study was to explore happiness within the context of general personology, which synthesizes theoretical, cultural-phenomenological, and reflective knowledge about personality. Classical and contemporary ideas about happiness have been consolidated and problematized through conceptual questions and answers, the sequence of which reflects the logic of the original integrative approach to understanding individual happiness. The article collects, supplements, and reinterprets well-known perspectives on happiness from the fields of philosophical anthropology, positive psychology, poetry, and folklore from around the world. The proposed personological model of happiness incorporates the results of problematizing happiness definitions, as well as insights about life-happiness, the semantics of the word "happiness," the architectonics of happiness, the paradoxes of experiencing happiness, the value dimension of happiness, "happiness impressions," activities conducive to happiness, personality traits as subjects of happiness, the dialogical nature of experiencing happiness, variations in the

Резюме

Целью данной работы стало изучение счастья в контексте общей персонологии, предполагающей синтез теоретического, культурно-феноменологического и рефлексивного знания о личности. Классические и современные идеи о счастье обобщены и проблематизированы посредством концептуальных вопросов и ответов, последовательность которых отражает логику авторского замысла, состоящего в интегральном подходе к раскрытию индивидуального счастья. В статье собраны, дополнены и переосмыслены известные представления о счастье из области философской антропологии, позитивной психологии, поэзии и сказок народов мира. В предлагаемой персонологической модели счастья содержатся результаты проблематизации определений счастья, а также знания о жизни-счастье, о семантике слова «счастье», об архитектонике счастья, о парадоксах проживания счастья, о ценностном измерении счастья, о «впечатлениях счастья», о занятиях и видах деятельности, благоприятствующих счастью, о качествах личности как субъекта счастья, о диалогичности проживания счастья, о вариантах жизненного обретения счастья, о коллизиях пути к

life attainment of happiness, the conflicts on the path to happiness, and modern “practices of happiness.” Based on the formulation of conceptual questions about happiness and the authors’ answers to them, a reflective questionnaire, “What Is Happiness to Me?” is proposed. Working with this questionnaire can become a “practice of self-discovery in happiness” for individuals. The study presented in this article employs hermeneutic, theoretical, and reflective modeling aimed at advancing the personology of happiness, with a perspective on shaping and applying the developed models in counseling and psychotherapy practice.

Keywords: happiness, personality, general personology, synthesis model, hermeneutics, cultural phenomenology, experiencing happiness, life-happiness, happiness reflection.

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счастью, о современных «практиках счастья». На основе постановки концептуальных вопросов о счастье и авторских ответов на них предлагается рефлексивный опросник «Что есть счастье для меня?», работа с которым может стать для личности «практикой самопознания счастья». В исследовании, представленном в статье, осуществлено герменевтическое, теоретическое и рефлексивное моделирование, направленное на развитие персонологии счастья с перспективой преломления разработанных моделей в практике индивидуального консультирования и психотерапии.

Ключевые слова: счастье, личность, общая персонология, модель синтеза, герменевтика, культурная феноменология, проживание счастья, жизнь-счастье, рефлексия счастья.

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Happiness has myriad human faces, an endless array of events it fills, vast expanses of memories it stores, and continuous streams of joy and love that bind people together. It holds an enigmatic familiarity for each individual, a potential to

bestow gifts upon any living person, and an infinity of unique essences, each of which is birthed by a person living their life. Happy is the one who is born, who has lived, who brings life to the world, and who crafts their own life. The extensive fields of happiness research are filled with images, ideas, and symbols that inspire humanity to cherish and recreate it. These fields encompass mythology and religion, visual arts and literature, philosophy and cultural studies, as well as social and psychological sciences, and the implicit knowledge gained through individuals' intuitive insights into their own happiness (Djidaryan, 2000). In this context, **general personology**, which examines the personality, its properties, states, and activities in the lenses of culture, foundational knowledge, consultative and psychotherapeutic practice, and personal reflection, finds its place (Petrovsky & Starovoytenko, 2012; Petrovsky, 2013; Starovoytenko, 2023).

The study presented in this article **aims** to explicate and systematize categories, ideas, and paradigms that unveil different aspects of happiness within the realm of personology. The primary sources of the study include relevant philosophical, psychological, and philological works, fairy tales, and poetry. This work emphasizes well-known scientific texts on happiness, which preserve the “concept of personality” and the “concept of individual happiness” within culture. The primary research methods employed **are hermeneutics** and **modeling**, which focus on problematizing knowledge about personal happiness, substantiating its essence that cannot be reduced to other phenomena of personal existence, and fostering individual **reflection** on the experience and understanding of happiness.

In this study, commonly held perspectives on happiness, as presented in philosophical anthropology and positive psychology, served as navigation points. The principles of the traditional “science of happiness” include the unveiling of happiness in its distinctly positive significance for human existence; examining happiness in its two principal forms—hedonia, or the pleasure derived from fully satisfying one's desires and aspirations within the community, and eudaimonia, or the individual's transcendence to spiritual dimensions, viewing happiness as a supreme value and complete, perfect bliss. This research also constructs a categorical system for revealing happiness as a derivative of subjective well-being, psychological well-being, quality of life, satisfaction, and objective well-being. It further delineates, in studying the genesis of happiness, the innate preconditions of happiness, objective conditions that favor happiness, and individual actions oriented toward achieving it. Happiness is identified with its individual aspects, particularly well-being, in the unity of its subjective and objective forms; at the same time, it rejects the possibility of reducing happiness to its component factors and determinants, such as genetic predispositions, hedonic adaptation, physical and mental health, physical attractiveness, absence of depression, or a positive outlook on life (Argyle, 2003; Kahneman & Tversky, 2003; Levitt & Radchikova, 2012; Leontiev, 2020; Lyubomirsky, 2014; Seligman, 2006; Tatarkiewicz, 1981; Deci & Ryan, 2008; Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008; Diener & Ryan, 2009; Huta & Waterman, 2014; Sheldon & Elliot, 1999).

Examples of conceptualizations of happiness rooted in current psychology and philosophical anthropology include the following authors' definitions.

M. Argyle: Happiness is subjective well-being, or SWB (Argyle, 2003).

M. Seligman: Happiness is a stable, enduring effect of the alignment of innate “happiness” with favorable life circumstances and personal activity (Seligman, 2006).

D. Kahneman and A. Tversky: Happiness is an effective adaptation to the environment and the pursuit of pleasure, which separates positive outcomes of behavior from negative ones, aligning with both individual and societal expectations (Kahneman & Tversky, 2003).

S. Lyubomirsky: Happiness is the individual’s experience of joy, well-being, and satisfaction in connection with intentional, purposeful actions that enable one to transcend baseline life conditions (Lyubomirsky, 2014).

M. Csikszentmihalyi: Happiness is a life lived in “flow” or full immersion in what one does; it involves the realization of all psychological and physical potentials, fulfilling personally set goals, and experiencing positive emotions related to achievements, openness to life’s changes, and self-transformation (Csikszentmihalyi, 2011).

W. Tatarkiewicz: Happiness is the possession of the highest goods — faith, love, friendship, knowledge, creativity—combined with intense pleasure, a sense of holistic positivity, joyful awareness, and a complete satisfaction with the balance of one’s external and internal life (Tatarkiewicz, 1981).

Maxim Bakhtin: Happiness is an ontological ideal, a sense of the fullness of being and of psychosomatic integrity, an awareness and consciousness of one’s connection to something beyond daily life, love for another person, the pursuit of truth, and creativity, all of which liberate the individual (Bakhtin, 2006).

If one were to integrate, summarize, and expand upon scientific perspectives on happiness with an emphasis on its **potential** to create a powerful force for life (Znakov, 2021; Epstein, 2001), happiness could be defined as follows:

Happiness is a potential life that harmoniously combines an innate ability “to be happy”; physical health and control over one’s body; existence in sociocultural conditions conducive to high quality of life and individual flourishing; achieved subjective well-being and satisfaction with one’s life; a shared sense of well-being with others and a distribution of life’s benefits among them; an internal discovery of sources of pleasure, optimism, successful overcoming of life’s hardships and crises; moving beyond adaptation through creative and productive activities; embracing higher, spiritual values; transcending meanings and expectations acquired throughout life; transcending toward happiness as an absolute; experiencing impressions of happiness; viewing a happy life as a gift; and realizing the fullness of “self” and the completeness of one’s being.

The unity of many happiness-related components can be experienced by an individual as an encompassing sense of joyful belonging to the world and an enjoyment of an inner fullness of life:

*“...The window’s open. A bird on
Window sill is perched. My weary
Eyes I raise from books anon.
The sky is empty; eventide gone bleary.*

The sound of threshing in a distant barn...

I see and hear, I'm happy; all's within me warm."

I. Bunin. "Evening" (Translated by Robert Bowie, 2023)

We are constructing a personological **model** of happiness, raising conceptual questions about it and offering answers based on discoveries within fundamental knowledge and phenomenological cultural experience. These answers take the form of multiple definitions, which create a foundation for developing new diagnostic methods of individual happiness. The conceptual questions on happiness are arranged in a continuum that reflects the logic of the author's modeling process. This demonstrates how a conceptual model of happiness can be translated into a model of self-inquiry (Starovoytenko, 2022), or the **Reflective Practice**: "What Does Happiness Mean to Me?"

What Meanings and Connotations Has the Word "Happiness" Acquired in Culture?

In Russian culture, the **semantics** of "happiness" include meanings such as "luck," "fate," "fortune," "prosperity," "a good share," "the best destiny," "the fortunate part of the common good," "communal well-being," "a share in the common good," "one's destiny," "one's lot," "complete contentment" (Dal', 2020; Bakhtin, 2006; Vorkachev, 2002; Mikhailovsky, 2012; Vinogradov, 2000; Tatarkiewicz, 1981). The word "happiness" also signifies "participation in eternal human happiness, in the human embodiment of the absolute idea of happiness, an experience saturated with the divine energy of love that grants people the strength to build their lives" (Bakhtin, 2006).

In various European cultures, "happiness" conveys an innate force that guides a person's life until death, a sudden chance or luck, the granting of blessings from above, salvation, a favorable turn of events, material abundance, the pleasure of possessing goods, the excess of blessings, personal well-being, and the attainment of life's balance and order. The leading meanings of "happiness" involve fulfillment of being, bliss in achieving spiritual aspirations, and a person's satisfaction with their own life (Mikhailovsky, 2012).

In various languages, opposites of the word "happiness" include "unhappiness," "misfortune," "ill-fate," "hardship," "grief," "disaster," "failure," "affliction," "fate," "sorrow," "harm," and "death." When operating in oppositions, happiness acquires "negative definitions": happiness as the absence of unhappiness, happiness as a relief from suffering, happiness as the overcoming of ill fate, etc.

What Is Revealed in Happiness When It Is Understood within the "Life" Paradigm?

In pursuing the goal of personological modeling, we place the phenomenon of happiness within the context of an individual's life and the concept of happiness within the categorical system of **life personology** (Starovoytenko, 2023). From

these perspectives, happiness appears as a true and beautiful, harmonious and complete, pleasurable and prosperous, virtuous and eternal **life**. Happiness has the potential to enrich all “facets” of one’s existence, including the vital and transcendent, cultural and social, as well as the interpersonal—shaped by relationships with significant others—and the personally unique, defined by one’s relationship to oneself. Thus, happiness is understood as a characteristic of a healthy, ideal, culturally enriched, socially oriented life, lovingly shared with the Other and constructed as an I-in-itself-for-itself existence.

An individual’s happiness originates and is re-created in various **forms**. It arises and endures as an emotional state of *life-awareness* or transformative *life activity*, as a *dream* or *ideal* of possible life, and as a preserved and “amplified” *life impression* of the individual. In a long-term retrospective, a person’s happiness can become a stable subjective *way of life*, as well as an ascent to the *highest level* of individual being. Happiness may present itself to a person as *objective conditions* that foster and directly create a happy image of their life. Happiness may also become a lasting *capability* to “be happy” due, for instance, to a sustained life in creativity that bears fruit for society and brings the subject joy from their achievements. Happiness can act as a positive *emotional background* for one’s activities and relationships, promoting the involvement of many others. Happiness, in its various forms of attainment (achieving, receiving, dwelling in it, and discovering it within oneself), can become a dominant *quality* in an individual’s *life path*.

Life-as-happiness has its own **chronotope**, or its unique time-space, reflecting the specific way in which a happy life unfolds within time and space. The **topography** of happiness includes countless “topoi” of its experience, symbolically and metaphorically articulated by culture: the homeland of happiness, the world of happiness, the realm of happiness, the land of happiness, the city of happiness, the house of happiness, the place of happiness, my inner happiness.

The topos of happiness is a concrete or intuitively sensed image of the space where it is born and where the desire to comprehend and recreate it intensifies.

*“Groves, where in the hush of freedom
I met happiness each day,
I step again beneath your arches,
Into your friendly shade.”*

A.S. Pushkin: “Groves, where in the hush of freedom” (translated by John Fuller, “Russian Poetry: The Modern Period”, 1976)

The **chronology** of happiness, or its temporal aspect, reflects both the objective and subjective duration of happiness, its location in the retrospective view of life, and the sequence of happy events and impressions over a lifetime. Objectively and subjectively, it may appear to a person as a moment of happiness, as minutes or hours of happiness, as years or periods of happiness, or as an entire life of happiness. Within the time of an individual’s existence, it is perceived as a past experience that became a cherished memory, as a present reality, and as the best possible future. In terms of intensity, actuality, tangibility, and clear awareness, happiness-here-and-now surpasses both happiness-in-the-past and happiness-in-the-future.

*“...Here happiness flutters
A wing pressed to the flower,
But in a moment, it will soar upward
Irretrievably and brightly.”*

I. Annensky. “What is Happiness?” (translated by John Fuller, “Russian Poetry: The Modern Period”, 1976)

The prolongation of happiness in the present, its “arrest” in time, its “entry into eternity,” is described in cultural phenomenology as a state of savoring, intensified pleasure, inspired immersion, creative reflection, and transcendence.

*“If to the moment I should say:
‘Linger awhile! You are so fair!’
Then may you fetter me straightway,
Then to the abyss I will go without care.”*

J. W. Goethe “Faust,” Part II, Act V, Scene 7 (translated by Bayard Taylor, 1870)

Reflexively, a person can create a unified temporal trajectory of happiness in the form of a sequence of happy situations and impressions, creating a “life narrative of happiness.”

What Is the Psychological “Fabric” and Expression of Happiness, or What Constitutes Its Architectonics?

Like every complex state of personality, happiness possesses a differentiated, holistic, dynamic **structure**, comprising both conscious and unconscious, psychological and behavioral elements. The full realization of happiness presupposes a sense of the possibility of happiness, a desire and motivation for happiness, recollections and activation of sensory, imagistic, and cognitive knowledge about happiness, an external and internal search for happiness, the emotional experience of happiness, the bodily expression of this experience, the cognition and comprehension of happiness, the articulation of a happiness impression, and purposeful actions in the world that extend and materially preserve happiness.

In the experience of happiness, **mutually supportive links** are formed between its elements, determining the place of happiness within the life context. The unity of the emotional and cognitive components of happiness is given to a person as a feeling of life satisfaction (Argyle, 2003). The connection between bright motivational-emotional, subconscious cognitive, and practical elements of happiness gives rise to a sense of spontaneity and involvement in various flow states (Csikszentmihalyi, 2011). The connection between powerful motivational and absorbing emotional aspects of happiness relates it to peak experiences (Maslow, 1997). The combination of happiness motivation and successful actions to achieve it in one’s favorite activities creates an overall state of life well-being for the individual (Argyle, 2003).

Happiness involves a broad range of phenomena functioning on different psychological levels: the unconscious, for instance, the sense of vitality; the subconscious,

such as an unarticulated memory of enchantment; the conscious, particularly the recognized enjoyment of beauty; the reflective—knowledge that “I am truly happy”; and the transcendent, or the realization that happiness is a mystery, the unknown Self (Petrovsky, 2023; Starovoytenko, 2018).

It is hard to find a better expression of one’s knowledge of happiness than Vladimir Nabokov’s words:

*I know: the path of parting and of anguish
Is over now; and heavens drown in blue,
The day dissolves in rays, the heart in happiness,
I know: I’m in love, and glad to roam with you.*

Vladimir Nabokov, “Happiness”, “Poems and Problems”, 1970.

Awareness and reflection create the potential for an individual’s **relationship** with happiness to develop. To enter into a relationship with happiness means to value it highly, to know it, and to understand one’s ignorance of it, to recognize one’s ownership of happiness and the merging of the Self with it, to know the sources of one’s happiness, to create conditions for it, to speak about happiness, to depict it in Self-narratives and works of art, to consider happiness as an inexhaustible potential and a reality for oneself and others, and to unlock the meaning of happiness through the achievement of a fully realized, happy life. An individual’s relationship with happiness may not only multiply moments of happiness in life but also enhance the creative force of those moments. In dealing with their own happiness, an individual may renew and extend it, take it for granted without appreciating it, squander the resource of their “happiness,” or come to understand human happiness without actually achieving it and without being truly happy.

In relation to happiness, in addition to conscious and reflective elements, there are deeper aspects, such as bodily and sensory pleasure derived simply from the act of living itself. This pleasure holds particular intensity and purity in early childhood. As Alexander Pushkin reflects:

*“My whole life is a mournful gloom of storm.
Two or three springs, in childhood’s fleeting charm,
I once was happy, unaware of joy;
Those days are gone—yet, can they ever die?”*

A. Pushkin, “To Prince A.M. Gorchakov”, 1817, translated by Julian Henry Lowenfeld

In the architectonics of experiencing happiness, its **emotional** components hold particular importance, as frequent scholarly associations of happiness with affective states suggest. The types of emotions and feelings linked to happiness, as identified in personality research and presented in cultural phenomenology, surpass the definitions of its other components. Here, we propose a **classification** of the emotional correlates of happiness, each associated with its various sources: spiritual practice, activity, preferred engagements, and relationships.

Religious, mystical, and metaphysical practice: faith, bliss, grace, awe, catharsis, enlightenment, spiritual uplift, consolation, solace, prosperity, tranquility, serenity, blessing, reverence.

Highly significant activity: elevation, absorption, fascination, inspiration, wonder, amazement, elation, excitement, enthusiasm, optimism.

Preferred engagements: joy, fun, pleasure, humor, lightheartedness, carefree ease.

Attitude towards success and achievements: elation, fulfillment, pride, triumph, self-respect.

Attitude of love: longing, yearning, delight, sensuality, ecstasy, rapture, bliss, elation, abandonment, self-forgetfulness, intoxication, the sense of attaining a cherished ideal, a surge of energy, flight, allure, tenderness, charm, fascination, enchantment.

Attitude toward others: hope, gratitude, forgiveness, nobility, respect, admiration, sympathy, empathy, trust.

Attitude toward oneself: a feeling of life's authenticity, harmony with oneself, alignment with oneself, transcendence of oneself, the sensation of being here and everywhere, and the disappearance of time.

The emotional aspects of happiness vary in intensity, from strong positive affects to moods that encourage the actions generating happiness. Using the metaphors of M.K. Mamardashvili, we may view happiness as a "flash of lightning" or as a "calm, steady sun."

Is the Architectonics of Happiness Purely Positive, or Does It Include Oppositional Elements?

This question touches on a characteristic of happiness well-known in cultural phenomenology and personal experiences—the paradox of being-in-happiness. This paradox lies in the interrelation of opposing elements of happiness (motivational, emotional, cognitive, practical, and meaningful), where oppositions, in their interaction, lend the happy moment in life a particularly sensual, profound, and reflective quality.

Poetic experiences richly present the paradoxes of happiness, highlighting their ability to sharpen its edge and enhance its intensity and duration.

"The breath of the evening wind dies away.

The full moon's face is ever-shifting.

Madness of joy. Unfathomable sorrow.

The impossible moment. The moment of happiness."

K. Balmont, "Song Without Words", 1894, translated by Peter Tempest

"Understand... I try to discern

The outlines of paradise in the haze,

But toward the cherished blooms I turn,

Like a bee at a windowpane."

V. Nabokov, "The Bee", 1923, translated by V. Nabokov

"All that threatens mortal life

With death's dread imminence

Holds for the heart a wondrous charm —

Perhaps a pledge of immortality.”

A. Pushkin, “A Pledge of Immortality”, 1836, translated by Walter Arndt

Upon cultural-phenomenological materials and implicit knowledge, we propose a series of binary elements of happiness, which may be essential to one another in generating happiness. These include:

a sense of connection to eternity	⇐ ⇒	a sense of life's transience
ecstasy	⇐ ⇒	emotional pain
pleasure	⇐ ⇒	tranquility
a sense of fullness	⇐ ⇒	a sense of emptiness
reverence	⇐ ⇒	fear
bliss	⇐ ⇒	melancholy, despair
frenzied passion	⇐ ⇒	unbearable excitement
enjoyment	⇐ ⇒	suffering
awareness of complete well-being	⇐ ⇒	awareness of the possibility of misfortune
inspiration	⇐ ⇒	exhaustion
overwhelming intoxication	⇐ ⇒	calm awareness
an explosion of desires and feelings	⇐ ⇒	a melancholic mood
a sense of abundance	⇐ ⇒	a sense of insufficiency
a feeling of spiritual elevation	⇐ ⇒	bodily sensuality
awareness of enlightenment	⇐ ⇒	intuition of mystery
enchantment	⇐ ⇒	disillusionment
a sense of limitless possibilities	⇐ ⇒	a sense of helplessness
illumination by truth	⇐ ⇒	doubt
extreme experiences	⇐ ⇒	the need for peace
blissful solitude	⇐ ⇒	the need for the Other
the joy of possession	⇐ ⇒	the fear of loss
flights of fantasy	⇐ ⇒	a sense of reality
the experience of the impossible	⇐ ⇒	awareness of the limits of possibility
the real experience of happiness	⇐ ⇒	knowing what happiness is

The presence and conflicts of these oppositional elements of happiness can sometimes diminish its intensity. However, this can be overcome through reflection on the duality of happiness and the acceptance of happiness paradoxes as a resource for refined understanding and experience.

Does Happiness Have a Value Dimension? What Human Values are Embodied in Happiness?

Experienced by an individual in the world (nature, culture, society), happiness reflects the world's attitude toward the person. In particular, the qualities of happiness point to the alignment of the world with human nature and the existence of conditions for the comprehensive development of individuals. They also indicate the orientation of the world toward humanity in the sense of care for the life of each individual and support for individuality, including creating conditions for creativity and productive coexistence with others.

The organic connection between an individual's happiness and the humanistic values of the surrounding world is achieved through **values**—desires, ideas, and meanings that have bound humanity together for millennia in pursuit of a prosperous, creative, and rewarding life. By uniting people, values are realized in the form of mutual and personal “value relations,” which transcend toward the **spiritual** foundations of human existence: the Absolute, truth, beauty, compassion, and self-knowledge. Individual happiness is experienced through the religious, cognitive, aesthetic, moral, and creative relationships of a person to the world, to themselves, and to others.

Cultural phenomenology reveals happiness in the search for God and faith in immortality, in love and the appreciation of beauty, in gaining freedom and serving others, in understanding and creating the new, in forgiveness and gratitude, in achievements for the benefit of others, and in caring for oneself. Modern researchers emphasize the spirituality of happiness, linked to faith in God. They highlight the unparalleled role of divine feeling in daily life, the vastness of God's love, the encounter with the perfection of creation, the intuition of an omnipotent force that protects each individual, and the embodiment of blissful life in actions carried out with noble purpose, bringing good, compassion, and help to others (Bakhtin, 2006; Lyubomirsky, 2014; Seligman, 2006; Csikszentmihalyi, 2011; Irvine, 2008).

The spiritual origins of happiness elevate its experience to the highest levels, perceived as “nothing higher exists,” “it doesn't get better,” “this is beyond all,” “an incredible excess,” and “it exceeds all possible expectations,” described as an “ecstasy of extraordinary sharpness.”

What Can Be Considered a Unit of Experiencing Happiness in Its Value Dimension?

In happiness, taken in its spiritual-value dimension, a phenomenological “unit” can be conditionally distinguished—a happiness **impression**, characterized by the ultimate life state of an individual. These characteristics include: the presence in the impression of a highly significant object—a “figure of cherished desire”; the emergence of the impression as a “point of life sensitization” in the field of the individual's highest sensitivity; the rooting of the impression in the depth of the best qualities of human nature; the actualization within the impression of “great”

thoughts, feelings, and ideals from the world of spiritual values; the individual's awareness of the complete authenticity of the experienced impression and its fullness of the Self; experiencing the impression as one of the best moments in life, captivating, enchanting, and “engaging” the individual; the presence within the impression of much that is unknown as mystery that prompts creativity; the breaking of self-consciousness boundaries and the discovery of the unknown Self; the individual's intention to “be capable of being,” “dare to exist,” “experience life,” and “realize the possible Self”; awakening within the impression the ability to “invest” in one's life, actively unleashing it; the expression of the impression in the individual's inner text endowed with significant “cultural volume”; the emotional immersion, comprehension, and reflection of the impression so that it becomes an experience-foundation for new happy events (Mamardashvili, 1997; Starovoytenko, 2015b).

What Activities Favor Happiness?

Happiness, regardless of its individual architectonics or spiritual-value level, is often an effect of an individual's engagement in specific activities, whether external or internal.

Scientific-theoretical and phenomenological studies highlight a variety of spiritual practices conducive to happiness: prayer, asceticism, solitude, contemplation of beauty, and diverse forms of cultural creation.

In addition, numerous everyday activities evoke happiness: carrying and caring for children, parenting, meeting loved ones, friendly communication, shared projects, meaningful conversations, spending time in nature, gardening, traveling, singing, music, dancing, reading, handicrafts, cooking, games, sports, amusements, romantic pleasures, body care, home-making, and building close-knit circles.

Happiness is also experienced by those engaged in activities that are both personally meaningful and socially significant. Such activities often involve individual initiative, high productivity, and societal impact, resulting in breakthrough discoveries that transform the modern world (Buyakas, 1995). According to happiness researchers, these activities are now concentrated in fields such as natural sciences, innovative technological development, artificial intelligence, medicine, pharmaceuticals, and the art of design.

What Qualities Define a Person Capable of Experiencing Happiness?

The possibility of happiness, its genesis, the nuances of its experience, its subjective chronotope, and one's attitude toward it are profoundly influenced by personal qualities. By striving for happiness, recognizing its reality, and extending it to others, a person becomes the **subject** of their own happy life and the development of their **best traits**. These qualities can be divided into “strengths,” “virtues,” and “distinctions” of personality.

The baseline potential for happiness lies in its **fundamental level**— “innate happiness” (Lyubomirsky, 2014). This includes genetically determined vitality, a predisposition for a positive perception of the world, and high physical and cognitive

activity. These traits should be supported in early childhood by a nurturing environment, the fulfillment of the child's basic needs, and their own intentions to explore the world.

Throughout life, under the influence of circumstances, natural potential, psychological activity, and experiences of self-knowledge and transcendence, individuals acquire and refine their strengths, which determine their worthiness of happiness (Bakhtin, 2006). Such qualities include physical and mental health, a will to live, external attractiveness, receptivity, awareness, optimism, mature thinking, talents, resourcefulness, diligence, courage, a fine sense of humor, cheerfulness, internal autonomy, personal growth, and life purpose (Argyle, 2003; Peterson & Seligman, 2002; Ryff, 1989).

The **virtues** of a happy individual, possessing universal and humanistic significance, include spirituality, wisdom, knowledge, love, kindness, compassion, justice, and moderation (Seligman, 2006).

The **distinctions** that contribute to happiness include qualities determined by personal development and self-improvement: self-awareness, self-acceptance, self-confidence, self-respect, self-control, dedication to one's purpose, Self's orientation toward others, Self's internal connection to the Other, and valuing one's individuality.

Is Personal Happiness Dialogical in a Life among Others?

Many moments of happiness are born in significant, close relationships between the individual and specific others, or in the "I–Other" relationship. In a mature, reflective-dialogical form of such a relationship, the individual understands how their happiness is perceived in the inner world of the Other, whether the Other feels happiness in their relationship, and how happiness can be sustained and recreated. They also grasp the meaning and significance of their own and the Other's happiness for their lives and understand how their shared happiness appears in the eyes of others. The deepest and most challenging form of dialogical happiness is **love**. Based on the concepts of love by French thinkers (Barthes, 1999; Bruckner, 2007; Sartre, 2002), we can describe the dialogical form of love-happiness in the "I–Other" relationship (Starovoytenko, 2007).

The loving Self internalizes the beloved Other while simultaneously granting them the freedom to remain themselves. Identifying with the one they love and overcoming inner loneliness, the loving Self respects both the Other and their own self-sufficiency through a dual negation: the Other is not me, and I am not the Other. In an expanded awareness of unity with the beloved, the loving Self unfolds an infinite vision of a "possible world" before the Other, thereby modeling new possibilities that will evoke reciprocal feelings.

Essentially, love is a project of making Oneself lovable. In this, the loving Self is akin to a sage and a sovereign, striving to be so fully integrated into the Other's subjective world that they become an indispensable part of their desires, thoughts, and feelings, a vital value in their life. Language and words play a critical role in the transgression of the Self into the inner world of the beloved Other. The words of

the loving Self magnetically draw the Other, infuse them, and leave profound effects in the realm of their drives, fantasies, and imagination. In the reciprocal awakening of love, dialogue with the acquired “inner Other” becomes sacred for the beloved Self. Dialogical “Selves” of the loving individuals require a constant flow of impressions about their relationships, which shape the life of both partners in the external world. The inevitable conflicts of this life return each to personal responsibility for the Other, to the solitude of choices and decisions made in favor of the beloved. In the mutual love relationship, the Self excludes the possibility that the Other, while caring for them, might overpower them, and understands that even with complete devotion to the beloved, they cannot deny the autonomy of the Other. The dialogue of love is built on a distance that allows each to subjectively elevate the other. The relationship of love shapes a persistent image and reflective concept of the “loving Self,” fostering a heightened ability to love and to experience enduring love-happiness. The dialogical foundation of love ensures that its interpersonal existence, with its potential to be “co-happiness,” remains vibrant, where the good of one loving person is an inseparable part of the good of the other.

What Are the Ways of Attaining Happiness in Individual Life?

Happiness, as inherent to the lives of individuals, has various **origins** depending on its primary source: external circumstances (luck, chance), personal effort, an innate capacity for living happily, or the discovery of happiness within oneself. The following phenomena, corresponding to different types of happiness **genesis**, were identified through hermeneutic analysis of over 80 folk tales from around the world (Brook, 2024).

1. Achieving Happiness (happiness as the result of a person’s actions and relationships in the world):

- reward for hard work and efforts with abundance;
- earned prosperity and well-being;
- recognition from those in power for demonstrated virtues;
- winning the love of another;
- selfless care for the well-being of others and their reciprocal kindness;
- rescuing others and receiving their gratitude;
- enduring, trial-tested love leading to mutuality;
- mastery of a craft or art;
- successful collaboration with others;
- rewards from powerful forces for diligence and kindness;
- earning the love of many through feats and achievements;
- overcoming great adversities for the sake of fraternal love;
- healing or extending the life of a loved one;
- just rewards for a virtuous life;
- love gained through compassion and devoted service;
- recognition of outstanding talent for persistence and hard work;
- heroic fulfillment of filial duty;
- grateful acknowledgment of dutiful and loving care from a daughter;

- discovering the secrets of creativity and crafting unprecedented things;
- fulfilling another's dream through extraordinary effort;
- attaining immortality through a life filled with love and compassion.

2. Receiving Happiness (happiness comes to the individual externally):

- gifts and assistance from higher powers;
- the occurrence of miracles, magic, or the supernatural;
- discovery of hidden treasure;
- receiving a substantial inheritance;
- sudden good fortune or a favor of chance;
- a fortunate destiny or happy fate;
- the fruit of an extraordinary encounter;
- patronage and gifts from the gods;
- support from a magical friend;
- fulfillment of cherished desires by another;
- wealth obtained through others' naivety or simplicity;
- love bestowed by someone else;
- a mysterious release from a cursed fate;
- favorable divine intervention;
- mysterious blessings and positive life changes;
- unexpected riches;
- wise counsel during life's difficulties;
- the gift of appreciating beauty;
- immortality granted from above.

3. Dwelling in Happiness (happiness as life itself, a state of being):

- serving others with patience and kindness;
- long years of fruitful labor;
- wise and generous use of life's gifts;
- asceticism and liberation from worldly burdens;
- unity with nature, immersion in the animal world, and friendships with creatures;
- active love for close ones;
- contemplation and creation of beauty;
- virtuous deeds and acts;
- living harmoniously with others;
- upholding the power of truth and the strength of justice;
- a cheerful and resilient disposition in work and relationships;
- flourishing in one's endeavors, multiplying wealth and well-being;
- harmony and mutual understanding within the family;
- raising children with love and trust;
- careful preservation of acquired prosperity;
- skillful use of gifts received through magical means.

4. Discovering Happiness Within Oneself (happiness as Oneself, intrinsic to one's being):

- embracing the blessings found within Oneself;
- confidence in One's capacity for happiness;

- One’s awareness of qualities that enable a happy life;
- understanding the paths to realizing One’s potential for happiness;
- One’s finding happiness in imagination, creativity, and art;
- following One’s destiny;
- One’s discovering happiness in solitude and internal dialogues with others;
- One’s heeding a call from destiny revealed in a dream;
- choosing One’s unique happiness after long searching.

An individual can experience happiness with varied genesis, duration, intensity, and complexity. The journey toward happiness, involving significant effort, conscious presence, and self-reflection as the subject of happiness, can extend across the chronotope of life, filled with challenges and contradictions. Life itself, as a complex and contradictory “path to happiness” and “path of happiness,” belongs to real individuals, societies, and cultures. Folk tales, in particular, offer numerous descriptions of the lives of heroes as quests, possessions, losses, and rediscoveries of happiness (Zinkevich-Evstigneeva, 2012; Trubetskoy, 1990).

What Conflicts Are Inherent in the “Path of Happiness”?

The universal model of a fairy tale hero’s life hermeneutics was masterfully developed by V. Ya. Propp and presented in *Morphology of the Folktale* (Propp, 1998). Building on its content, we emphasize the moments of the hero’s journey that characterize the contradictions and dynamics of happiness. Propp’s model, rooted in the archetype of the Hero, offers depth, integrity, and detail, making it widely applicable in psychological studies and individual self-discovery.

By explicating the conflicts of happiness using the morphology model of the folktale, we applied the method of highlighting “patterns of opposition,” developed for the hermeneutic analysis of reflective texts by outstanding individuals (Starovoytenko, 2015a).

Stages of the Hero’s Happiness Conflicts:

Stability and well-being ↔

↔ Violation of family or societal prohibitions ↔

↔ Departure from home and lonely wandering ↔

↔ Encounter with the antagonist (adversary, enemy, or harm-doer) ↔

↔ Harm inflicted by the antagonist ↔

↔ Inability to resist, enduring deprivation, loss, suffering, imprisonment, captivity, sleep, or exile ↔

↔ Awareness of a deep need for something valuable and recognition of unhappiness ↔

↔ Decision to pursue desired happiness and set a goal to achieve it ↔

↔ Embarking on a difficult journey, meeting helpers and benefactors, from whom they receive a means to counter the antagonist and acquire the desired treasure ↔

↔ Confronting the antagonist in open combat and attaining victory, joyfully returning home with the treasure ↔

↔ Upon returning to familiar surroundings, the hero is deceived, harmed, or has their treasure stolen ↔

↔ Transformative and unrecognizable returning home

↔ Opposing thieves, punishing or forgiving them and reclaiming the treasure ↔

↔ Restoration of true identity and the enjoyment of happiness: love, wealth, and just leaders.

Theories and phenomenologies of happiness offer a wealth of knowledge that, within the context of personology, is enriched by sociocultural ideas and contemporary practices, transforming knowledge into “happiness practices.”

What Practices for Enhancing Happiness Does Contemporary Culture Offer?

Professional activity, which requires mature abilities and advanced skills, holds great potential for happiness. It is in this realm that professionals have opportunities to “practice happiness.”

Happiness practices relevant, for instance, to business, science, the IT sector, and higher education include: treating work as a beloved activity; continuous professional growth; progressing from project to project; emphasizing foundational knowledge; engaging in “soft,” dialogic competition as a pathway to success; forming agile alliances for specific projects; attracting extraordinary individuals; creating and transforming through creative work; enthusiastically participating in the realization of shared goals; joyfully celebrating individual and collective achievements; guiding efforts with ideas and aspirations for perfection; actively employing imagination, fantasy, dreams, and “bold” ideas; taking pride in one’s talents, accomplishments, and personal contributions; continuously exploring new opportunities; thriving in uncertainty and solving problems with elegant solutions; fostering a culture of mastery and innovation; developing “methods,” “rules,” “models,” and “impressions”; building productive collaboration relationships; focusing on results and their quality, evaluated as “knowledge-intensive,” “beautiful,” or “elegant”; creating memorable, dream-fulfilling, and narrative-rich products; gaining authority in one’s professional reference group; demonstrating creativity in all pursuits; stimulating and maintaining optimism, enthusiasm, and inspiration; following ethical standards with conviction; developing diverse types of intelligence; encouraging awareness of one’s own ignorance; cultivating a love for paradoxes and a sense of humor; viewing leadership as a responsibility; promoting talent; displaying artistry, charm, and impeccable etiquette in the professional environment (Peters, 2004; Starovoytenko, 2023).

Concluding the presentation of the personological model of happiness we present a reflective questionnaire that embodies the logic of the conceptual problematization undertaken in this work. Before applying the questionnaire, the content of this article may be used by researchers or consulting psychologists to enhance their respondents’ or clients’ awareness of the fundamental aspects of the psychological understanding of happiness.

The Reflective Practice “What Is Happiness to Me?”

- Am I ever happy?*
- What does the word “happiness” mean to me?*
- Can the definition of “happy” be applied to my current, past, or future life?*
- What constitutes my happiness?*
- What primarily fills the moments of my happiness—desires, emotions, sensations, images, thoughts? What do I know about them?*
- Do I recognize that there is something opposite to happiness in my experience? What oppositions to happiness do I know?*
- Do I consider that, in living happiness, I find myself in a world of higher values and meanings: love, faith in God, knowledge, beauty?*
- Do I have experiences of “happy impressions”? Which one is the most vivid and meaningful?*
- In which of my activities do I most often feel happy? What specifically brings me happiness in those activities?*
- What personal qualities help me be happy, and which ones hinder me?*
- What is my attitude toward my own happiness?*
- Do I share my happiness with others? What role do other people play in my experience of happiness?*
- What is more characteristic of my approach to happiness: achieving it through significant effort, receiving it from external sources, dwelling in it, or finding it within myself?*
- When I experience happy moments or periods of happiness, do I notice the difficulties and problems that accompany them?*
- Am I aware of any practices for achieving happiness? What are they, and do I apply them?*
- What do I feel and think now, having answered questions about my happiness?*

To conclude, the personological format of studying happiness, which formed the central problem of our research, was expressed through consistent hermeneutic, conceptual, and reflective modeling, based on the mutual interplay of models. In the long-term development of the personology of happiness, we envision the creation of technologies for individual counseling and psychotherapy that implement the Happiness-Centered Approach.

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A PERSONOLOGY PIVOT IN TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS (METHODOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS)*

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Трансакционный анализ: персонологический поворот (методологические заметки)

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Abstract

The first attempt is being made to synthesize fundamental, cultural, and practical psychology, focused on a transactional and analytical interpretation of personality (the “TA-model”). The professional language of transactional analysis, the identification and names of “games” and life scenarios, the very stylistics of Berne’s texts: all these are a manifestation of the effect of the presence of the cultural phenomenology of personality in transactional analysis. The as yet undisclosed resources for the operationalisation of TA categories, and their interpretation from a general psychological standpoint, hypothesis testing, the updating of contexts for the use and modification of known research methods, all act as motivation for the inclusion of transactional analysis in the context of fundamental personality psychology. The work of the creator of transactional analysis

Резюме

Предпринята первая попытка синтеза фундаментальной, культурной и практической психологий, сфокусированных на трансакционно-аналитической трактовке личности («ТА-модель»). Профессиональный язык трансакционного анализа, выделение и названия «игр» и жизненных сценариев, сама стилистика текстов Берна — свидетельство присутствия в трансакционном анализе культурной феноменологии личности. Нераскрытые пока ресурсы операционализации категорий ТА и их интерпретация с общепсихологической точки зрения, проверка гипотез, обновление контекстов использования и модификация известных методов исследований мотивируют включение трансакционного анализа в контекст фундаментальной психологии личности. Работа создателя ТА, наметившего

* In days gone by, this paper could have been termed “methodological”: nowadays it should rather be called a “project”. To the Russian reader, the term “methodology” carries associations with the protracted birthing of theory (Petrovsky, 2009, p. 197). A “project” entails grants, financial support, and reporting documentation that takes as much time to put together as the research itself. We prefer to call the content of this article methodological observations (not a theory as yet, but rather material from which to construct it).

sis, who demarcated the lines for the theoretical comparison of TA with both complementary and oppositional systems of psychotherapy, remains an under-explored field of research, at the same time that their mutual rapprochement and mutual germination are occurring in a “natural manner”. It may prove possible within the scope of scientific research to “spy out” the common elements of the work of representatives from various fields and schools of psychotherapy, and to evaluate them in order to present the results of this meta-analysis to the counsellors themselves, as a psychological tool for the development of their own behaviour and consciousness. Such is the “challenge” of the TA-model of personality in the context of counselling psychology.

Keywords: general personology, transactional analysis, second-order structural model of personality, contamination, confusion, operationalization of constructs, Big Five, method of reflected subjectness, personological triangle, “psychological tool”.

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линии теоретического сопоставления ТА с дружественными и оппозиционными системами психотерапии, остается до сих пор неразвитым направлением исследований, в то время как «естественным путем» происходит их взаимное сближение и взаимное прорастание друг в друга. В рамках научных исследований, возможно, удастся «подсмотреть» общие элементы работы представителей различных направлений и школ психотерапии, оценить их с тем, чтобы предъявить результаты метаанализа самим консультируемым в качестве психологического орудия развития их поведения и сознания. Таков «вызов» ТА-модели личности в контексте консультативной психологии.

Ключевые слова: общая персонология, трансакционный анализ, структурная модель личности второго порядка, контаминации, конфузии, операционализация конструктов, Большая пятерка, метод отраженной субъектности, персонологический треугольник, «психологическое орудие».

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The conspicuous gap (divide) that exists between three fields of psychological study, i.e. between fundamental, cultural-phenomenological, and counselling psychology of personality, is viewed by psychologists as both a prerequisite and an incentive for the creation of *general personology*, the “science of personality” (Petrovsky, 2000, 2013¹; Petrovsky & Starovoytenko, 2012; Starovoytenko, 2023).

The criteria for the strict definition and demarcation of these fields of psychology have yet to be elaborated. They are not coherent *per se*, representing as they do

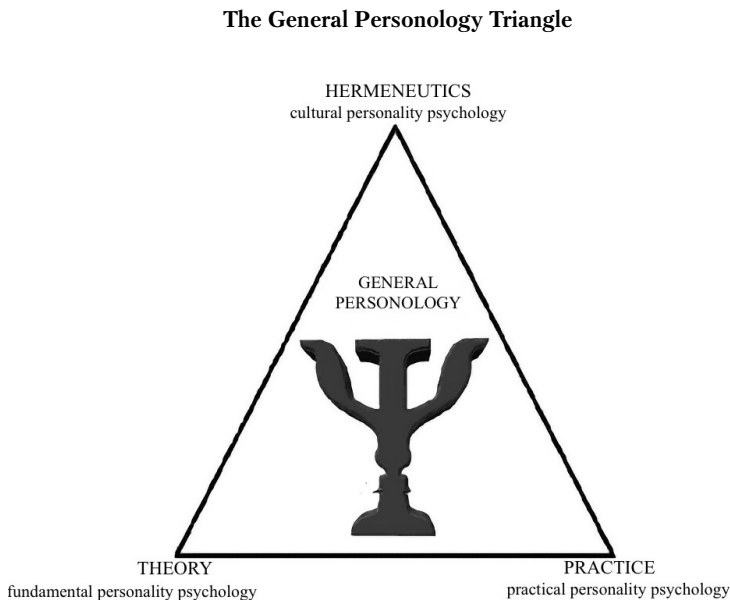
¹ The generally accepted databases for peer-reviewed scientific literature in Russia, SCOPUS and WoS, favour nomothetic developments. Let us allow ourselves a little dark humour, and say that qualitative research remains for now “beyond the pale of settlement”.

not unities, but multiplicities, although the differences between them are beyond doubt: the issues, approaches, reliability criteria, categorical apparatus, even the language, are all different. “Objectivity”, “truth”, “determinism”, “hypothesis”, “operationalisation”, “statistical methods”, “interpretation of results”, “explanatory approach”, these are all concepts of fundamental science. “”, “freedom”, “choice”, “attitude”, “meaning”, “uniqueness”, “understanding”, “acceptance”, “psychotechnical myth”, “personality growth from within”, this is how practical psychology positions itself. “Soul”, “spirit”, “mystery”, “authorship”, “cultural time”, “text”, “symbol”, “metaphor”, “hero (character)”, “comical”, and “ethical dimension” are all concepts related to cultural psychology of personality.

The terms intended for the differentiation of these three fields of psychology, along with the symbol of “general personology”, the **Personology Triangle** (Figure 1) were previously put forward by the author at the 5th Congress of the Russian Psychological Society in Moscow on 14–18 February 2012, in his address entitled “Post-non-classical Personality Psychology”.

The idea to include culture as an attribute of personology belongs to Elena Starovoytenko². This facet of general personology appeared initially in the author’s

Figure 1



² Previously, the Culture termed “person studies” figured in our posited model of general personology (Petrovsky, 2003a) as both the prerequisite and the result (the source and the outflow) of the development of general personology. But subsequently, over the course of my collaboration with Elena Starovoytenko, who had independently elaborated the concept of personology, I became convinced, following my colleague, of the necessity of incorporating cultural psychology into the very fabric of this future “science of personality”.

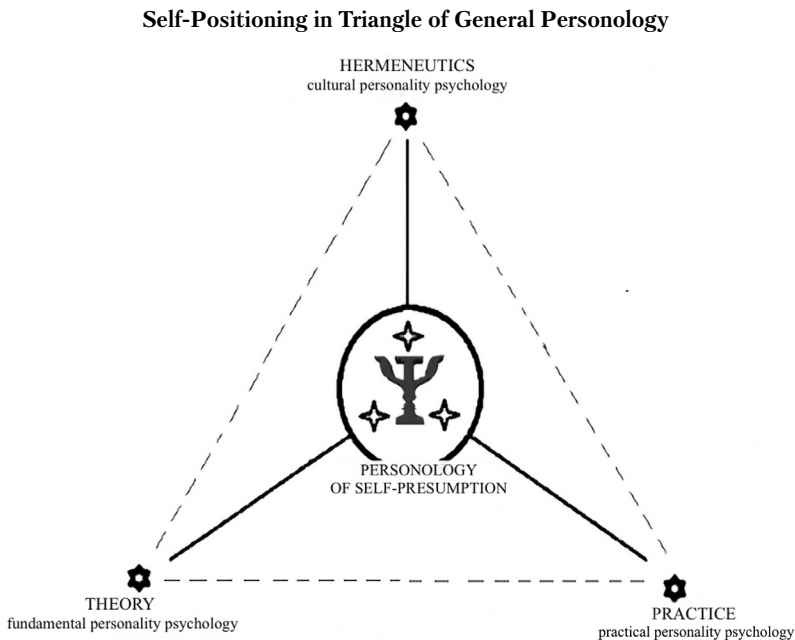
paper entitled “Hermeneutics. The Cultural Psychology of Personality” (subsequently renamed by the author as “The Cultural Phenomenology of Personality”). This is the uppermost point of the triangle, resting as it were atop the symbol (the discipline of psychology, the psyche), which itself in a slightly modified form makes up the central figure, located between two background profiles turned towards one another, as if they were researchers and practitioners communicating face to face.

According to the vision of those behind its creation, general personology is centred around four questions of the psychology of personality: “What is personality?”; “How does something *become* personality (how does personality take place)?”; “What can be done, if...?”; and “In the name of what should changes be made?”. Hence, general personology is not merely the science *about* the personality, but also *of the personality itself*: it is the science of the methods of self-awareness, of the tools of self-realisation, the science of the way-markers for development and for adaptation to society (Petrovsky, 2003a).

There is also a fourth point within the general personology triangle. According to the author’s design, it is as depicted in Figure 2.

This new “point” symbolises the processes of *self-presumption* on the part of the psychologist over the course of their theoretical and practical work: the incorporation of their own personal experience, their own meanings, and their own intuitive guesswork (as for example, in this article). It should be noted that the geometric figure, which we propose here, represents a visualisation of general personology as a *methodology for synthesising* fundamental, cultural-phenomenological, and practical psychology. At this juncture (if we base our work on facts, without getting

Figure 2



ahead of the course of events), we are talking here about a *navigational chart* (a methodological framework) for the work that still lies ahead. Should general personology, as a methodology for synthesising the “three psychologies”, succeed in becoming a holistic psychology of personality, then this triangle, with its “internal point”, begins to fill out, transforming itself into a *personology pyramid* (Starovoytenko, 2023), – but so far this remains only a work in progress.

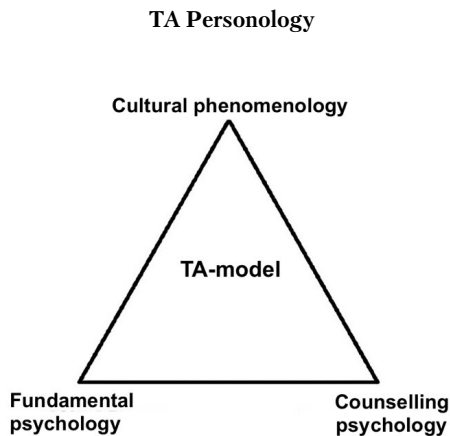
In the current research, we will limit ourselves to the “triangle”, and place the *TA-model of personality* at its centre (Figure 3).

The *objective* (the central idea) of this project is to reveal the prospects for *transactional analysis (TA)*³ as a general personological discipline: to outline ways towards building TA-personology based on the transactional model of personality, combining theoretical-experimental, cultural-phenomenological, and counselling-therapeutic developments.

1. The TA-Model of Personality

1.1. Long gone are the days when Russian psychologists would make their judgments of transactional analysis based on poor-quality translations of Berne – sim-

Figure 3



³ We have adopted the Russian translation of “transactional” which is rightly insisted upon by M.P. Papush (n. d.) – one of the best translators of Berne’s works, a Candidate of Art History, and Professor at the Institute of Practical Psychology). Although it is something I find difficult to get used to myself, Papush is correct when he says that we are dealing not with “trans-actions”, but with transactions – <https://www.transactional-analysis.ru/thinking/46-aboutberne>. I would add to the question as posed: “Which is correct: ‘transaction’, or ‘tranzaction’?”. Answer: “The spelling selected depends upon which discipline the term relates to: if it is informatics or psychology, then tranzaction is correct, if it is politics, jurisprudence or finance, then transaction.” – <https://russkiymir.ru/education2/services/ask/83904/> I propose a slightly tongue-in-cheek compromise: we will spell it “transaction”, and pronounce it “tranzaction”.

plified and popularised versions that reduced transactional analysis to a combination of three simple words, Parent, Adult, and Child. Books published in Russia today that are aimed at professionals (Shustov, 2020; Makarov & Makarova, 2022) open up the theory of Berne and his followers, along with its most promising uses in client work. Master’s degree programmes and professional re-training programmes, workshops and practical seminars (L.Y. Shyokholm, M.P. Papush & etc.), supervision and supervisor-training programmes (T.I. Sizikova, V.E. Gusakovskiy, D.I. Shustov, N.L. Zuykova, E.S. Soboleva & etc.) reveal the full depth of the TA method; important educational work on the translation of the book by I. Stewart and V. Joins “Modern Transactional Analysis” (translation by D. Kasyanov); papers published in the journal “Transactional Analysis in Russia”, as well as popular books (Dalit, Malkina-Pykh & etc.) encourage a non-specialist readership to study this method. A number of Russian psychologists have attained the highest degrees of recognition within the TA system⁴.

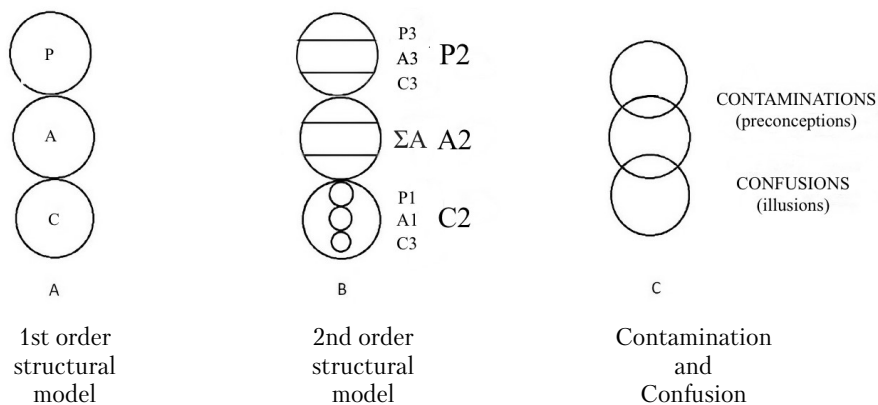
Notwithstanding this growing interest in transactional analysis in Russia, the fact remains that the three areas of the psychology of personality – transactional analysis, fundamental science, and cultural phenomenology – coexist while at the same time never intersecting or entering into a coalition with one another. In this article, we outline ways for their possible synthesis within the scope of general personology.

1.2. The abstract TA-model of personality. First eidos, then words. As proposed by the author, the primary idea of personality in transactional analysis is not a series of words that in turn entail a whole host of associations, but rather a *diagram* depicting three circles (Figure 4). These figures have their own *names*: the “Parent ego-state”, the “Adult ego-state”, and the “Child (Baby) ego-state”.

The circles and their definitions are then *further specified* and “interpreted”. At the same time, the terms “ego”, “subject”, “reflection”, “imprinting”, “parental figures”,

Figure 4

Three TA Models



⁴ The difficulty of attaining the highest levels of certification is compared, not unreasonably, by some doctors of science to the difficulty of defending doctoral dissertations in psychology in Russia.

and “childhood years” are used: these terms are also further defined in the light of transactional analysis. We submit the following definitions:

- “an ego-state may be described phenomenologically as a coherent system of feelings related to a given subject, and operationally as a set of coherent behavior patterns; or pragmatically, as a system of feelings which motivates a related set of behavior patterns” (Berne, 2024). This definition is the basic version for subsequent modifications by various authors. We might also offer our own at this point: an *ego-state* is the position of a subject in their mutual relationship with parental figures, either as established during childhood or as formed in the “here and now”. With childhood experience in mind, we distinguish a subordinate position (Adaptive Child “plus”), a protest position (Adaptive Child “minus”), and an independent position (“Natural Child”). The “Self-standing” of the “Adult”, as appropriate to the situation, is also considered here in the context of parent-child relations (separate from any parental introjections or relics of the child’s ego)⁵.

- the Parent ego-state is the reflected ego of parental figures;
- the Adult ego-state is the ego of a subject as appropriate to a situation;
- the Child ego-state is the imprinted ego of a subject in their childhood years.

2. The TA-Model of Personality in the Context of Culture (Cultural-Phenomenological Disclosure)

It is worthy of note that the cultural phenomenology of personality is *de facto* presented in the works of Berne and his followers, although it is not so clearly visible as it is in the analytical psychology of Carl Jung.

At first glance, this is merely an “adaptation” of Berne’s psychotherapeutic constructions to the cognitive abilities of clients and readers. The language of transactional analysis is deliberately straightforward, being as it is part of the natural language (“Parent”, “Adult”, “Child”, “stroking”, “hunger for stimulus”, “coupons”, “rackets”, “scenario”); the fairy-tale characters in the scenarios (“Little Red Riding Hood”, etc.) are familiar to the reader from childhood, the names for the “games” are clear and understandable, and the slightly crude slang draws one in (“Now I’ve Got You, You Son of a Bitch”, etc.).

Nevertheless, this “new language” of Berne’s psychotherapy is not merely an adaptive linguistic gimmick to compensate for the “obtuseness” of psychological and psychoanalytical terminology, nor is it simply a way of assisting consultant and client to establish mutual contact. It (the language) enables the client to converse with themselves, to turn inwards and assess their own therapeutic progress once they have left the psychologist’s office. To adopt the terminology of fundamental psychology, espousing the ideas of Lev Vygotsky, this is the creation of *psychological tools* for self-regulation, the “emblematic mediation” of one’s own behaviour

⁵ The reader may spot here an analogy with Dmitry Uznadze’s concepts of fixed and primary attitude (Uznadze, 1966). However, unlike attitude, the term “position” in the definition of ego-states has an additional meaning, combining the unconscious and conscious levels of self-regulation.

(Vygotsky, 1982). The therapists and teachers of transactional analysis have indisputably borne witness to the reconstruction of the consciousness of clients and students alike under the influence of this new language (which at the same time requires little or no translation into everyday language), a language that enables them to enhance their self-reflection, to increase their sensitivity to their own needs, and to enrich their internal dialogue with “partners” in the circle of self-awareness.

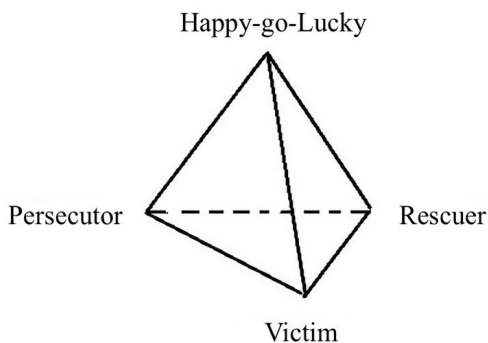
The cultural-phenomenological origin of the modern interpretation of Berne’s “games” is quite obvious: as we know full well, it is the result of Stephen Karpman’s specific reading of theatrical plots, which made it possible to isolate three basic positions for the characters: Victims, Persecutors, and Rescuers. The cultural-phenomenological raid carried out by Karpman made it possible to reduce significantly the number of “games” that have built up over the years by switching between the positions “Victim Persecutor”, “Rescuer Victim” etc. as a means of separating “games” from other ways of structuring time, such as “pastimes” (“psychiatry”, the “greenhouse of feelings”) and the emotional racket (the “shortcoming”) (Karpman, 2019). We broaden the range of such game roles by attaching to them the figure of the “Happy-go-Lucky” figure, who pays no heed to the *difficulties and risks* of the world (the “Gingerbread Man”, singing whilst perched on the fox’s nose), and the Karpman Drama Triangle is thus resolved to a *tragicomic pyramid* (Petrovsky, 2003b) (Figure 5).

This opens up a special class of transactions and, in particular, *intrigues* (Petrovsky, 2000, p. 11); in day-to-day communications, *intrigues* are, for example, practical jokes, including April Fools’ jokes, in which the Persecutor transforms themselves into the Rescuer, and the Victim becomes the Happy-Go-Lucky figure. Some examples of the changeovers that lend a new calculus to such games are provided in I. Stewart & V. Joines (Stewart & Joines, 2021, pp. 319–321).

It is not only the words in Berne’s lexicon of TA (P, A, C), the names of “games” and scenarios, which have psychotherapeutic potential (this is quite obvious, and has been duly noted as shown by the experience of conducting individual consultations and group sessions); it is also the *stylistic element* of Berne’s texts, and their

Figure 5

The Tragicomic Pyramid (V.A. Petrovsky, 2003b)



particular *intonational structure* – this is less obvious, and could become the subject of a separate analysis.

3. The TA-Model of Personality in the Context of Scholarship (Theoretical-Empirical Disclosure)

3.1. First-order transactional analysis. Interpreting the components of the TA-model. We are dealing here with the structural and functional understanding of ego-states, and it is worth highlighting that idea occasionally occurs in the proposals of theorists to separate the functional aspects of ego-states from their structural (intrapsychic, phenomenological) aspects. By placing this emphasis on the unity of the structural and the functional, we proceed from Berne's own insight: "An ego-state may be described phenomenologically as a coherent system of feelings related to a given subject, and operationally as a set of coherent behavior patterns; or pragmatically, as a system of feelings which motivates a related set of behavior patterns."

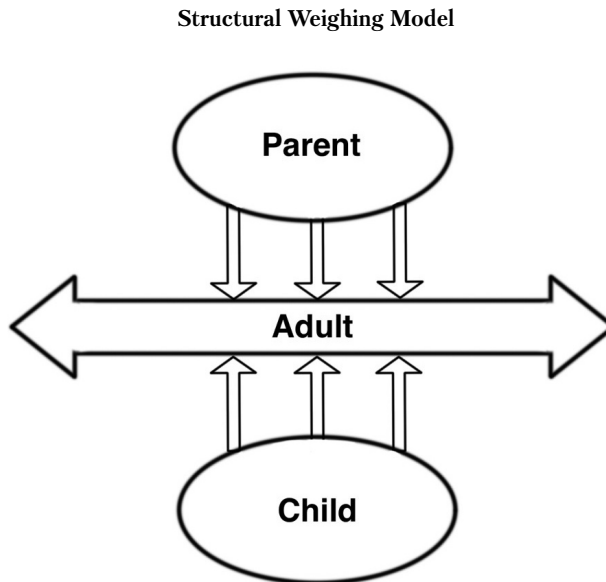
The third part of this definition, which is sometimes omitted, deprives the ego-state of its motivating function, and thus "behavior patterns" lose their meaning, thereby contradicting Berne's central idea of the scenario-led determination of behaviour. By eliminating the teleological dimension (need, motive, goal, task), we invalidate the possibility of a "subjective" interpretation of ego-states, which, as we have already noted, makes it impossible for us to elaborate the picture of internal communication between the Parent, Adult, and Child ego-states.

But can a concept be found in science that can combine the internal and external aspects of an individual's existence? The answer is "yes". This is the concept of *activity* developed in general psychology as a system of two-way transitions between the intrapsychic (subjective) and the extra-psychic (behavioural) manifestations of an individual's activity that realise their life relationships. From this standpoint, ego-states are the *states of activity* of an individual which cannot be reduced to their constituent parts (which cannot be broken down into phenomenological realities and behavioural patterns), which in turn creates fertile conditions for the correlation of ego-states as intrinsic entities with complex constructs of fundamental psychology. By adopting this approach, categories of TA are granted the opportunity to become part of the fundamental psychology of personality (receiving, as it were, a "residence permit" for it).

Some authors (Ohlsson, 1998) cast doubt on the possibility of interpreting and describing the Adult ego-state in the same way as the Parent and Child ego-states, citing Berne himself, who considered the Adult to be "the least clear of the three types of ego-states", and who limited himself to characterising it in clinical practice by means of exclusion, "as a residual state once all the elements of Parent and Child have been excluded" (Berne, 2024, p. 103). Ohlsson proposes calling his ego-structure model "weighing", noting that here the Adult finds themselves in a dual "field of tension" generated by the Parent and the Child (Figure 6).

The attainment of a balance between the influence of these two poles may be illustrated using a proverb from Soviet times (of which it is unlikely that the author

Figure 6



of the “weighing” model was aware): “If ‘you musn’t’ (Parent), but ‘you really want to’ (Child), then ‘you can’ (Adult)”. It makes sense to underscore the fact that, according to Berne, the Adult ego-state was the “least clear” in clinical practice, since fundamental research focused on transactional analysis was after all lacking in his time.

3.2. Cathexis. “Free cathexis”. Physis. The *cathexis* (*psychic energy*) construct owes its emergence to Sigmund Freud. The idea of cathexis is barely employed in the positivist-oriented theory and practice of modern transactional analysis. Berne, always concise in his constructions, with Occam’s razor glinting in his hands, would not have burdened his writings with complex terms and concepts if they did not represent any value for himself or his colleagues.

Berne distinguished between three forms of psychic energy: bound, unbound, and free. In Berne’s understanding, bound energy was equivalent to potential energy, unbound energy to kinetic energy, while free energy had no equivalent in the realism of physics (except for the “muscular energy” of a monkey *jumping down from a branch*, a particular type of energy relevant to Berne’s metaphor (Berne, 2024, p. 54). This instance of “jumping” refers to the *arbitrary use of energy* (the monkey, in Berne’s vivid illustration, does not merely sit on a branch, possessing “potential energy”, nor does it just fall down (“kinetic energy”), but actually *jumps* down. It is hard to ignore the fact that Berne’s “free energy” does not fit into the physical picture of the world, just as “free will” does not fit into the deterministic picture of the world (in the constructions of some philosophers).

We consider that the notion of “switching” between ego-states as a manifestation of free energy could be used as a “stimulus-means” (L.S. Vygotsky) for the liberation of clients within the therapeutic process (as it is noted by philosophers, the idea of freedom makes people freer).

Physis is a particular “energetic-based” concept proposed by Freud, adopted by Berne, and elaborated by transactional analysts. The Greek word “Physis” describes the source of the inner need to grow. It refers to the physical life-energy that is invested in health, creativity, and expanding our individual horizons (Erskine et al., 2018). Transactional analysts speak of *physis* as the innate ability to challenge “the forces of consent”.

It can be imagined that other “innate tendencies” may be involved in the interpretation of *physis*, for example *self-actualisation*. Without denying the interpretation of *physis* as “growth from within”, we can determine a phenomenologically similar trend as the manifestation of excessive possibilities arising in activity, and introduce the operationalised construct of “active maladaptivity”, i.e. a preference for goals with an unforeseen outcome. The setting of such goals is “suprasituational”, in that it is carried out above and beyond the threshold of external or internal necessity. Examples of active maladaptivity include selfless “risk for risk’s sake” and the choice of “open” tasks that do not guarantee the possibility of resolution (Petrovsky, 1971, 2021), “flutter” (Shmelev, 2015), and the deliberate compounding of the difficulties of tasks to be solved (Poddiakov, 2008).

3.3. As it turned out, Berne’s troubling premonitions that the notion of the phenomenological reality of ego-states would come in for revision were not unfounded. For example, Ian Stewart and Vann Joines, authors of the largely irreproachable textbook “Modern Transactional Analysis”, challenge the possible notion that Parent, Adult, and Child exist in reality at all, and are not simply *names* to define a “permanent pattern of feelings and experiences associated directly with a corresponding permanent pattern of behaviour...” “...It may be said that Parent, Adult, and Child are not things, but names.” But for Berne, these are not just words (or terms, or names). He emphasised that “The division into three must be *literal*, as if there were *three different personalities* in each patient...” “The therapist’s intervention will be ideal when it hits the target, that is when it makes sense and is acceptable to all three aspects of the patient’s personality, because *they all hear* what is being said...” “The situation is exactly the same as if there were two other people in the room with the therapist: an adult, who is observing, and a pathological child; although in truth they are physically inseparable. The challenge is to separate them in a psychological sense, so that the Child can speak *for themselves*...” “...The therapist should ask themselves the question: why does the patient allow themselves to be exposed? Could it be that their Parent is betraying the Child? Or is the Adult persuading the Child to give away their secrets? Or is it the Child carrying on their game in order to ‘save face’, even though they are making it easier for the therapist, hoping that they will be saved, in the same way that a child will make squeaking sounds from their hiding place during a game of hide-and-seek to help them to be found?” (p. 41).

Stewart’s and Joines’ absolute authority puts in an unenviable position any personologist overseeing an attempt by psychologists to abolish the *subjectness* of ego-states in the systemic structure of personality. It is not easy to imagine that one “pattern” of activity is “offended” or “angered” by another; this could only be experienced by the *subjects* (“subpersonalities”) that “live” within us (here the author is

proceeding from the notion of the “otherness in others” as a category of multisubjective theory (Petrovsky, 2000).

The mutual expansion of cultural phenomenology and consulting-therapeutic practice into each other’s orbits leaves the *Gestalt* of TA-personology open-ended. What is required is an empirical verification of the adequacy of solutions which emerge “at the confluence” between culture and the practical work of psychologists. The Hamlet performing on the stage and the Hamlet watching from the stalls are two different people, and the one cannot exist without the other. The differences between them comprise a question of singular importance.

3.4. The inter-relationship between categories of TA and operationalised psychological variables. The establishment of the desired relationship here entails the comparison of existing constructs in personality psychology with the clinical categories of transactional analysis. We are talking about constructs of fundamental psychology — “traits”, “temperamental properties”, “attitudes”, “gestalt”, “cognitive schemas”, “cognitive complexity”, “emotional intelligence”, “attribution of responsibility”, “self-esteem”, “locus of control”, “field dependence/independence”, “motivation”, “subjectness (agency)”, “personalisation”, etc. — as “expansive fundamental psychological constructs”. The TA categories — “ego-state”, “cathexis”, “OK positions”, “contamination and confusion”, “switching”, “transactions”, “stroking”, “games”, “parental messages”, “early decisions”, “drivers”, “emotional rackets”, “life scenarios”, “personality adaptations”, etc. — are “expansive clinical psychological constructs”. We cannot, of course, expect that direct one-to-one correspondences between the two sets of constructs will be established in all cases along this journey, but there remains nonetheless a way to match up the correlational pleiades of fundamental psychological constructs with that of the clinical psychological constructs.

Returning to the ego-states of Parent, Adult, and Child (Figure 4A), we will limit ourselves here to some illustrations. Will it prove possible to establish significant correlations between their clinical manifestations of ego-states and the psychological variables involved in the analysis?

We will concentrate our attention on well-known variables and their associated research techniques, with certain exceptions.

Below we provide a list of *hypothetical* correlations.

Parent ego-state. Correlations:

- *Dominance / Submission* (Interpersonal Checklist) by T. Leary
- *Affective rigidity* (MMPI Scale 6)
- *Dominance* (16PF test, Factor E) by R. Cattell

Controlling parent. Correlations:

- *Extrapunitivity* (*Rosenzweig test*) by S. Rosenzweig
- *Affective rigidity* (MMPI Scale 6)

Caring parent. Correlations:

- *Impunitivity* (*Rosenzweig test*) by S. Rosenzweig
- *Parenta*
- *l Loyalty to Unconventional Child Behaviour* by Petrovsky & Polevaya

Adult ego-state. Correlations:

- *Internal locus of control* (*Rotter test*) by J. Rotter

- *Field independence – field dependence* by H. Witkin & D. Goodenough
- *Emotional intelligence (Lucin test)* by D. Lucin
- *Intelligence (Cattell 16PF test, Factor B)*
- *Emotional stability (16PF test, Factor C+)* by R. Cattell
- *Cognitive complexity* by G. Kelly

Child ego-state. Correlations:

- *Impulsiveness (Barratt test)* by E. Barratt

Free child. Correlations:

- *Spontaneity (ITO)* by L. Sobchik
- *Carelessness (16PF test, Factor F+)* by R. Cattell

Negative adaptive child. Correlations:

- *Independence (16PF test, Factor E+)* by R. Cattell
- *Excitable psychopathic traits (MMPI Scale 4)*

Positive adaptive child. Correlations:

- *Compliance (16PF test, Factor E-)* by R. Cattell
- *Anxiety (MMPI Scale 7)*
- *External locus of control (Rotter test)* by J. Rotter
- *Intropunitivity (Rosenzweig test)* by S. Rosenzweig

It should be noted that the “parade” of expected correlations set out here may not take place in detail, but the genre of the article – “Methodological notes” – requires that the author not limit himself to general phrases. Empirical verification should be applied not only to these hypothetical relationships, but also to others, in an expanded capacity, and the same applies to the next part of the projected study.

3.5. Second order structural analysis. In this case, the personality model incorporates a differentiated description of the Adult, Parent, and Child ego-states, respectively denoted A2, P2, and C2.

The associated terms indicated in the figure (A1 and A3, P1 and P3, C1 and C3) are “decoded” in the TA texts, and are granted their proper verbal description. In some cases, this may be a common name (the Little Professor – A1, the Parent–Wizard – P1, the Baby – C1), while in others it is descriptive, via an enumeration of the conditions of origin, content, and orientation of communicative messages.

In the first instance there will be an *addressee* for the observations, that is to say, “someone” (“phenomenological reality”), while in the second, the source of the statements is impersonal (“It just has to be done!”, “All men are cheaters”, “Haha”). It may appear that this detail is excessive and of little import, but it indicates important differences in the “ideology” of transactional and analytical constructions, which becomes manifest in the course of psychotherapy. By subtracting the “names”, we are in actual fact depriving the sources of the messages of any agency (in the Russian-speaking tradition, we would say we are depriving them of their “subjectness”). It seems natural in a session to take a seat on a chair where a “Weirdo” can “sit” (this is how we describe one of the parts of the Parent), but it is difficult when “children’s emotional reactions, parietal figures copied by the eyes of a child”, turn out to be on an empty chair.

The second-order structural model proposed by Berne uses the metaphor of a Russian doll: nested figures going all the way back to the most distant ancestors. This idea, “rhyming” as it does with the psychogenealogy of Anne Ancelin Schützenberger (2019), and present in the constructions of Bert Hellenger, former transactional analyst and author of the constellations theory is, in fact, disavowed in contemporary analysis.

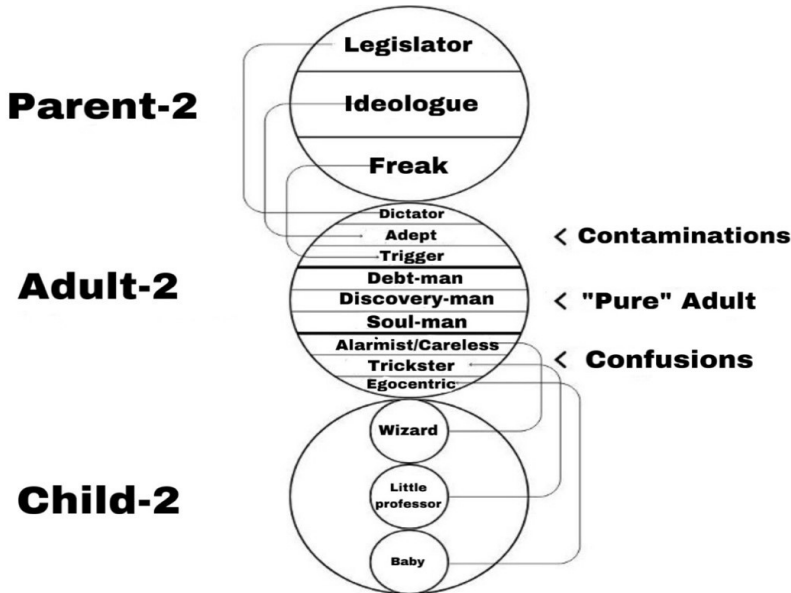
In the model of Ian Stewart and Vann Joines, the second-order Parent is interpreted using the analogy of a businessman sitting at their desk dealing with various documents. “At the end of the working day, he doesn’t throw all these papers in the trash, but files them away in folders” (p. 57). It is clear from the text that these “folders” are used by a transactional analyst, but what for? Answer: “To ‘organise’ the traces of a person’s memory about their thoughts, feelings and behavior in such a way that it is useful in analyzing personality using structural analysis” (Ibid.). There should therefore be no doubt that, in the second-order structural model, the messages of the parietal figures are arranged first and foremost in the interests of the transactional analyst, and not of the “businessman” themselves; these considerations are not at all similar to Berne’s model of nested “living” figures (in his original models of the second, third, etc. orders). The radical difference between these models is cause for special consideration.

Let us return our attention, however, to the example of the “businessman”, because after all he arranged the documents in his own interests, and not those of anyone else. The *subjectness* of the businessman is implied here, and it only remains for us to decide in what role he is acting when working with the documents (responding to offers, refusing support, planning events, etc.). It also remains to be decided how to name (designate) each of the role-positions present in the Parent-part of the second-order structural model. At the same time, linguistic orientation (the search for an intuitively acceptable name) points us once again towards a cultural-phenomenological “reading” of the transactional-analytical theory, if it is necessary to differentiate and name not only the elements of the Parent, but all the components of the TA-model of personality.

In simple cases, the second-order structural model takes the form depicted in Figure 4B, while in more complex cases we are dealing with contamination and confusion (Figure 4C). The question as to how contamination and confusion on the one hand correlate to ego-states in the second-order model on the other does not yet have a direct answer. We will limit ourselves to the hypothetical. It can be assumed that the contaminated parts of an Adult, as per Berne, represent the projection (the presence) of the “component parts” of the Child and Parent into the Adult. Let us redraw the traditional Berne model of contamination, which includes “Prejudices” and “Illusions” (in modern terms, “Confusions” and “Entanglement”). We introduce the symbols R’, A’ and P’, meaning the projection of the ego states of the Somatic Child (C1), the Little Professor (A1) and the Parent-Wizard (P1) into Adult 2, and also the similar symbols P”, A” and C” to indicate the presence of elements of the Parent ego-state as an adult. Question: how to comprehend (in natural language material) the new elements that have appeared? Cultural phenomenology suggests the names of those who act as the carriers of these functions: subjects (= actors, agents, authors) (Figure 7).

Figure 7

The Complete Ego-Structure of Personality



• *Egocentric (C)* – hidden presence in the Adult of the aspirations of the Somatic Child (his instinctive drives, programs, mechanisms of adaptation to the situation). Effect – *self-indulgence*

• *Trickster (A)* – the hidden presence of the Little Professor in the Adult (intuitive comprehension of the situation and crafty manipulations). Effect – *agility, slyness, maze*

• *Panicker* or a *"Slob" (P)* – the hidden presence in the Adult of the insistence of the Magic Parent (in particular, self-intimidation or unjustified complacency in the face of difficulties and dangers). The Effect – *suspiciousness/"not caring"* (*"sloppiness"*, etc.)

• *"Trigger" (= Teasing, Provocation) (C)* – the concealed presence in the Adult of the eccentricities of parietal figures, imprinted in the Parent. Effect – *retraction, capture*

• *Adept (A)* – the hidden presence in the Adult of the Parent as a source of dogmas and ideologies. Effect – *Beliefs*

• *Dictator (")* – the hidden presence in the Adult of the Parent as a source of directives. Effect – *pressure*.

We also suggest a possible Russian-language interpretation of terms describing the Adult per se (as a "Pure Adult") in the second-order model: *Ethos, Logos* and *Pathos*⁶.

⁶ When convincing listeners, according to Aristotle, all argumentation in rhetoric can be divided into three groups: "ethos" (appealing to the moral), "logos" (appealing to the intellectual), and

The innovations which lend cultural meaning to the multisubjective ego-structure of personality enable us to empirically verify the terms introduced (dogmas, beliefs, provocations, self-suggestion, self-deception, self-indulgence).

In this regard, we turn to the **Big Five** five-factor personality model (Osin et al., 2015), which describes the structure of a person's personality through five common, relatively independent traits (dispositions): E/Extraversion; A/Agreeableness; C/Conscientiousness; N/Neuroticism; O/Openness to Experience.

Now let us consider the Adult ego-state in the second-order TA model from the point of view of the possible relationship of its constituent components with the Big Five factors, starting with the "Pure Adult".

We place the "P_A" – Ethos – "Person-as-Duty" ego-state in correlation with factor **C** (Conscientiousness): integrity, consciousness, self-control. High indicators for this factor are "self-efficacy" (C1), "orderliness" (C2), "dutifulness" (C3), "achievement-striving" (C4), "self-discipline" (C5), and "cautiousness" (C6).

The "A_A" ego-state – Logos – "Comprehending Person" ("Person-as-Discovery") corresponds to factor **O** (Openness to Experience): originality, inquisitiveness. The positive facets of factor O are: "imagination" (O1), "artistic interests" (O2), "emotionality" (O3), "adventurousness" (O4), "intellect" (O5), and "liberalism" (O6).

We position the "C_A" ego-state – Pathos – "Person-as-Soul" in correlation with factor **A** (Agreeableness): fraternity and cooperation (positive side): "trust" (A1), "morality" (A2), "altruism" (A3); "cooperation" (A4), "modesty" (A5), and "sympathy" (A6), as well as factor **E** (positive side): "friendliness" (E1), "gregariousness" (E2), "assertiveness" (E3), "activity level" (E4), "excitement-seeking" (E5), and "cheerfulness" (E6).

And now let us look at contaminations and confusions in the context of the Big Five.

Contaminations. We make the following assumptions: 1) the Diktat emanating from the Parents causes such manifestations of neuroticism (factor **N**) as "anxiety" (N1) and "anger" (N2); 2) the presence of unfounded Beliefs is interrelated with "depression" (N3) and "self-consciousness" (N4); 3) the presence of a Trigger acts in combination with "immoderation" (N5) and "vulnerability" (N6).

Confusions. We associate such features of self-suggestion as "self-intimidation" or "unfounded disregard for the risks and difficulties of being in the world" with

"pathos" (appealing to the emotional/sensual) that is, when convincing an Adult who is free from contamination and confusion. We propose the following interpretation of these terms: "Ethos" is a set of life-rules which manifest themselves in self-control, self-discipline, conscious duty, someone who demands of himself I must ("Person-as-Duty"); "Logos" is the word, the mind, the intellect, openness to experience, sensitivity to that which is new, the quest for harmony in the world: someone who favours this is the "Comprehending Person" (the "Person-as-Discovery"); "Pathos" is inspiration, "humanity", someone who feels and manifests himself in this way is a "Person-as-Soul". Do these words dovetail in terms of their meanings with the description of the three sides of the Adult in Berne's model? That is for Berne to say.

low indicators for factor **E** (social awkwardness). We also associate low values for factor **A** (cooperation) with “crafty manipulations and the intuition of the Trickster”, which manifest themselves in selfishly ignoring the interests of other people in order to achieve benefit for oneself.

We can therefore see that the positive manifestations of four out of the Big Five factors (E, A, C, and O) are presumptively associated with the “pure” ego-structure of the Adult (i.e. one that is free from contaminations and confusions), while at the same time the negative sides of factors E and A, along with the neuroticism factor N in all its forms, are considered here as interconnected with contaminations and confusions. It goes without saying that these are hypothetical constructions requiring empirical substantiation, but each defines one of the vectors for the formation of transactional personology.

3.6. Developing new methods of personality research. The task of synthesising fundamental and consultation-based psychology in the field of transactional analysis entails updating the methodological research database.

It is well known that Berne was not a fan of using any kinds of tests when working with patients, believing it to be detrimental to the process, but this view is not irrefutable in the context of a meta-analysis of psychotherapeutic systems as norms of counselling psychology (the important thing is to take into account for what purposes and in what form research techniques are used, as well as how much the clients are interested in obtaining reliable information about themselves).

3.6.1. Non-standard use and modification of projective methods.

These include the TAT and CAT projective tests, along with the Rosenzweig Frustration Reaction Test. The procedure and processing of the subjects’ responses differs from the traditional methods, and this time the subjects under study are ego-states and intrapersonal transactions (“autistic transactions”).

Procedure: the personologist (who combines the roles of researcher and consultant into one person) covertly “directs” the narrative from a consultation session with a client to a projective test, suggesting that the client thereby solve the “psychological problem” faced by the character, create a psychological portrait of the participants in the situation, and so on (the traditional “legend” that a person’s fantasy is supposedly being explored is replaced here by another legend, consisting of “the accuracy of the assessment of what is happening is being investigated”, “psychological intuition” etc.). Of course, the nature and categories, along with the *interpretations* of the projective products, differ from the classical exercise. It is possible to reveal OK-positions, typical transactions, the profile of strokes, rackets, scenario solutions, the features of counter-scenarios and anti-scenarios, and so on.

One form of conducting such work is the “20 +1 question” methodology, which focuses on the *background* to the problem of the consultative request (the “historical diagnosis of ego-states”). In this method, the 20 questions addressed to the participant correspond to *Berne’s scenario apparatus model*, while the twenty-first question reveals the particular features of the imagined reactions of the *characters* in the pictures to the narrator themselves (projection and projective identification). This technique brings us close to working on chairs (the character and the client consistently switch places), creating suitable conditions for *redecision*.

An alternative research path is to present *children's* forms of projective tests (CAT, the frustration test, etc.) to *adult* clients, thereby engaging the Child ego-state to a greater extent than when using classical TAT pictures and the Rosenzweig Frustration Reaction Test for adults.

Yet another technique that can be used here is to record picture-based narrations on video, with the recordings then being viewed together with the clients. The switching between ego-states, the congruence of verbal and non-verbal manifestations (in particular the mismatch between the executing and the experiencing Self), behaviour drivers, etc. are all recorded. Commentary can also be recorded on a second audio track, making it possible to analyse the degree of Adult awareness of the ego-states on show (a combination of intrapsychic and behavioural manifestations of the ego-structure of personality).

3.6.2. Reinterpretation of fundamental personality questionnaires (Cattell's 16PF test, MMPI etc.) Any of the statements in the questionnaire can be considered as comprising a transaction between personality ego-states, grouped into My Self and My You. The first of the two Selves is the "Actor", the second is the "Partner" (the one whom I address in an "empty room"). Each Self is represented by a set of ego-states: Parent, Adult, and Child. Transactional analysts independently interpret statements as one or more transactions out of nine options for (mis-)alignment within the Parent, Adult, Child system: "on the side" of "My Self" and, correspondingly, "on the side" of the "Parent", "Adult" and "Child" of "My Thou". For example, the Parent_{SELF} <> Parent_{YOU} unity, or the Parent_{SELF} >< Parent_{YOU} confrontation, the Adult_{SELF} <> Child_{YOU} unity, or the Adult_{SELF} >< Child_{YOU} confrontation, and so on. Complex combinations will be thrown into sharp relief, for example: "I reject any compromises with people who are unable to follow the rules": "My Parent is against the Child, who is against the Parent": $P_{SELF} >< (C_{SELF} >< P_{YOU}) = (P_{SELF} >< C_{SELF}) \& (P_{SELF} <> P_{YOU})$. This means: "I am confronting My inner child and supporting the inner parent of the Other in me." The "algebra" of internal transactions is more complicated, and the various forms which it takes are set out in a number of works, in particular (Petrovsky, 2000, 2013). In these studies it was possible to show, in particular, that Child-Parent confrontations and Child-Adult "alliances" are linked both to the ability to follow a diet and to a tendency towards risk-taking.

3.7. Reflexive practices (Starovoytenko, 2024). These enable us to deal with ego-states as a *phenomenological reality*. They include the practice of the reflexive disclosure of one's life's problems; the practice of reflexive dialogue of the Self with the Other as "You"; the practice of the dialogue-based achievement of the identity of the Self; the practice of reflection on key impressions of life; the practice of the reflexive discovery of the unknown Self. The TA-model focuses such reflexive practices on internal ("autistic") transactions within the My Self – My You system, and on various forms of representation of the other Self in me and my Self in the Other.

3.8. The reflected subjectness method (Petrovsky, 2021). The unique feature of this method is that it enables us to explore personality from the perspective of the influence that an individual exerts on other people, both in the process of interacting with them, and afterwards, beyond direct communication. It is implied that a "personality" is not only an individual subject (body, feeling, thoughts, intentions,

actions, attitudes, appeal to other individuals), but also a *reflected* subject “living” in others, exerting direct or indirect influence over them, either in the moment or delayed, entirely consciously or acting gradually, unconsciously: “his (another person’s) attitude to the world, explaining to me my attitude to the world” (Tolstoy, 1984, p. 412). “It seems to me that it is strictly speaking impossible to describe a person,” Leo Tolstoy wrote in his diary. “But I can describe how they affected me”⁷.

The essence of the method is to actualise the image of a person who holds significance for the subjects of the investigation, and to track the changes in their behaviour and consciousness. This is a *non-contact method* of investigating an individual’s personality, whereby the usual set of testing tools is addressed to other people, and not to the individual themselves (we call such individuals *study subjects*, while the one whose *personality* the researcher is really interested in is the *Investigatee*). The means of actualisation are many and varied: actual contact with the *Investigatee* in the “here and now”, their photograph, their voice, a video recording, and, possibly, the “subliminal” representation of stimuli capable of recalling them. As a result, the effects of the dynamics in the manifestations and products of the subjects’ activity can be traced, which forms a special “dimension” of their personality (indeed, this is a *dimension*). The participants in the experiment may not know, and usually do not guess, *what* is being investigated and *who* is the object of study: the “cards are revealed” only later⁸. The cardinal difference between the reflected subjectness method and the questionnaire and other traditional methods is obvious.

Below we have set out several phenomena discovered over the course of the implementation of the reflected subjectness method.

- the dynamics of the frustration response when actualising the image of a significant other person (Petrovsky & Gurenkova, 1985);
- the improved originality of subjects’ responses in a verbal associative experiment (using a frequency dictionary) in the presence of people who are considered creative by experts (Yanotovskaya, 1987);
- the dependence of the interpretation of the relationship between the characters of projective images under the influence of the voice of a significant person (with gaps or indistinctness in the content of their speech): the experienced “presence” of some parietal figures, represented by a voice, prompted the subjects to interpret the relationship between the characters in the picture as more benevolent, while the “presence” of others stimulated negativity of interpretations (Vorobyov, 1986);
- the stimulation and suppression of the tendency to cross the “line”, “to be on the edge”, under the influence of parental introjects: the conditional image in the picture of human eyes “looking” into the face of the study subjects provoked the

⁷ The quotation continues: “To say of a person: he is an original person, he is kind, clever, stupid, consistent, etc. ... these are words that do not give any idea about a person, but still claim to describe a person, while often they only confound.” Entry recorded 4 July 1851 (Tolstoy, 1984, p. 46).

⁸ Any Ethics Committee members can feel completely at ease in this matter, without showing any increased interest.

desire in some cases to violate the prohibition, and in others, to suppress such tendencies (research undertaken by the author together with A. S. Ognev, and conducted with the aid of an eye tracker) (Ognev et al., 2021);

- the effect of enhancing creativity, enterprise, and independence, while actualising the introject of a successful “Other Self” which differs from the “Actual Self” (Evchenko, 2016).

The thousands of instances of the use of this method in individual and group therapy demonstrate the vivid dynamics of the ego-structure of the clients’ personality when actualising the image of others who are important to them (the effect of the dynamics of the ego-structure of the *consultant*’s personality under the influence of the personality of the client is also interesting, and is also being investigated).

The “reflection” of the Other in the consciousness and behaviour of the subjects can be discerned in a broad range of phenomena (in addition to the aforementioned dynamics of self-esteem, tendencies towards risk-taking, increased perceptual illusions, etc.). Many of the studies mentioned herein were carried out under the guidance or with the participation of the author long before his “acquaintance” with transactional analysis, perhaps not all of them will be in demand in terms of consulting and therapeutic work, but the potential for using the proposed method in the future to create a TA-based personology is obvious.

3.9. Specific research tasks:

a) the hermeneutics of cultural texts as an aid in the work of a consultant (particularly when working with the second-order structural model);

b) the expansion of reflection through the use of new analytical techniques (including, for example, the reflected subjectness method, which enables the disclosure of interpersonal influences that as a rule remain beyond the awareness of the partners involved);

c) the harmonisation of concepts about significant others while taking into account the “multi-subject” structure of their personality (exploding the myth of the total meaningfulness of manifestations of activity)⁹;

d) the establishment and use of the differences between *psychotechnical myths* and *scientific ideas* as tools in counselling and psychotherapy¹⁰;

e) analysis of the speech of the transactional analyst in the process of TA therapy, supervision and teaching (in TA categories).

⁹ An obsessive search for meaning will lose that meaning. For example: “How could he?! He gave his word!” It is important to understand *who* gave their word and *who* broke that word.

¹⁰ “The growth of personality from within” is a psychotechnical myth (although colleagues who subscribe to Carl Rogers are unlikely to agree with this thesis), while childhood trauma as a source of difficulties for adults in adapting to society is a hypothesis with the status of a scientific idea. The boundary between “evidence of consciousness” functioning in culture and scientific ideas is formally present in the public consciousness, but in fact the line itself is blurred: for example, the “Oedipus Complex” as either a ubiquitous occurrence or a “rare phenomenon” in development is a moot point for many analysts (Jacques Lacan, for instance).

3.10. The adaptation, modification, and elaboration of new tests. This is undoubtedly a necessity in the establishment (the “nurturing”) of TA-personology.

One of the few (for now) examples is the licenced professional version of the Joines Personality Adaptations Questionnaire (JPAQ) test in Russia. The Russian-language version developed by Vadim Petrovsky and Julia Poltavskaya features high alpha-Kronbach indices and satisfactory indicators for convergent validity, estimated on the basis of MMPI and GRT (this work is currently being carried out by Evgeny Osin, Vadim Petrovsky, and Julia Poltavskaya together with Ludmila Sobchik). The interrelation between personality adaptations and the Big Five factors is also in the process of being established (in research by Julia Poltavskaya).

We propose that a valid tool for measuring personality adaptations will make it possible for progress to be made in solving some of the problems under active discussion in transactional analysis. The possibility of statistically modelling the relationship between the manifestations of personality adaptations and other personality variables is becoming a reality. The author has in mind the construction of a (linear) regression model: $Y = a + b_1 * X_1 + b_2 * X_2 + b_3 * X_3 + b_4 * X_4 + b_5 * X_5 + b_6 * X_6$, where Y is the dependent variable (the personality trait being assessed), a is the constant, the b-integers are the regression coefficients, and the X-integers the predictors (the manifestation level of one of the six personality adaptations). In this way, it will be possible to assess the relationship between various personality traits and disorders on the one hand, and a combination of personality adaptations on the other. Is narcissism a specific personality adaptation, or is it a combination of two other adaptations – paranoid and antisocial? The method proposed will address this question (Keith & Widdowson, 2008; Joines, 2011).

4. The TA-Model of Personality in the Context of Therapeutic Practice (Counselling-Therapeutic Disclosure)

As a true theoretician, Eric Berne was preoccupied with the question as to where his theory took its place among other therapeutic systems (psychoanalysis, Gestalt therapy, the human-centred approach, etc.). We quote in full the words from a concise and profoundly meaningful article by Marina Gulina (Gulina, 2001): “Transactional analysts themselves identify with the humanistic trend according to their own principled positions (the value level), but they do not deny the analytical roots of this theory (the conceptual level), while at the procedural level they are utterly ‘method tolerant’, such that you can find examples of the use of almost any methods as part of TA theory. The most well-known is the combination of TA theory with Gestalt therapy, but there are also examples of using the tools of TA in Ericksonian hypnosis, behavioral training, etc.”

It would seem that there is little to add to this assessment: “What can I say beyond what has been said above, if transactional analysis has been primarily a therapeutic system since the late 1960s (counselling work grows out of therapy)?” Nonetheless, the “personological triangle” implies additional elements.

It may prove possible within the scope of *scientific research* to “spy out” the common elements of the work of representatives from various fields and schools of

psychotherapy, and to evaluate them in order to present the results of this meta-analysis to the counsellors themselves, as a psychological tool for the development of their behaviour and consciousness. The effectiveness of using such “findings” depends on the measure of non-triviality of the facts established by psychologists. Techniques for assessing this non-triviality are currently being developed, and are bringing tangible results (Mitina & Petrovsky, 2001; Petrovsky, 2013; Petrovsky & Andreeva, 2018). As such, the use of the personological triangle as a “psychological tool” (Vygotsky, 1982) for possible psychotherapeutic interventions is a long-term objective for TA-personology. Generally speaking, we see it in Figure 8.

Such are the general features of the transactional personology model proposed. Specifying the model’s discrete components is a matter for the future.

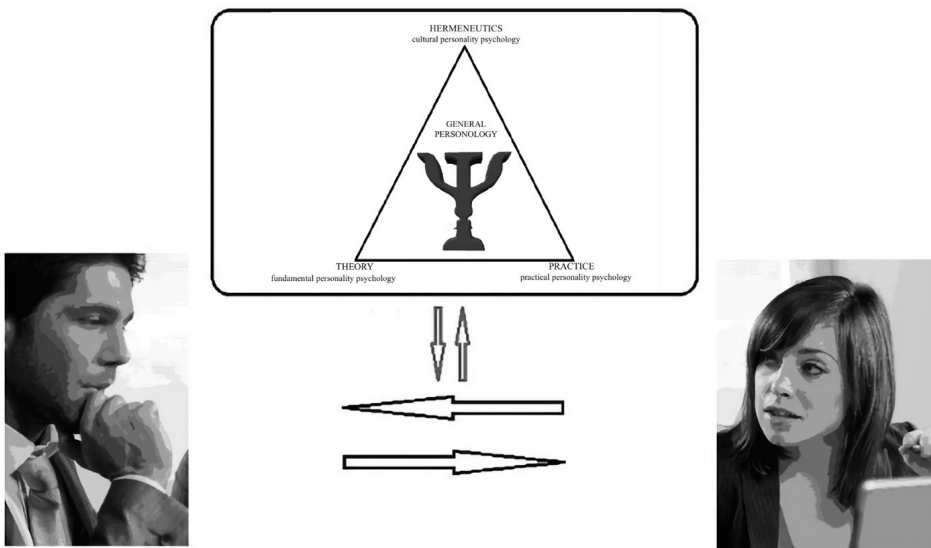
Limitations

Focusing as it does on empirical research, this article is nonetheless not a generalisation of it. The author does not consider this fact to be a “limitation”: this is the genre of methodological development which he has adopted, and which makes up the *project* for upcoming research.

The real limitation is that the subject of the TA-model of personality takes its place in the context of only one school, that of Bernesian transactional analysis. The author’s focus up to this point has been on the TA model of a personological approach to understanding personality as such. Background issues, which are no less significant (such as the problematics of “games,” “rackets,” “parental messages,”

Figure 8

The Personology Triangle – a “Psychological Tool”



“early decisions,” “drivers,” and the phenomena of “transference and countertransference,” etc.), have remained outside the scope of discussion. Meanwhile, the development of the project necessitates the essential alternation of “figure” and “ground” within this context.

Beyond today’s personological comprehension are the Mary and Robert Goulding’s Redecision School, John Bowlby’s Attachments School, Richard Erskine’s Integrative Transactional Analysis, Martin Wells’ and Rebecca Trautman’s Spiritual Transactional Analysis, and the psychoanalytic school of Carlo Moiso and Michele Novellino, among others.

Conclusion

The methodological observations summarised in this article are aimed at creating a research framework in the field of general personology, focused on the transactional analysis (TA) model of personality. An examination was conducted of the cultural-phenomenological, theoretical-empirical, and counselling-therapeutic aspects of the TA-model’s development, which make up the vertices of the “personology triangle”:

1. The language of everyday communication, as opposed to academic obtuseness in describing the main categories of TA – linguistic solutions characterising the structure of personality in the first- and second-order models, including a special interpretation of contamination and confusion – is the cultural origin behind the selection of “games” and “scenarios” (“Little Red Riding Hood”, “Little Pink Riding Hood”, “Schlemiel”, “Now I’ve Got You, You Son of a Bitch”, etc.; the “dramatic triangle” and “tragicomic pyramid” in the description of the “games”); the distinction between real and fairy-tale life; the mythological names of the processes of scenarios in time (“Hercules”, “Tantalus”, “Sisyphus”, “the Sword of Damocles”); implicit-value (non-neutral) terminology in describing the position of a person in society; “cultural meanings” as opposed to “psychiatric stigmatisation” (for example, the names of personality adaptations: “Creative dreamer” instead of “Schizoid”, “Playful rebel” instead of “Passive-aggressive”, etc.); and finally, the style of Berne’s texts as a possible source of the dynamisation of the reader’s personality.

2. The construction of *complete structural and functional first- and second-order personality models* (including contamination and confusion) in combination with empirical studies of the relationship of their elements with fundamental psychological variables (“dominance – submission”, “affective rigidity”, “type and orientation of frustration response”, “impulsiveness”, “field dependence – field independence”, “locus of control”, “cognitive complexity”, “parental loyalty to unconventional child behaviour”, “emotional intelligence”, “spontaneity”, “recklessness”, “independence”, “psychopathic traits”, “malleability”, etc.). Free from contamination and embarrassment, the “Pure Adult” (“Person-as-Duty”, “Comprehending Person”, “Person-as-Soul”) is examined in the context of possible interrelations with elements of the “Big Five”. The manifestations of the “energy-based” concept of “physis” are interpreted in connection with the author’s concept of “excessive possibilities arising in activity” and operationalised in terms of self-actualisation and “suprasituational” (maladaptive) activity.

3. The modification of existing methods (TAT, CAT, the Rosenzweig frustration test, etc.), and the development of new methods of personality research (“reflected subjectness”, the “transactional reinterpretation of fundamental questionnaires”), along with the use of reflexive techniques. The modification and validation of the Russian-language version of the Joines Personality Adaptation Questionnaire, and the identification of new usage cases.

4. The idea of using the “personology triangle” as a “psychological tool” for transactional and analytical interventions.

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Articles

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, STATUS-BASED IDENTITY UNCERTAINTY, AND SELF-CONCEPT CLARITY IN IRAN: THE ROLE OF INDEPENDENT AND INTERDEPENDENT SELF-CONSTRUALS

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Социально-экономический статус, неопределенность идентичности, основанная на статусе, и ясность Я-концепции в Иране: роль независимых и взаимозависимых Я-конструкций

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Abstract

Previous research showed the association of socioeconomic status (SES) with both interdependence and independence in collectivistic cultures and the socioeconomic disadvantages of mismatch between the individual and the overarching culture. This study investigated whether interdependent-independent self-construals are linked to SES in Iran, if the culture-incongruent self is related to status-based identity uncertainty (SBIU), and if self-concept clarity

Резюме

Предыдущие исследования показали связь социально-экономического статуса (далее — СЭС) как с взаимозависимостью, так и с независимостью в коллективистских культурах, а также негативные социально-экономические последствия несоответствия между индивидом и его этнической культурой. В данном исследовании изучалось, связаны ли взаимозависимо-независимые Я-конструкции (термин для обозначения способа конструирования собственного Я) с СЭС в Иране, связано ли не соответствующее культуре Я с неопределенностью

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(SCC) could suppress this relationship. A cross-sectional correlational study with self-report measures was implemented. Results indicated that individuals with higher subjective SES are more interdependent, whereas no relationship existed between SES and independence self. Increased social solidarity following the Iranian protests of 2022 and unemployment were also linked to interdependence. Furthermore, culture-incongruent self as reflected by independence was related to greater SBIU and SCC, with SCC suppressing the link between independence and SBIU. This study highlights the role of interdependence in accessing socioeconomic resources in honor cultures and that the link between SES and independence may not exist in South Asian cultures with high in-group collectivism and low assertiveness. It also underscores that individuals who deviate from the culturally-dominant self-construal feel uncertain about their socioeconomic standing, unless they have a clear enough self-concept. Future research may clarify the direction of pathways between cultural mismatch, SBIU, and SCC, and investigate whether social resources themselves should be included in the measurement of SES in honor cultures.

Keywords: interdependence, independence, self-construals, socioeconomic status, status-based identity uncertainty, self-concept clarity, honor culture.

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идентичности, основанной на статусе, и может ли ясность Я-концепции снижать эту взаимосвязь. Авторами было проведено кросс-секционное корреляционное исследование в Иране. Результаты показали, что индивиды с более высоким СЭС более взаимозависимы, в то время как между СЭС и независимым Я не существует никакой связи. Возросшая социальная солидарность после иранских протестов 2022 г. и безработица также были связаны с взаимозависимостью. Кроме того, не соответствующее иранской культуре самосознание, характеризующее независимостью, было связано с более выраженной неопределенностью идентичности, основанной на статусе, и большей ясностью Я-концепции. При этом связь между независимостью Я и неопределенностью идентичности, основанной на статусе, снижалась под влиянием ясности Я-концепции. Это исследование подчеркивает роль взаимозависимости в доступе к социально-экономическим ресурсам в культурах чести и то, что связь между СЭС и независимостью может отсутствовать в южноазиатских культурах с высоким внутригрупповым коллективизмом и низкой ассертивностью. Это также подчеркивает, что люди, которые отклоняются от доминирующей в культуре Я-конструкции, чувствуют неуверенность в своем социально-экономическом положении, если у них нет достаточно четкой Я-концепции. Будущие исследования могут прояснить направление связей между культурным несоответствием, неопределенностью идентичности, основанной на статусе, и ясностью Я-концепции, а также выяснить, следует ли включать сами социальные ресурсы в измерение СЭС в культурах чести.

Ключевые слова: взаимозависимость, независимость, Я-конструкции, социально-экономический статус, неопределенность идентичности, основанная на статусе, ясность Я-концепции, культура чести.

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Over the past three decades, psychological research has highlighted the interaction of culture and socioeconomic contexts with individuals' self-construals and identities, revealing their global variations (Miyamoto et al., 2018; Stephens et al., 2014; Vignoles et al., 2016). It is suggested that individuals attuned to their dominant cultures often have a higher socioeconomic status (SES). However, this dominant culture varies globally, leading to diverse correlates of SES. In collectivistic Confucian cultures, high-SES individuals exhibit both independent and interdependent orientations in their sense of self, while in Frontier cultures, high-SES individuals primarily display independence, with decreased interdependence as SES rises (Miyamoto et al., 2018).

This cultural match-mismatch impacts individuals' future resource access, as mainstream institutions are often structured to favor the skills acquired in high-SES cultural contexts, systematically disadvantaging low-SES individuals (Stephens et al., 2014). Furthermore, low-SES individuals in high-SES settings may experience status uncertainty, adversely affecting their well-being, employment, and relationships (Destin et al., 2017) and contributing to socioeconomic inequality (Stephens & Townsend, 2015).

Exploring socioeconomic and cultural influences on selves and identity across countries is crucial for developing culturally-informed policies of reducing inequality. Despite its pivotal impact on clarifying culture-SES-self dynamics, this research primarily focuses on West-East comparisons or on Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) populations (Henrich et al., 2010; Uskul et al., 2023), leaving a gap in understanding regions beyond this dichotomy.

Addressing this gap, the study aims to explore the link between self-construals, SES, and status uncertainty in Iran, a region largely overlooked in psychology (Atari et al., 2020; Razavi et al., 2023), despite its extensive cultural background and historical influence in the Middle East (Goldschmidt & Al-Marashi, 2018). Moreover, the extremity of social mobility in Iran (Ghahremanpour, 2003) make it an apt context for examining status instability. This research marks the first attempt to assess this problem in the Iranian context, offering novel insights into the complex interplay

between cultural, socioeconomic, and psychological dimensions within a non-WEIRD setting and thereby broadening our understanding of global cultural variations.

Literature Review

The Interplay of Culture, Socioeconomic Context, and Self

Culture, an integrated system of ideas, practices, and social institutions, facilitates behavioral coordination within societies (Markus & Hamedani, 2019). As an accumulation of historical patterns reflected in institutions, practices, and artifacts (Adams & Markus, 2004), culture underpins individuals' psychological processes (Markus & Hamedani, 2019). This has led contemporary psychology to employ frameworks such as individualism-collectivism (individual autonomy vs. group harmony; Oyserman et al., 2002) and dignity, honor, and face logics (individuals' inherent worth, social reputation, and social harmony) to examine cultures (Smith et al., 2021).

These overarching cultural systems regard activities aligned with their values as exemplary, prestigious, and respectable, setting a cultural ideal for individuals (Kitayama et al., 2009; Stephens et al., 2014). Embedded in and propagated by societal sectors including media, education, politics, and law, this ideal links socioeconomic advancement and resource access to compliance with cultural imperatives. Specifically, maintaining a high socioeconomic status¹ (SES) often requires reaffirming dominant cultural views and engaging in culturally prescribed tasks (Stephens et al., 2014). As cultural alignment facilitates occupying influential positions, a reinforcement loop may emerge where high-SES individuals' values become the pervasive societal values. This historical reiteration has shaped current socioeconomic contexts, tightly linking the culture of high socioeconomic settings with overarching cultural norms (Miyamoto et al., 2018).

This association is sustained and transmitted through the socialization practices of schools and families, impacting individual-level beliefs and behaviors. For instance, in Japan, high-SES schools emphasize culturally ingrained values like group cohesion and social responsibility more than low-SES schools. This differential exposure makes culturally-prescribed tasks more habitual for high-SES individuals (Ibid.).

Building on these culture-SES-socialization dynamics, examining their interaction with internal constructs like sociocultural self-construal is crucial. As illustrated by Figure 1, recent research positions self-construal within the socioeconomic context and broader national culture² (Kraus et al., 2019; Oyserman

¹ Socioeconomic status is the relative social and economic standing of an individual, marked by objective measures of education, income, occupation, as well as their subjective perception of their status (Kraus & Stephens, 2012).

² It is essential to note that the interconnections among culture, socioeconomic context, and the self are not linear. Adams & Markus (2004) underscore that cultural patterns are both a product of historical actions and influencers of future behaviors. Thus, culture operates in a cyclical manner, shaping individuals' actions while simultaneously being shaped by them.

& Markus, 1993; Stephens et al., 2014). These self-construals refer to the extent individuals define themselves as independent from or interconnected with others. An interdependent self entails viewing close relationships, social roles, and group memberships as central to self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and is more commonly prescribed in collectivistic cultures (Cross et al., 2011). In contrast, an independent self elicits viewing internal attributes, such as traits and abilities, as central to self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and is associated with individualistic cultures (Cross et al., 2011).

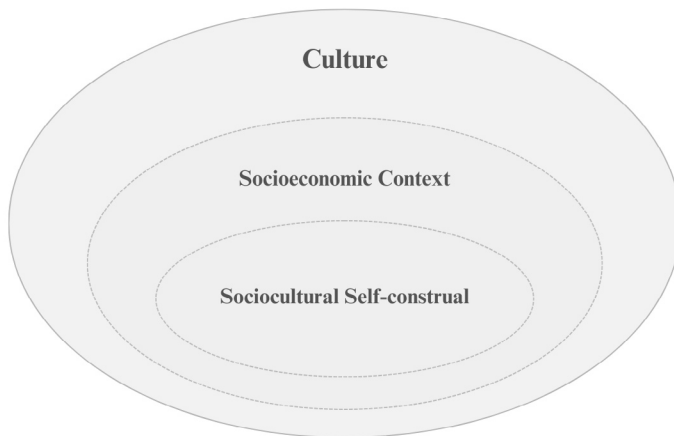
In individualistic societies, higher SES fosters an independent self-construal (Kraus et al., 2019). While SES is not associated with interdependence in most of these cultures, Frontier cultures show a negative SES-interdependence correlation. Conversely, in Confucian cultures, higher SES is associated with both independence and interdependence. While the high SES-interdependence link is exclusive to Confucian cultures, the high SES-independence connection spans 60 nations, except South and Southeastern Asia (Miyamoto et al., 2018). This particular observation remains unexplained in psychology.

The context of Iran

Relatedly, global empirical studies situate Iran within the South Asian culture cluster, despite its location in West Asia (Javidan & Dastmalchian, 2003). This commonality stems from extensive historical cultural exchange between Iran and South Asia, spanning art, philosophy, architecture, and literature, alongside mutual

Figure 1

Self within Socioeconomic Context and Culture



Note. It is essential to note that the interconnections among culture, socioeconomic context, and the self are not linear. Adams & Markus (2004) underscore that cultural patterns are both a product of historical actions and influencers of future behaviors. Thus, culture operates in a cyclical manner, shaping individuals' actions while simultaneously being shaped by them.

linguistic influences and the role of Persian in chancery and bureaucratic practices in South Asia from 1500 to 1900 (Cole, 2002). As a result, examining Iranians' SES relation with sociocultural selves could contribute to our understanding of SES correlates in South Asian culture clusters, offering insights into Miyamoto et al.'s (2018) observations.

To hypothesize about Iran's culture-SES-self-construal relationships, considering the prevailing cultural paradigm is necessary. While honor logic might better reflect Iranian culture, we employ the collectivism-individualism and independence-interdependence frameworks, aligning with Miyamoto et al. (2018) approach.

Iran is not easily categorized as dominantly collectivist or individualistic. Hamedani et al. (2012) regard Iranians as moderately collectivist, equally valuing individual uniqueness and group relations. Joshanloo and Ghaedi (2009) also found the endorsement of collectivistic values (e.g., conformity) alongside individualistic values (e.g., self-direction). Similarly, a positive correlation between allocentrism and idiocentrism is observed (Ghorbani et al., 2004). Cultural values like preserving group unity, generosity, and tight kinship networks are also highly salient (Bateson et al., 1977; Atari et al., 2020). Conversely, Fouladian & Rezai-Bahrabad (2019) highlights egocentrism as a dominant trait. Javidan and Dastmalchian (2003) mentions high humane-orientation (generous and caring behavior toward others; related to interdependence) and low assertiveness (less confrontational and competitive; related to independence) as cultural features of Iran.

To reconcile these mixed findings, two significant cross-cultural studies provide insight. First, Iran strongly exhibits honor culture traits (Atari et al., 2020; Razavi et al., 2023). In honor cultures, individuals possess a blend of interdependence (e.g., connection to others) and independence (e.g., uniqueness, self-direction). Yet, these independent features serve relational functions of preserving an "honorable" social image for self and family (Uskul et al., 2023), where self and close others strongly overlap, personal honor intertwines with family honor, and one's actions impact family reputation (Uskul et al., 2019). This reveals a distinct individualism expression within honor cultures, oriented toward collectivist goals of enhancing social reputation.

Second, in the GLOBE study, Javidan and Dastmalchian (2003) provided evidence for strongly high in-group collectivism (interdependence among small groups), low institutional collectivism (low interdependence toward the broader society/institutions), and low assertiveness (less confrontational and competitive; related to independence and often assessed in self-orientation measures) in Iran. This cultural tendency of strong family/friend attachment but detachment from out-group Iranians and institutions is historically confirmed (Katouzian, 2010).

In summary, while studies indicate both independence and interdependence in Iran, we speculate interdependence, particularly within small groups, takes precedence over independence. This speculation is based on 1) independence's social functions in honor cultures, and 2) high in-group collectivism and notably low assertiveness.

Consequently, Iranians' SES relation with sociocultural selves may be informed by the broader cultural emphasis on small group interdependence. Research in this

area is limited. Only one relevant study found a negative SES-egocentrism/social separateness relationship in Iran (Fouladian & Rezai-Bahrabad, 2019), suggesting independence's negative role in attaining resources, without examining interdependence. Additionally, Iranian middle managers highly desire humane-oriented leaders (modest, generous, compassionate; Dastmalchian et al., 2001), implying cultural expectations for high-SES Iranians (leaders in this case) to prioritize other-oriented values.

Aggregating between these observations and acknowledging that high-SES individuals often reflect the dominant culture (Miyamoto et al., 2018), we posit that Iranians with high-SES are likely to exhibit interdependent self-construals. Therefore, our first hypothesis suggests a positive correlation between SES and interdependent self among Iranians, with SES as the independent variable aligning with approaches of prior research and orientation of self within socioeconomic context (Miyamoto et al., 2018; Kraus et al., 2019). Furthermore, given the role of revolts and revolutions in increasing Iranians' societal interdependence (Katouzian, 2010), this hypothesis will control for recent changes in social solidarity, due the timing of our research coinciding with Mahsa Amini protests - waves of women's rights protests that snowballed throughout Iran in 2022–2023 (Khatam, 2023).

Culture-Incongruent Self-Construal and Status-Based Identity Uncertainty

Another interaction point of self-construal and SES is through status-based identity, which is situated within the broader sociocultural self and is defined as “the subjective understanding, meaning, and value that people attach to their SES from moment to moment in real time” (Destin et al., 2017, p. 271). Due to SES's malleable nature and the possibility of social mobility, status-based identity can fluctuate, leading to experiencing status-based identity uncertainty (SBIU), defined as “the extent to which people have a strong and stable (vs. weak and unstable) understanding of their SES.” (Ibid.). Status identity uncertainty may relate to self-construals through cultural mismatch and self-concept clarity.

Individual differences in adherence to cultural self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) may lead to cultural mismatch when one's self-construal deviates from the culturally-dominant self. The cultural mismatch theory of inequality posits that discrepancies between the dominant culture of institutions and those of minority social groups perpetuate socioeconomic inequality (Stephens & Townsend, 2015). Accordingly, Destin et al. (2017) suggests that cultural mismatch caused by social mobility (for example, a low-SES student with an interdependent background entering a high-SES independence-oriented university) could trigger status-based identity uncertainty. This assumption may also extend to individuals with culture-incongruent self-construal (regardless of social mobility), as they may also face socioeconomic disadvantages due to this mismatch.

While culture-incongruent self may increase status uncertainty, self-concept clarity (SCC), which is negatively associated with status uncertainty (Destin et

al., 2017), may protect against it. Self-concept clarity refers to the clarity, internal consistency, and temporal stability of one’s self-concept (Campbell et al., 1996). Research suggests that the self of individuals with high self-concept clarity is less susceptible to be shaped by the social environment (Campbell, 1990); for instance, non-conformers have a higher self-concept clarity compared to majority opinion holders (Rios Morrison & Wheeler, 2010). Therefore, we propose that high self-concept clarity may initially keep the individual from being shaped by the dominant culture and lead to, for example, remaining independent in a collectivistic culture. Furthermore, individuals with high self-concept clarity are less influenced by anxiety-provoking stimuli and are only affected by social cues consistent with their self-belief (Campbell, 1990), implying that they are less likely to experience uncertainty in self-inconsistent settings (e.g., an independent person in an interdependent workplace). Hence, culture-incongruent self may lead to status identity uncertainty if the individual lacks self-concept clarity, while it could also negate status identity uncertainty if their culture-incongruence was a result of having a high enough self-concept clarity that had protected them from conforming to the environment. These propositions are not covered by the current literature.

These constructs are yet to be investigated in Iran, but one study found communal factors better predicted a healthy identity among Iranians, compared to individualistic values (Ghorbani et al., 2004). Also, based on the previous remarks, independent self-construals may be the culture-incongruent self in Iran. Therefore, our second, third, and fourth hypotheses state that independence is positively related to both status identity uncertainty and self-concept clarity, with self-concept clarity suppressing the link between independence and status identity uncertainty.

Method

Design

This study used a cross-sectional correlational design. Independent, dependent, and control variables of our hypotheses are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Overview of Variables

	IV	DV	Control variables
H1	SES	Interdependent self-construal	Age, gender, employment, solidarity change
H2	Independent self-construal	SBIU	Age, gender, SES, SCC
H3	Independent self-construal	SCC	Age, gender, SES, SBIU
H4	Independent self-construal (mediator: SCC)	SBIU	Age, gender, SES

Note. H = hypothesis, IV = independent variable, DV = dependent variable, SBIU = status-based identity uncertainty, SES = socioeconomic status, SCC = self-concept clarity.

Data Collection

Aggregating between the hypotheses, based on G-power calculations for linear multiple regression with ten predictors, a sample size of 118 is required to detect a medium effect ($f^2 \geq .15$) with 80% power and a probability of a type I error of .05. The study aimed for a minimum sample size of 118.

To obtain this sample, we prepared an online questionnaire on Porsline (the common platform for online surveys in Iran) and distributed it via a Telegram channel (Farsi Tweets [توییتر فارسی]) with approximately 500,000 subscribers and no specific topic other than re-publishing viral tweets. We provided a general description of the study (“We are collecting data for studying the relationship between SES, collectivism, and individualism”), statements of anonymity/confidentiality, and a chance to win 300,000 Tomans as an incentive for participation.

After screening and excluding two cases under 18 and one with unacceptable Mahalanobis distance, the final sample met size requirements with 162 participants (72.2% women, 27.8% men) ($M = 29$, $SD = 9$), with 45.1% being employed and 54.9% unemployed. The (un)employment percentages reflect broader societal patterns, with Iran’s 2017 employment-to-population ratio at 39.7% (International Labour Organization, 2017). Participants had an appropriate variation in terms of SES ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 0.67$, Skewness = 0.06, Kurtosis = -0.20) and education (PhD = 4.3%, master’s degree = 11.1%, associate’s or bachelor’s degree = 29%, high-school diploma = 28.4%, less than high-school diploma = 27.2%)

Measures

The measures, all administered in Persian, are as follows.

Self-Construal. We used the Self-Construal scale (α for independence = .70, α for interdependence = .74; Singelis, 1994), translated and validated by Alvandifar et al. (2018) to measure independent and interdependent self-construals. This measure includes two subscales of interdependence (α in our study = .72; 15 items; e.g. „حتی زمانی که به شدت با اعضای گروه مخالفم، از بحث و جدل اجتناب می‌کنم.“, [Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument]) and independence (α in our study = .76; 15 items; e.g. „از اینکه منحصر بفرد باشم و از بسیاری“ [I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects]). Answers ranged on a 7-point Likert Scale (1= “strongly disagree”; 7 = “strongly agree”).

Socioeconomic Status. We used Ghodratinama et al. (2013) scale of SES in Iran, validated by Eslami et al. (2014) ($\alpha = 0.83$; in our study, $\alpha = 0.76$). This scale measures SES on a family level and has six items regarding family income, subjective SES, highest education of the individual, highest education of either of their parents, the value of their house (if applicable), and financial ability to buy a house (example: “اگر مردم را به پنج طبقه‌ی اجتماعی اقتصادی تقسیم کنند، خانواده‌ی خود را در کدام طبقه“: [If people are divided into five socioeconomic classes, in which class

would you consider your family?]). Responses had Likert-type scales with verbal anchors (e.g., 1 = “Absolutely insufficient”, 5 = “Absolutely sufficient”).

Status-based Identity Uncertainty. We translated and validated ($\alpha = .85$; Khezri & Tatarko, 2023) the SBIU self-report scale (Destin et al., 2017). There are 11 items in this scale (e.g., “به نظر می‌رسد که باورهای من در مورد جایگاه اقتصادی اجتماعی که در جامعه دارم مکرراً [My beliefs about where I stand in society seem to change frequently]”) with a 7-point Likert scale (1 = “strongly disagree”, 7 = “strongly agree”).

Self-concept Clarity. The English SCC scale (Campbell et al., 1996) has been translated and validated in Iran ($\alpha = 0.83$, Razian et al., 2019; in our study, $\alpha = 0.85$). There are 12 items (e.g., “به نظر می‌رسد که باورهای من در مورد خودم مکرراً تغییر می‌کنند [My beliefs about myself seem to change very frequently]”) with a 7-point Likert scale (1 = “strongly disagree”, 7 = “strongly agree”). Khezri and Tatarko (2023) established the conceptual distinction of this construct from SBIU.

Recent Change in Social Solidarity. As we collected data during the 2022–2023 Mahsa Amini protests, we used one item to account for potential changes in social solidarity. This item was “با توجه به وقایع ماه‌های اخیر، احساس همبستگی [Due to the events of recent months, the feeling of social solidarity has increased in me]”. Participants indicated their agreement on a 7-point Likert Scale (1 = “strongly disagree”, 7 = “strongly agree”).

Sociodemographic variables. We collected data on gender, age, and employment status using corresponding questions.

Data Processing

We conducted the analyses using R and SPSS. We first evaluated descriptive statistics, skewness, kurtosis, and the Mahalanobis distance values to assess the normality of distributions and detect outliers and missing values. We then used hierarchical linear multiple regressions and regression with mediation to test our hypotheses and also conduct exploratory analysis.

Results

Following the initial data diagnosis, we removed one participant with unacceptable Mahalanobis distance. Missing data was less than 5%, which is negligible. Table 2 presents descriptive statistics and the correlation matrix of the continual variables in primary and exploratory analyses. The following sections provide an in-depth analysis of these relationships.

Self-Construals and SES

Our first hypothesis was that SES positively predicts interdependent self when controlling for gender, age, employment, and recent change in social solidarity. We expected no relationship for SES and independent self. Analyses of SES indices-self-construals links were exploratory. We used hierarchical linear multiple regressions to evaluate these paths. All models met the regression assumptions.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Between Variables

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Age	29.09	9.38												
2. Solidarity Change	5.38	1.82	.05											
3. Interdependence	4.99	0.67	.09	.20*										
4. Independence	4.96	0.68	.01	.06	-.00									
5. SBIU	4.01	1.06	.09	.04	.05	-.01								
6. SCC	4.15	1.32	.14	.01	-.03	.20*	-.61**							
7. SES	2.59	0.67	-.16*	-.06	.02	.04	-.25**	.10						
8. Income	2.44	1.07	-.12	-.04	.13	-.01	-.24**	.06	.75**					
9. Subjective SES	2.69	0.75	-.05	-.06	.14	.05	-.18*	.15	.79**	.61**				
10. Education (self)	2.98	0.90	.19*	-.06	-.09	.01	.06	-.04	.39**	.11	.18*			
11. Education (parent)	2.37	1.13	-.38**	-.04	-.09	-.02	-.22**	.05	.67**	.37**	.39**	.11		
12. House value	3.06	1.05	-.16	.09	.01	.15	-.16*	.08	.74**	.46**	.61**	.17*	.44**	
13. House purchase ability	2.01	1.06	-.09	-.16*	.01	-.03	-.25**	.08	.68**	.49**	.50**	.11	.32**	.32**

Note. M = mean, SD = standard deviation, SBIU = status-based identity uncertainty, SCC = self-concept clarity, SES = socioeconomic status.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

As presented in Table 3, we regressed the control variables and SES (mean of all indices) on interdependence in two steps. The control model was overall significant. Recent change in social solidarity was the strongest and positive correlate of interdependence, while employment was a negative correlate. However, age and gender were not significantly related to interdependence. As for the predictor model, the addition of SES to this regression was not significant, suggesting overall SES (mean of all indices) is unrelated to interdependence.

Further exploring the role of SES, we conducted another regression wherein we simultaneously entered the indices of SES into the model to assess their predictability of interdependence (Table 4). Control variables were the same as mentioned. We excluded 16 cases with missing house value/affordability data. This change did not alter the results of the control model. As for the predictor model, the addition of the totality of SES indices was not significant, but when considered separately, subjective SES was significantly related to interdependence. Other SES indices showed no significant relationships.

We took the same steps to examine SES-independent self links. As shown by Table 3, neither the overall control model nor the individual effect of each control

Table 3

Regression of SES on Self-Construals

Variables	Model 1				Model 2			
	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>DV: Interdependent Self</i>								
Gender ^a	-.07	.11	-0.99	.32	-.07	.11	-1.00	.31
Age	.11	.00	1.42	.15	.12	.00	1.59	.11
Employment ^b	-.18	.10	-2.23	.02*	-.19	.11	-2.38	.02*
Solidarity Change	.19	.03	2.57	.01*	.20	.03	2.62	.009**
SES					.08	.08	1.01	.31
<i>R</i> ² / <i>F</i>	.07/3.26*							
$\Delta R^2/\Delta F$.00/1.03			
<i>DV: Independent Self</i>								
Gender ^a	.09	.12	1.07	.28	.09	.12	1.07	.28
Age	.03	.00	0.39	.69	.04	.00	0.53	.59
Employment ^b	-.07	.11	-0.84	.40	-.08	.11	-0.96	.33
Solidarity Change	.05	.03	0.70	.48	.06	.03	0.75	.45
SES					.06	.08	0.76	.44
<i>R</i> ² / <i>F</i>	.02/.75							
$\Delta R^2/\Delta F$.00/.00			

Note. Control variables were entered in model 1. SES (socioeconomic status) was added as the predictor in model 2. Effects are standardized. SE = standard error, DV = dependent variable.

^a Female = 1, Male = 0. ^b Employed = 1, Unemployed = 0.

* *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01.

variable was significant. Adding SES to the predictor model was also insignificant, showing a lack of relationship between SES and independence.

We also examined the individual effect of SES indices on independence (Table 4). After accounting for the variance of control variables (again, the difference with the control model in Table 3 was the exclusion of 16 cases with missing house value/affordability data, with no change in significance levels), none of the SES indices associated with independence.

Table 4

Regressions of Indices of SES on Self-Construals

Variables	Predictor Model			
	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>DV: Interdependent Self</i>				
Gender ^a	-.09	.12	-1.13	.25
Age	.05	.00	0.61	.54
Employment ^b	-.22	.12	-2.50	.01*
Solidarity Change	.25	.03	3.12	.002**
Income	.08	.05	0.76	.44
Subjective SES	.30	.07	2.51	.01*
Education (self)	-.00	.06	-0.00	.99
Education (parent)	-.16	.05	-1.68	.09
House value	-.13	.05	-1.23	.22
House purchase ability	-.04	.05	-0.43	.66
$\Delta R^2/\Delta F$.07/1.97			
<i>DV: Independent Self</i>				
Gender ^a	.12	.13	1.40	.16
Age	.05	.00	0.58	.56
Employment ^b	-.05	.13	-0.52	.60
Solidarity Change	-.01	.03	-0.13	.89
Income	-.02	.07	-0.22	.82
Subjective SES	.00	.11	0.01	.99
Education (self)	-.02	.07	-0.23	.81
Education (parents)	-.00	.06	-0.08	.93
House value	.21	.07	1.90	.06
House purchase ability	-.11	.06	-1.11	.26
$\Delta R^2/\Delta F$.04/.91			

Note. To avoid repetition, the control model was not reported. SES (socioeconomic status) indices were added as predictors. SE = standard error, DV = dependent variable.

Gender^{aa} Female = 1, Male = 0. ^b Employed = 1, Unemployed = 0.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Altogether, these results provided partial support for the first hypothesis, as subjective SES – but not other SES indices – was associated with interdependent self. Additionally, age and gender were unrelated to interdependent self, while unemployment and recent change in social solidarity predicted higher interdependence levels. Independent self-construal showed no correlation with SES or control variables.

*Self-Construals, Status-Based Identity Uncertainty (SBIU),
and Self-Concept Clarity (SCC)*

Regarding self-construals, SBIU, and SCC, we first hypothesized that the independent self-construal positively correlates with SBIU when controlling for gender, age, SES, and SCC. The second hypothesis indicated that independent self positively correlates with SCC when controlling for gender, age, SES, and SBIU. The final hypothesis was that SCC mediates the relationship between independence and SBIU, when controlling for gender, age, and SES. We did not formulate a hypothesis about the relationship of interdependence with SCC or SBIU, so the corresponding analyses were exploratory. We used hierarchical linear multiple regressions and mediation regression for our analysis. All models met the regression assumptions.

As demonstrated by Table 5, we regressed the control variables and self-construals on SBIU in two steps. The control model was overall significant, explaining 43% of the variance in SBIU, with SCC having the biggest share of variance in SBIU. SES also negatively correlated with SBIU, showing that people with lower levels of SES have higher levels of uncertainty about their status. Age had a positive association with SBIU. Gender was not a significant predictor. When we added the independent self-construal as the predictor, the model remained significant, which indicates more independent people exhibit more uncertainty in their status-based identity. In contrast, interdependent self was not significantly related to SBIU.

We took similar steps to examine the link between self-construals and SCC. As shown by Table 5, analysis confirmed the significance of the control model. SBIU negatively correlated with SCC, while age had a significant positive relationship. However, there were no significant effects of gender and SES on SCC. We then added the independent self-construal to the regression, and the model remained significant, accounting for 4% of the variance in SCC, which reveals more independent individuals have higher levels of SCC, with the link of independence with SCC being stronger than the link of independence with SBIU. However, when we changed the predictor to interdependent self-construal, the model failed to be significant, demonstrating that unlike independence, interdependent self-construal is not related to SCC.

Next, we conducted a mediation regression with covariates (age, gender, and SES) to determine if SCC is a suppressor mediator of the relationship between independence and SBIU. We followed Hayes (2013) Macro Process via bootstrapping method (5000 re-samples). According to Table 6, when we entered

Table 5

Regression of Independent and Interdependent Self-Construals on SBIU and SCC

Variables	Model 1				Model 2			
	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>DV: SBIU</i>								
Gender ^a	.09	.14	1.55	.12	.08	.14	1.30	.19
Age	.15	.00	2.48	.01*	.15	.00	2.50	.01*
SCC	-.60	.05	-9.81	<.001***	-.62	.05	-10.10	<.001***
SES	-.16	.09	-2.74	.006**	-.17	.09	-2.81	.005**
Independent self					.12	.09	1.97	.04*
R^2/F	.43/35.97***							
$\Delta R^2/\Delta F$.01/3.9*			
Interdependent self					.01	.09	0.23	.81
$\Delta R^2/\Delta F$.00/.05			
<i>DV: SCC</i>								
Gender ^a	.02	.18	0.35	.72	-.00	.18	-0.02	.98
Age	.19	.00	3.03	.001**	.18	.00	3.02	.002**
SES	-.03	.12	-0.49	.62	-.04	.12	-0.65	.51
SBIU	-.63	.08	-9.81	<.001***	-.63	.08	-10.10	<.001***
Independent self					.20	.11	3.32	.001**
R^2/F	.40/26.58***							
$\Delta R^2/\Delta F$.04/11**			
Interdependent self					-.02	.12	-0.32	.74
$\Delta R^2/\Delta F$.00/.11			

Note. Control variables were entered in model 1. Sociocultural selves were added as the predictor in model 2. To avoid repetition, controls were only reported once. The line within the table indicates separation of regressions. SE = standard error, DV = dependent variable, SBIU = status-based identity uncertainty, SCC = self-concept clarity. SES = socioeconomic status.

^a Female = 1, Male = 0.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

SCC as the mediator, the direct effect and indirect effect of independent self on SBIU were both significant, but in opposite directions. The confidence intervals excluded zero. Considering the effects are of equal size but in opposite directions, the total effect is canceled out and consequently not significant, establishing a suppressor mediation (also called inconsistent mediation; MacKinnon et al., 2000).

Table 6

Suppressor Effect of SCC on the Relationship between Independence and SBIU

Paths (SBIU as Y)	Independent Self-Construal
Direct	.12* [.00, .37]
Indirect (SCC as mediator)	-.12*[-.23, -.03]
Total	-.00 [-.24, .22]

Note. SBIU = status-based identity uncertainty. SCC = self-concept clarity. First rows are standardized beta coefficients. Second rows are lower and upper confidence intervals (95%).

*CI excludes zero.

These results indicate that SCC is a significant mediator, suppressing the link between independent self-construals and SBIU.

Taken together, in support of our hypotheses, these results show a positive association of the independent self-construal with status identity uncertainty and self-concept clarity, as well as a mediatory role for self-concept clarity, while interdependence was unrelated to both status identity uncertainty and self-concept clarity.

Discussion

This study explored the associations between self-construals and SES in Iran, examined if status identity uncertainty is linked to culture-incongruent self-construal, and if self-concept clarity mitigates this link. The results partially confirmed the hypothesis of SES-interdependence link, with subjective but not objective SES measures associating with interdependence. Unemployment and increased social solidarity during Iranian protests of 2022 also related to interdependence. Furthermore, this research found support that more independent people have higher self-concept clarity, while also exhibiting higher levels of uncertainty in their status-based identity. Yet, high enough self-concept clarity suppressed the relationship between independence and status identity uncertainty. Interdependent self, however, was unrelated to these constructs. Moreover, older individuals had higher self-concept clarity but also higher status identity uncertainty. These results are further discussed.

Culture, SES, and Self-construals

As noted, Iran is not easily categorized as collectivistic or individualistic, with evidence suggesting a mixture of both themes. Accordingly, our findings reveal that participants' self-construals displayed a balanced mix of independence and interdependence, with negligible mean differences. Yet, a significant relationship with subjective SES was observed exclusively for interdependent self-construals.

The features of honor cultures may shed light on this finding. We argue that within an honor culture like Iran, social resources themselves may be a defining

component of SES. Explicitly, honor cultures often emerge in ecological contexts with limited resources and inadequate institutional protection of assets (Uskul et al., 2019). In these circumstances, individuals in close-knit groups heavily rely on each other for protection and collaboration to safeguard their resources (Sommers, 2009). Historical evidence also supports the significance of families in accessing and preserving resources in Iran (Katouzian, 2010). Consequently, we may infer that relationships are a means of accessing and preserving resources, and therefore an integral constituent of SES in honor cultures. This interpretation might explain why the subjective, but not objective, SES measure predicted interdependence, as our objective measures did not have any social characteristics.

This finding may be further clarified by the social role of independence in honor cultures, where independence is esteemed for its capacity to uphold and enhance the family's social standing. For instance, an individual's personal achievements highly elevate the family's respectability and admiration among the community (Cross et al., 2014; Uskul et al., 2023). Consequently, we may infer that despite the prevalence of independence, the broader cultural context remains interdependence-oriented, with individuals' self-definitions closely dependent on others' perceptions. This interpretation aligns with the idea that high-SES individuals tend to and are expected to reflect the dominant culture, while also reinforcing the culture due to their greater access to resources and influential positions (Miyamoto et al., 2018). Thus, the link between subjective SES and interdependence might stem from high-SES individuals embodying and perpetuating culturally valued forms of interdependence.

Another relevant point is that Iranians are often financially supported by families until marriage, even if they are employed (Abbasi-Shavazi & Bagi, 2020). This practice could result in higher subjective SES for the individuals in more interdependent families, as they can save their personal income while their living expenses are covered by parents. This expense structure is again a facet that may only be captured by the subjective measure.

Conversely, there was no relationship between any indices of SES and independent self-construal. This result aligned with the lack of relationship between self-orientation and SES in South Asian cultures (Miyamoto et al., 2018). Although Miyamoto et al. (2018) attributed this finding to the caste system in India, the same pattern emerged in Iran, where no caste system exists. Hence, the underlying reason may lie in features specific to South Asian cultures. These cultures are marked by high in-group collectivism and humane orientation paired with low assertiveness (House et al., 2004), which could lead to a cultural imperative for high-SES individuals to be other-oriented and avoid displaying independence. Overall, our finding along with Miyamoto et al. (2018) results cast doubt on the universality of resource-based perspective of SES that states high-SES individuals are more likely to exhibit independence due to their greater freedom and resources (Kraus et al., 2012).

This research also established a connection between recent changes in social solidarity and interdependent self-construal, meaning that people who experienced a stronger sense of societal interdependence during the 2022-2023 Mahsa Amini

protests were more interdependent. As those with interdependent selves are more sensitive to the context, social environment, and social influence (Cross et al., 2011), we propose that, in the context of protests where the social environment called for union and collective action, highly interdependent individuals experienced heightened social solidarity.

We also observed a link between unemployment and interdependence. One argument is that unemployment leads to more financial reliance on family, fostering interdependence. Another standpoint is that among more interdependent families that fully support their children's finances, individuals are less motivated to seek employment. Another factor could be that unemployed individuals are more likely to live in their parents' house, further promoting interdependence.

Culture-incongruent Self-Construal and Status-based Identity Uncertainty

This analysis revealed a potential link between culture-incongruent self-construal and status-based identity uncertainty, specifying that in Iran, more independent individuals are less assured of their social standing, compared to less independent ones. We may attribute this finding to cultural mismatch, implying compromised access to resources and means of achieving status stability for those deviating from the dominant interdependent self-construal. This interpretation confirms the cultural mismatch theory of inequality (Stephens & Townsend, 2015), suggesting that such mismatches may lead to feelings of status uncertainty, potentially reinforcing patterns of inequality.

Alternatively, we may infer that it is not culture-incongruence per se, but the independence itself that is directly linked to status identity uncertainty, given that independence relates to less reliance on social support systems (Goodwin & Hernandez Plaza, 2000) and thus more vulnerability to stress caused by life changes (Cohen & Hoberman, 1983), such as status change. This interpretation holds particular significance in honor cultures, because being independent in a culture wherein in-groups are essential to survival (Sommers, 2009) could exacerbate this sense of vulnerability.

Independence, while associated with status identity uncertainty, was also related to higher self-concept clarity. This finding aligns with studies indicating the self in individuals with higher self-concept clarity is less susceptible to be shaped by the social environment (Campbell, 1990). Precisely, Iranians with higher self-concept clarity appear less impacted by the cultural imperative to be interdependent and thus tend to deviate from this norm toward adapting an independent self. An opposite direction may also be assumed where independence itself may foster clearer self-concept.

Interestingly, self-concept clarity suppressed the relationship between independence and status identity uncertainty, as we found that to the extent that independence fosters self-concept clarity, status identity uncertainty could be negated. This finding is in line with the protective role of self-concept clarity against self-inconsistent feedback and anxiety-provoking information (Ibid.), highlighting that a high enough self-concept clarity may bolster assurance in one's

social standing, even if their self is different from the culturally-prescribed self-construal.

Another finding was that older individuals have more self-concept clarity but also greater status identity uncertainty, potentially reflecting how political and economic factors impact those that are in later stages of their lives and expect to have reached status stability, but their goal has been suspended by the volatile economic situation. To be specific, due to governmental influence on social mobility, social classes lack the element of continuity, giving rise to extreme cases of status change across one's life (Gahremanpour, 2003). This situation is not limited to contemporary Iran, as historical accounts reflect that due to the mechanisms of Iranian states, no long-standing social classes have existed in Iran (Katouzian, 2010). Overall, this externally-imposed instability may heighten the relevance of status identity uncertainty for older generations, as they frequently witness the devaluation of their resources amid hyperinflation periods (inflation rates in Iran moved from -0.4% to 49.7% over the past 61 years; World Data, 2022).

Limitations

This study was not without limitations. The interactions between culture, socioeconomic context, self-construal, and identity form a cyclical relationship, complicating their analysis within a predictor-outcome framework. Moreover, the correlational design of this study prevents any causal inferences. Another limitation was the absence of culture-level measures to determine collectivism or individualism predominance, leading us to rely on deductions from prior research. Furthermore, incorporating measures of culture-level and individual-level honor could have provided a more nuanced understanding of Iranian culture, as assessing SES-honor relations compared to independence and interdependence measures may have offered a more comprehensive analysis. Relatedly, self-report measures may not be an accurate assessment of individuals' traits and are more susceptible to social desirability effects in conformist cultures (Steenkamp et al., 2010).

Additionally, the sample was dominantly female and collected online, both of which could bias the results. Finally, it should be emphasized that the relationship between subjective SES and interdependence became significant only after adding the control variables to the model. These points highlight the need for replication studies using larger more representative samples.

Conclusion

This study examined the interplay between socioeconomic status, sociocultural self-construals, status-based identity uncertainty, and self-concept clarity in Iran. Findings revealed a correlation between subjective SES and interdependent self-construal but no relationship with independence, challenging the prevailing assumption that high socioeconomic status universally correlates with independence and suggesting that this link may not hold in South Asian or honor cultures. The results emphasize the importance of considering cultural specificity

when examining the SES-self relationships, highlighting how subjective perceptions of SES may be pivotal within certain cultural frameworks.

Furthermore, this research marked the first investigation of status-based identity uncertainty in relation to self-construals. We provided the novel finding that culture-incongruent individuals, particularly those with a more independent self-construal in a primarily interdependent or honor culture like Iran, may face increased status identity uncertainty. This relationship underscores the impact of cultural alignment on psychological stability, challenging notions about the independence's universal benefits of independence and suggesting that in certain cultural contexts, deviation from the norm can lead to psychological discomfort and uncertainty.

Moreover, this research contributes to the cultural mismatch theory of inequality by highlighting how cultural mismatch may relate to one's sense of instability, doubt, and uncertainty about their social standing. It encourages further examination of how individuals navigate mismatches between personal identity and cultural expectations, particularly during upward or downward social mobility.

Another theoretical contribution is identifying self-concept clarity as a mediator between the independent self-construal and status identity uncertainty. This introduces self-concept clarity as a protective factor mitigating the adverse effects of cultural incongruence on individuals' sense of status stability, providing a nuanced understanding of how internal self-concept clarity can buffer against external cultural pressures.

Methodologically, validating the status-based identity uncertainty scale in Iran lays the groundwork for more inclusive and comparative psychological research, facilitating a deeper comprehension of the universal and culture-specific dimensions of SES, self-construal, and identity.

The practical implications of our findings are manifold. Policies of reducing income inequality can benefit from recognizing how culture may perpetuate inequality, thereby devising solutions to mitigate cultural barriers to social mobility. For instance, educational policies may aim to diversify teaching methods/curricula to include varied cultural backgrounds and learning styles, e.g. assessment methods that consider both collective and independent problem-solving, emphasizing both the self-oriented and communal benefits of education to appeal to diverse goals of students, etc. Employment policies could also urge recruiters to use standardized, transparent evaluation criteria beyond traditional competence measures to include community involvement, resilience, and ability to navigate multicultural environments. Immigration and social integration policies may also benefit from implementing interventions aimed at bolstering self-concept clarity, which could offer essential support for immigrants or international students who may be grappling with uncertainty due to cultural mismatch, helping them reconcile personal identities and societal expectations.

Future research may clarify SES conceptualization and measurement in honor cultures, determining whether it is interdependence that leads to greater access to

resources, or if relationships should themselves be incorporated into SES definitions. Additionally, further studies with more robust measures of SES are needed to evaluate the link between subjective SES and interdependence. Moreover, cross-cultural and experimental investigations are required to establish whether it is an independent self-construal or a culture-incongruent self-construal that is linked to status identity uncertainty.

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EMOTIONAL FRAMING AS A CONTEXT FOR THE PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL NORM VIOLATION

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Эмоциональный фрейминг как контекст нарушения социальных норм

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Abstract

Social norms play a crucial role in shaping human social interactions and behaviors. They are the unwritten rules that dictate what is considered acceptable within a community, influencing how individuals act and respond to one another. Humans possess a remarkable ability to create, uphold, and enforce these normative standards, yet the strength and adherence to these norms can vary significantly across different cultures and societies. Emotional stimuli have been shown to trigger stronger neural responses in individuals, highlighting the importance of emotional arousal and valence in the perception and processing of social norms. This study aims to explore how perceived violations of social norms are affected by the emotional intensity of the information presented. By manipulating the emotional content of various sentences —

Резюме

Социальные взаимодействия людей регулируются социальными нормами, которые представляют собой неформальные правила, определяющие приемлемое поведение в обществе. Эти нормы формируются в процессе социального взаимодействия и отражают культурные ценности и ожидания. Люди обладают уникальной способностью создавать, поддерживать и навязывать другим стандарты нормы, однако сила этих норм может значительно различаться в зависимости от культурных и социальных контекстов. Эмоциональные стимулы оказывают значительное влияние на восприятие социальных норм, вызывая более сильные нейронные реакции в мозге. Это подчеркивает важность эмоциональной валентности и возбудимости при обработке информации о социальных нормах. В данном исследовании мы рассматриваем, как восприятие нарушений социальных норм зависит от эмоциональной нагрузки представленной информации. Для этого мы варьировали эмоциональное содержание предложений,

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categorizing them as highly emotional, less emotional, or neutral control conditions—we found that participants were more likely to deem situations unacceptable when violations of social norms were articulated in a more emotionally charged manner. This suggests that emotional framing can amplify the perceived severity of norm violations. Our research successfully replicates findings from previous studies conducted on samples from China and the United States, extending these insights to a Russian context. This cross-cultural examination underscores the universal influence of emotional intensity on social norm perception while also acknowledging the unique cultural factors that may shape individual responses to normative breaches. Understanding these dynamics can enhance our comprehension of social behavior and inform interventions aimed at promoting positive social change.

Keywords: emotional words, evoked response potentials, framing, norm violation perception.

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разделив их на три категории: высокоэмоциональные, низкоэмоциональные и контрольные условия. Результаты показали, что участники воспринимали ситуации как более неприемлемые, если нарушения социальных норм были выражены с использованием более эмоционально насыщенных формулировок. Это говорит о том, что эмоциональная окраска может усиливать восприятие серьезности нарушений. Наше исследование успешно реплицирует результаты, полученные на выборках из Китая и США, и подтверждает универсальность влияния эмоциональной нагрузки на восприятие социальных норм в российском контексте. Эти выводы могут быть полезны для понимания динамики социальных взаимодействий и разработки стратегий для улучшения общественных отношений. Понимание того, как эмоции влияют на восприятие норм, может помочь создать более гармоничное общество, где уважение к социальным стандартам будет основой для взаимодействия между людьми.

Ключевые слова: эмоциональные слова, вызванные потенциалы, фрейминг, восприятие нарушения норм.

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Social norms play a crucial role in human social interaction, and breaches of these norms are assessed, in part, based on the actor's intention. Social norms refer to the social regulations that are enforced by the social group or the society (Norenzayan et al., 2016; Bas-Hoogendam et al., 2017). Therefore, it is plausible that humans should have a neurophysiological mechanism to rapidly identify norm violations and penalize those who commit them, in order to establish and maintain social order. Furthermore, while the existence of social norms is widespread, the intensity of social norms significantly varies among different human communities.

Various cognitive studies have identified neurobiological correlates of norm violations. Bas-Hoogendam and colleagues (2017) demonstrated that the Social Norm Processing Task (SNPT-R) is an effective tool to study behavioral and brain mechanisms of processing of perceived norm violations. Arousal and valence of the messages conveying normative information may play an important role in the norm enforcement decisions. From a behavioral standpoint, positive and negative words often result in faster reaction times and a higher accuracy compared to neutral words. Additionally, previous studies have demonstrated that emotional words can trigger emotional priming (Brouillet & Syssau, 2005; Carroll & Young, 2005) and perhaps modulate responses to norm violations. Stevenson and colleagues (2007) also found that there are specific patterns of emotional responses that predict perceived valence, arousal, and dominance for negative and positive phrases.

In a seminal study, Mu and colleagues (2015) manipulated written descriptions of different actions to signal either severe violations of norms, mild violations, or no violations at all. The results showed that the N400 component was sensitive to the levels of norm violation, with stronger amplitudes observed in response to strong norm violations compared to weak norm violations. Therefore, building upon prior research, we have decided to replicate first Mu and colleagues (2015) behavioral findings from Chinese and US samples on a Russian sample. Our study investigated whether the behavioral response (the degree of the appropriateness of an action) evoked by norm violations is modulated by the way the information is conveyed: using highly emotional versus less emotional words.

Methods

Experimental paradigm

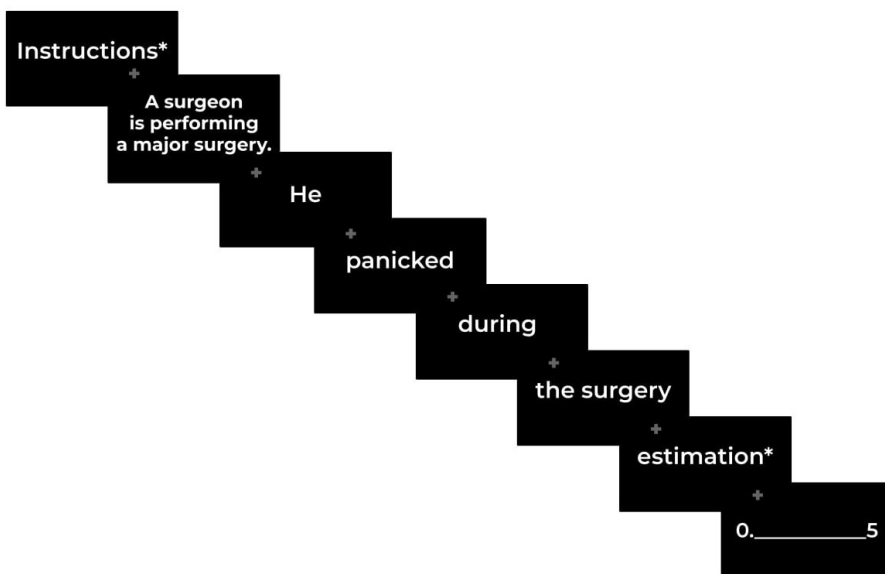
For the selection of verbal stimuli, we used the Russian-language database "Emotional coloring of nouns: ENRuN database" (Lyusin & Sysoeva, 2017). During the online pretest, 10 independent raters evaluated a preselected set of words. The raters were exposed to pairs of words and indicated which word described an action with a higher emotional impact or evoked stronger emotions. In this study, we chose 150 words that were selected by more than 50% of raters as highly emotional ($n = 50$), less emotional ($n = 50$) or neutral ($n = 50$) that didn't signal a violation of norms (see Supplementary materials: <https://psyjournal.hse.ru/data/2025/03/12/1955648888/Supplementary%20materials.pdf>). Next, using the selected words, we constructed sentences describing different lev-

els of normative behaviors. The final list of stimuli presented to the participants included 50 control sentences (without the references to norm violation), 11 sentences from the “less emotional” group of stimuli with the description of behaviors closer to the normative standard (HN in the Table 1), 38 sentences from the “less emotional” group of stimuli with the description of norm-violating behaviors (LN in the Table 1), 5 sentences from the “more emotional” group of stimuli with the description of behaviors closer to the normative standard, and 46 sentences from the “more emotional” group of stimuli with the description of norm-violating behaviors. The scope of this study was to investigate the influence of emotional manipulation (more or less emotional) on various norm violations (with the varying degrees of appropriateness), not including the additional factor of severity of norm violation.

Finally, we modified the paradigm of Mu and colleagues (2015). We included the highly emotional, less emotional or neutral words to the same phrases, for example, “Amanda is in the museum. She is dancing” that signals a clear deviation from the social norm; “Amanda is engaging in a tango lesson. She is dancing” that signals no deviation from the social norm; “Amanda is on the platform. She’s dancing” that signals a slight deviation from the social norm. Participants were exposed to 150 phrases (highly emotional, conveying a norm violation, less emotional, conveying a norm violation, or neutral, not conveying a norm violation) in a randomized order (as shown in Figure 1). The participants were instructed to rate how much they believed the depicted action/behavior was compliant to the social norm using a 6-point Likert scale: if the situation was depicted as fully acceptable (0) or

Figure 1

A sample trial of the experimental paradigm (originally presented in Russian)



fully unacceptable (5). This measurement allowed us to calculate the levels of the acceptability of the behavior that was depicted in each sentence.

A sentence example is shown in the Figure 1: “A surgeon is performing a major surgery. He panicked during the surgery”. In each trial/sentence, words were presented sequentially one by one, as shown in the figure. Participants were instructed to evaluate each sentence using 6-point Likert scale (0 to 5) and indicate if the situation was ethically acceptable or not.

Each trial consisted of the following stages: fixation cross (200 ms), a presentation of the sentence word by word (1000 ms), pause (500 ms), rating screen (800 ms maximum to receive the response from the participant), pause (600 ms). While in total the experiment had 150 trials, the total duration of the experiment was approximately 15 minutes. During the experiment EEG was recorded during the reading and response phases.

Participants

We invited 41 individuals between the ages of 18 and 27 (mean age 22.63; females = 22), who had completed their undergraduate degrees, had normal or corrected-to-normal eyesight, and were free of neurological or psychiatric conditions. Each participant provided a signed consent. The study received approval from the Committee on Interuniversity Surveys and Ethical Assessment of Empirical Research (HSE University), in compliance with the Declaration of Helsinki. The participants consisted exclusively of individuals who were native Russian speakers and were recruited through email communication. The data were collected between September and December 2022.

Statistical analysis

The perceived levels of the acceptability of the behavior that was depicted in three experimental conditions were analyzed using Repeated-Measures ANOVA (IBM SPSS Statistics 25.0 program) with the factor Level of Emotional Expression (Highly Emotional, Less Emotional, Neutral/Control). We also used post hoc tests with the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. The data visualization was performed with Python 3.0, seaborn library.

Results

Behavioral results

We performed a one-way Repeated-Measures ANOVA with the factor Level of Emotional Expression (Highly Emotional, Less Emotional, Control) showed a significant effect on the perceived levels of the acceptability of the behavior: $F(2, 80) = 1873.40$, $p < .001$, partial eta-squared = .979. The results were significant after Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons (see Table 1 for the pairwise comparisons). The phrases with highly emotional language differed significantly and were evaluated

as much more unacceptable and received the highest scores (mean = 4.03, SD = 0.48, mean difference = 0.376, standard error = .025, $p < .001$) than the phrases with a less emotional language (mean = 3.66, SD = 0.51). The phrases in the control/neutral conditions received the lowest rating (mean = 0.35, SD = 0.28) and differed from the sentences with a highly emotional language (mean difference = -3.680, standard error = .081, $p < .001$) and a less emotional language (mean difference = -3.304, standard error = .077, $p < .001$). Figure 2 depicts the data distribution.

In addition to the main analysis, we have performed of comparison between reaction to highly normative and less normative statements (LN, HN in Supplementary materials) with the different levels of emotional expression (Highly Emotional, Less Emotional). We have balanced the number of stimuli, keeping five stimuli for the HN groups and 38 stimuli for LM groups. Repeated-

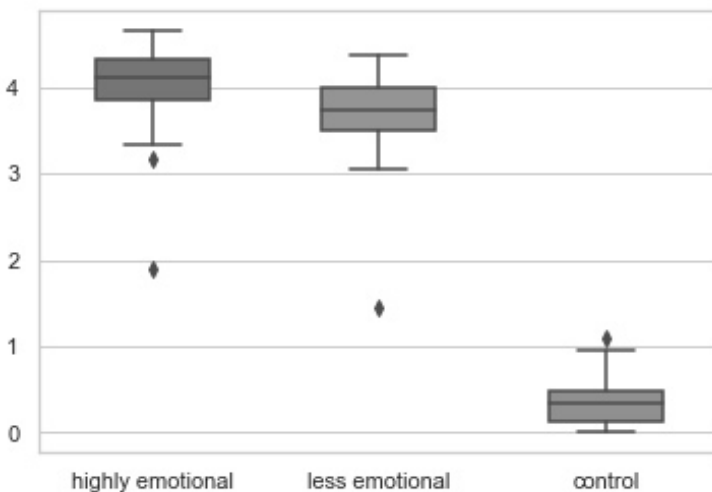
Table 1

Bonferroni Post-Hoc Analysis for Pairwise Comparisons

Factor		Mean difference	Standard error	<i>p</i>
Highly emotional	Less emotional	0.376	.025	< .001
	Control	3.680	.081	< .001
Less emotional	Highly emotional	-0.376	.025	< .001
	Control	3.304	.077	< .001
Control	Highly emotional	-3.680	.081	< .001
	Less emotional	-3.304	.077	< .001

Figure 2

Boxplot of the Data Distribution for Highly Emotional, Less Emotional and Control Conditions



Note. The box shows the quartiles of the dataset while the whiskers extend to show the rest of the distribution, except for points that are determined to be “outliers”.

measures ANOVA showed that the difference of the levels of the acceptability of the behavior with regard to a group was significant ($F(4, 164) = 532.413, p < .001$), with all the comparisons passing the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons at the level of $p < .001$, except for the comparison between Less Emotional and Low Normative and Highly Emotional and High Normative ($p=0.036$ passing Bonferroni correction). The behavior was rated as the most acceptable in the control group ($M \pm SD = 0.34 \pm 0.27$), while the behavior was rated as the most unacceptable in the Highly Emotional and Low Normative group ($M \pm SD = 4.07 \pm 0.47$). The levels of acceptability for the Less Emotional and High Normative group were higher than control ($M \pm SD = 2.60 \pm 0.7$), as well as for the Less Emotional and Low Normative group (higher than control, $M \pm SD = 3.94 \pm 0.53$). The stimuli from the Highly Emotional and High Normative group ($M \pm SD = 3.63 \pm 0.84$) were rated as more acceptable in comparison to Highly Emotional and Low Normative group, while the manipulation of the levels of emotional expression led to a higher rating of the Highly Emotional and High Normative group with comparison to the Less Emotional and High Normative group.

Discussion

Our behavioral data have shown that norm violations presented using a highly emotional language were deemed more unacceptable compared to norm violations presented with a less emotional language. Our findings align with the previous studies that examined the impact of framing on emotional responses to social norm violations (Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004). We also replicated the behavioral results from Mu et al. (2015), showing for the first time on a Russian sample that social norm violations are influenced by manipulation of the way the information is conveyed.

It has been shown in our and previous studies that that individuals' emotional responses to norm violations are heavily influenced by moral foundations, which are shaped by cultural and social contexts (Haidt & Graham, 2007). Different moral foundations (e.g., care/harm, fairness/cheating) can be emphasized through framing, thus altering emotional responses. The emotional intensity of responses to norm violations is further influenced by whether a violation is framed positively or negatively. Negative framing tends to elicit stronger emotional responses compared to positive framing (Nabi, 2003). Studies by Cialdini et al. (1990) also indicate that framing a norm violation in terms of injunctive norms (emphasizing moral imperatives) elicits stronger emotional responses and a higher likelihood of corrective behavior than framing in terms of descriptive norms. Taken together, future studies may aim to disentangle the role of emotional manipulation with highly emotional and less emotional way of delivering the information in different types of framing norms, such as injunctive/moral and descriptive norms, which was out of the scope of this study. By highlighting different aspects of norm violations, framing can either amplify or attenuate emotional responses, influencing subsequent behavior.

Previous studies suggest that the various types of emotions, such as anger, disgust, and moral outrage, can be triggered by perceived violations of social norms

(Carlsmith et al., 2002; Darley & Pittman, 2003; Lotz et al., 2011; Salerno & Peter-Hagene, 2013; Hartsough et al., 2020). Future research could utilize emotion-tracking methods to identify emotions (e.g. facial expressions, vegetative reactions, etc.) of participants in order to distinguish the emotional responses triggered by the perceived norm violations. This would provide further awareness of emotions that are triggered by verbal descriptions of norms violations, particularly when a highly emotional language is used. Understanding these dynamics offers valuable insights for policymakers, media professionals, and organizations in managing public responses to norm violations. Future studies should continue to explore the nuances of framing effects across diverse cultural and social contexts to enhance our understanding of this complex phenomenon.

Conclusion

The primary aim of our study was to investigate whether the perception of social norm violations is modulated by the emotional intensity of the verbal description of norm violations. The behavioral results have successfully replicated the previous findings, for the first time on a Russian sample. Specifically, participants evaluated the situations as more normatively unacceptable when norm violations were articulated with emotionally laden language.

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ФУНКЦИОНАЛЬНАЯ РОЛЬ ДУХОВНОГО СМЫСЛА В ПЕРЕЖИВАНИИ ДУХОВНОГО КРИЗИСА

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The Functional Role of Spiritual Meaning in a Spiritual Crisis

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Резюме

За последнее десятилетие в поле академической психологии наблюдается неуклонный рост теоретических и эмпирических работ, посвященных изучению феномена духовного кризиса. К настоящему моменту накоплено значительное количество данных о взаимосвязях духовного кризиса с благополучием и здоровьем, однако понимание механизмов выхода из данного состояния остается «слепой зоной» исследовательского поля. Цель настоящей работы состояла в том, чтобы определить функциональную роль духовного смысла в структуре переживания духовного кризиса. В лонгитюдном качественном исследовании, проведенном в 2021 и 2023 гг., приняло участие 18 информантов с опытом переживания духовного кризиса. С помощью метода обоснованной теории была выявлена модель переживания духовного кризиса, в

Abstract

Over the past decade, there has been a steady increase in theoretical and empirical work in the field of academic psychology devoted to the study of the phenomenon of spiritual crisis. By the present, a significant amount of data has been accumulated on the interrelationships of spiritual crisis with well-being and health, but understanding the mechanisms of overcoming this condition remains a "blind spot" of the research field. The objective of this work was to determine the functional role of spiritual meaning in the structure of a spiritual crisis. The longitudinal qualitative study was conducted in 2021 and 2023 and involved 18 informants with an experience of a spiritual crisis. By the method of grounded theory, the model of a spiritual crisis was built, in which the key point of

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которой ключевой точкой выхода является обретение духовного смысла. Согласно полученной модели, переживание духовного кризиса проходит следующие этапы: 1) разрушение прежней смысловой системы; 2) обнаружение духовного смысла; 3) борьба за утверждение новой смысловой иерархии; 4) обретение и инкорпорация духовного смысла в смысловую систему; 5) духовный смысл как «двигатель» духовной регуляции. Предлагается обсуждение перспективы рассмотрения духовного смысла как функционального органа развития личности не просто за собственные пределы, но во внутреннем диалогическом общении с абсолютной истиной.

Ключевые слова: духовный смысл, духовный кризис, регуляция личности, духовное здоровье, качественное исследование.

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recovery from the crisis is represented by the acquisition of a spiritual meaning. According to the resulting model, the experience of a spiritual crisis goes through the following stages: 1) the destruction of the former meaning system; 2) the discovery of a higher spiritual meaning; 3) the struggle for the establishment of a new meaning hierarchy; 4) acquisition and incorporation of a spiritual meaning into the meaning system; 5) spiritual meaning as the "engine" of a different form of regulation. It is proposed to discuss the prospects of considering a spiritual meaning as a functional organ of personality development not only beyond its own limits, but in the internal dialogue with the absolute truth.

Keywords: spiritual meaning, spiritual crisis, regulation of personality, spiritual health, qualitative study.

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В академической зарубежной среде за последние десять лет наблюдается неуклонный рост исследований, посвященных критическим переживаниям человека в духовной сфере. Для сравнения, по поиску «spiritual crisis» в базе публикаций lens.org демонстрируется следующая статистическая аналитика¹: в 2010 г. в рецензируемых психологических журналах встречается 54 статьи, посвященные данной тематике, в 2015 г. — 80, в 2021 г. — 232, в 2022 и 2023 гг. число публикаций увеличивается до 420. Стоит также отметить значительное расширение терминологического аппарата в отношении темы духовного кризиса за последние 40 лет: исследователи вводят такие понятия, как «духовная чрезвычайная ситуация» («spiritual emergency») (Grof, Grof, 2017), «духовная сухость» («spiritual dryness») (Büssing et al., 2013), «духовная борьба» («spiritual struggle») (Exline, 2013), «духовное страдание» («spiritual suffering») (Bartel, 2004) и др.

Безусловно, пандемии, катастрофы, войны, сопровождаемые глобализацией, развитием науки и информационных технологий, не только создают условия, приводящие целые цивилизации к коренной трансформации всего уклада жизни, но и ставят под вопрос духовно-нравственные основы существования человечества (Бурманов, 2021). Так, в США люди все чаще обращаются к психологам с жалобами на негативное содержание их духовных и религиозных переживаний (Ellis et al., 2022; McLaughlin et al., 2022; van Tongeren et al., 2024). В европейских странах на фоне резко возросшей за последние десятилетия секуляризации общества в отношении официальных религий (Meulemann, Schmidt-Catran, 2023) возрастает интерес к мистическим неинституциональным верованиям (Tromp et al., 2020) и так называемой альтернативной духовности, рассматривающей природу и связь человека с ней в качестве духовного ресурса личности (Каруста, Kostićová, 2021). В азиатских странах на фоне высокой смертности во время пандемии стала широко освещаться тема духовных потребностей у нерелигиозных людей, которые столкнулись со смертью близких и стали открытыми для духовной помощи в сложившейся ситуации (Cai et al., 2020). В дальнейшем после окончания пандемии тема духовных потребностей получила активное распространение среди паллиативных пациентов (Wang et al., 2024) и пациентов с онкологическими заболеваниями (Shi et al., 2023). В арабском регионе в связи с возрастанием доступности социальных сетей стали распространяться альтернативные религиозные течения суфизма, движения различных мистических современных учений и других форм духовности, противопоставленных традиционным верованиям, что, в свою очередь, влияет на возрастание религиозных сомнений (van Nieuwkerk, 2020, 2021). В России тема духовных кризисов менее представлена в научном дискурсе, однако достоверно известно, что интерес к трансцендентному опыту, эзотерической литературе и обучению в этой области неуклонно растет среди населения. Так, за период с 2022 по 2023 г. аудитория онлайн-курсов, обучающих мистическим техникам взаимодействия со

¹Ссылка на аналитические данные lens.org: <https://clck.ru/3BSFYM>

сверхъестественным, выросла в 19 раз², а продажи эзотерической атрибутики увеличились в 2 раза за тот же период³; в 2024 г. число посетителей соответствующих сайтов выросло еще на четверть по сравнению с 2023 г.⁴

Последний факт хотя и подвергается критике со стороны общества, тем не менее может быть интерпретирован психологически как маркер роста сложных экзистенциальных вопросов, порой принципиально неразрешимых. Вместе с тем можно констатировать, что и психологическая помощь, и классические религиозные практики душепопечения оказались неспособны охватить весь перечень вопросов, волнующих современного человека, поскольку в поиске ответов задействована сама личность как целое.

Во множестве текущих исследований можно выделить две тенденции. С одной стороны, это выявление количественных взаимосвязей между наличием духовного кризиса и различными показателями субъективного благополучия и здоровья (Corneille, Luke, 2021; Cowden et al., 2022; Fisher, 2011; Upenieks, 2022). С другой стороны, исследуемые понятия получают наполнение содержательными маркерами и предпосылками в результате большого количества проводимых качественных исследований (Harris et al., 2020; Tabik et al., 2020; van Nieuw Amerongen et al., 2023). Так, одно из исследований, проведенное в русле обоснованной теории на выборке духовных учителей различных религиозных и внеконфессиональных практик, позволило выделить и поэтапно описать прохождение человеком так называемого духовного пробуждения — особого изменения восприятия, поведения и познания в сторону большей связи с миром и трансцендентным (Maurya et al., 2023). Распространены исследования феноменологии духовных переживаний, сопутствующих контексту угрожающего жизни заболевания, нахождения человека на лечении в условиях больниц и хосписов. Исследователи описывают особенности протекания переживания «духовной боли» у детей и подростков с острым лимфобластным лейкозом (Gomez-Gamboa et al., 2022), духовный опыт пациенток с раком молочной железы (Habibi Asgarabad et al., 2020) и диабетом второго типа (Antoni et al., 2023) и т. п. Иными словами, исследования переменных, связанных с духовным измерением, посвящены, как правило, специфическому опыту и переживаниям, которые являются критическими, экстраординарными, околосмертными и охватывающими всю личность как целое.

Духовный кризис и пограничная ситуация

Современный мир несет в себе огромное число возможностей для развертывания в жизни человека критических ситуаций, которые можно назвать пограничными. Размышляя о таких ситуациях, К. Ясперс (Jaspers, 1919) описывает

² «Ведомости» со ссылкой на аналитиков Теле2: <https://www.vedomosti.ru/technology/articles/2023/03/28/968356-auditoriya-onlain-shkol-gadaniya-taro-i-magii-viros-la-za-god-pochti-v-20-raz>

³ Национальная служба новостей: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/5901780>

⁴ Правмир: <https://www.pravmir.ru/u-rossiyan-vyros-interes-k-astrologii-numerologii-i-gadaniyam>

состояния, которые ощущаются, переживаются, мыслятся только тогда, когда человек подведен к границам собственного существования; когда он находится в расколе между объективным миром и установками собственного ума; когда он не имеет опоры и какого-либо фиксированного, непреложного Абсолюта, чтобы устоять перед открывшимся ему опытом или размышлениями. «Все течет, все находится в беспокойном движении постановки-подвопрос (*das in Frage-gestellt-werden*), все относительно, конечно, расщеплено на противоположности» (Jaspers, 1919; цит. по: Больнов, 1999, с. 86). В пограничной ситуации человек лишен целостного видения и сам таковым не является, он ощущает свое бессилие, поскольку ситуация не поддается изменению (Ясперс, 2012).

В результате преодоления пограничных ситуаций у человека формируется иной образ мира или, как говорит К. Ясперс, новый тип мировоззренческой раковины. Разрушение одной раковины (Ясперс, Голиков, 2021) неминуемо приводит к построению новой, однако, по мнению философа, этот процесс движения за собственные пределы и представляет собой жизнь. «Следовательно, в процессе жизни раковины растворяются только для того, чтобы создать новое пространство; и в конечном счете это вопрос не разрушения раковины, а метаморфозы» (Там же, с. 122). В ходе этого движения жизни прежнее мировоззрение не разрушается, а преодолевается, т.е. оно остается отмененным, однако частично сохранным (Там же, с. 129).

Именно в этой точке размышлений мы предлагаем обратиться к такому понятию К. Ясперса, как «духовная ситуация». Возникая в пограничной ситуации, духовная ситуация отличается тем, что она бросает человеку вызов борьбы «за его подлинную сущность» (Ясперс, 1991). И потому в духовной ситуации человек «пребывает в качестве самого себя в существовании, когда оно не замыкается, а все время вновь распадается на антиномии» (Там же). Иными словами, духовная пограничная ситуация не только неизбежно ставит человека перед необходимостью радикального пересмотра всей системы координат жизни, но и являет собой вызов борьбы за собственную человечность.

Предыдущее качественное исследование (Витко, 2021) позволило нам обобщить феноменологию переживаний духовного кризиса. Резюмируя его результаты, можно сказать, что духовный кризис представляет собой критическое состояние человека, несущее в себе угрозу целостности его личности, которое сопровождается полноценным духовным опытом. В данном исследовании под духовным опытом понимался разнообразный «опыт событий трансцендирования» (Хоружий, 1998, с. 6), который респонденты определяли для себя как духовный. Сюда относились специфические впечатления и переживания Встречи, контакта с духовными сущностями. Поскольку духовный кризис есть всегда ситуация дезинтеграции, для которой нет единого языка, субъект переживания все же стремится ее описать, обращаясь к конструктам религии или иного доступного ему универсального языка (например, научных терминов, метафор и др.).

Опираясь на вышеизложенные идеи, мы предлагаем понимать духовный кризис как духовную ситуацию, поскольку он также представляет собой разрушение

фундаментальных образующих самой личности, ее целостности. От локального кризиса личности духовный кризис отличается тем, что он охватывает личность как бы извне, как стихийное бедствие, существенно разрушая саму логику, образующую ее жизненный мир, а также серьезно нарушая ее внутренние отношения с самой собой. Таким образом, ситуация духовного кризиса может пониматься как сверхбытийная (духовная) ситуация, бросающая смысловый вызов самой внутренней логике бытия личности, ее пониманию мира в себе и себя в мире. Духовный кризис — это ситуация, потенциально провоцирующая изменения, о чем Ф.Е. Василюк писал как о переходе к иной жизни, который «состоит не в «скачке» от одного содержания жизни к другому, а в ценностном преодолении и преображении старой жизни: новая жизнь относится к старой как прощение к обиде, покаяние к вине» (Василюк, 1981, с. 14).

Смыслообразование как психологический субстрат преодоления духовного кризиса

Известно, что «человек возвышается духовно лишь благодаря своему внутреннему разладу и тому, что покупается его ценой, что мы назвали вторым рождением» (Джеймс, 2017, с. 286). Однако неясным остается тот психологический механизм, который «собирает» личность в новую целостность.

Одним из таких механизмов, который обеспечивает трансформацию переживания и способствует разрешению критического состояния личности, является смыслообразование.

Вслед за Д.А. Леонтьевым, мы понимаем смыслообразование как «процесс распространения смысла от ведущих, смыслообразующих, «ядерных» смысловых структур к частным, периферическим, производным в конкретной ситуации развертывающейся деятельности» (Леонтьев, 2019, с. 274). Обретение смысла представляет собой динамический процесс его постепенного «узнавания» и раскрытия со стороны субъекта смыслообразования; смысл критической ситуации не дан человеку непосредственно, но разгадывается личностью, когда она вглядывается в жизненные события и эпохи своей биографии. Человек встает перед задачей «распутывания опыта» (Мамардашвили, 1997) через нахождение смысла, интегрирующего происходящее в индивидуальную историю и структуру личности. Поиск смысла происходящего есть поиск «точки опоры», некоего «места» отношения к собственному бытию, в котором станет возможно упорядочить прежде хаотическое содержание: «Вообще всякое принципиальное отношение носит творческий, продуктивный характер. То, что мы в жизни, в познании и в поступке называем определенным предметом, обретает свою определенность» (Бахтин, 2000, с. 33).

Как уже было сказано выше, сама личность находится под угрозой разрушения собственной целостности, переживая события, составляющие биографическую основу ее духовного кризиса. И в этом смысле «задача на смысл» не столько обращена к пониманию личностью критических обстоятельств или драмы отношений с миром, сколько адресована самой личности, ее существованию. Если

в случае осмысления событий жизни перед человеком стоит вопрос, какое место определить событиям и явлениям в существующей жизнедеятельности (Леонтьев, 2019), то в случае вызова, который несет с собой ситуация духовного кризиса, глубинное и «ядерное» самой личности ставится под сомнение. Самое базовое в личности, связанное с ее мотивами, взглядами, ценностями, разрушается, оставив после себя разрозненные части опыта и поступков. Ищущее себя переживание не может больше удовлетвориться никаким эгоистическим смыслом, поскольку границы собственного Я оказываются утрачены. Все это ищет не для-меня-смысла, а по закону обратной перспективы — смысла-меня-для-Другого — такого смысла, когда Другой оказывается парадоксально ближе, чем Я сам для себя.

«Видимый мир является лишь частью иного, духовного мира, в котором он черпает свой главный смысл» (Джеймс, 2017, с. 249). И в этом отношении переживающий кризис и обращающийся в трансцендентное *«молящийся должен вникнуть в духовный смысл предстоящего дела, совершенного проступка или свершившегося события»* (Василюк, 2021, с. 141). Этот духовный акт осмысления направлен на то, чтобы личности родиться вновь.

Итак, не всякий смысл способен интегрировать разрушенные в критической ситуации смысловые структуры в новую гармонично функционирующую динамическую смысловую систему. В отечественных теоретических разработках выделяется представление об иерархической организации динамической смысловой системы за авторством Б.С. Братуся (Братусь, 1988). Вслед за эгоцентрическими и группоцентрическими смыслами он выделяет третий смысловый уровень — просоциальный, — включающий в себя ориентацию на мораль и общечеловеческие ценности, а позднее добавляет четвертый уровень, представляющий собой систему смысловых отношений человека с Богом (Братусь, 1994, 1999). Специфика четвертого уровня состоит в том, что ценность человека не только воспринимается с позиции гуманистической или общечеловеческой ценности, но и *обретает смысл* подобно тому, как у М. Хайдеггера священное воплощает собой бытие «в аспекте высшего присутствия, окутывающего мир любовью, дарящего ему смысл, одаривающего мир и принимающего жертвы от людей» (Цендровский, 2016, с. 26).

Некоторые зарубежные модели также отражают представления об иерархическом строении смысловой структуры личности. Так, К. Парк и С. Фолкман (Park, Folkman, 1997) предлагают двухуровневую модель, включающую в себя глобальные и ситуационные смыслы. Глобальные смыслы представляют собой ядерную структуру смыслов, слабо поддающуюся ситуативным изменениям и определяющую направленность смыслообразования на нижележащих уровнях. На уровне глобальных смыслов выделяются, с одной стороны, представления личности о мире и окружающих людях, а с другой — целевые детерминанты личности и ее представления о собственном предназначении. В модели, представленной в работе Н. Маскаро и коллег (Mascaro et al., 2004), также выделяется двухуровневая система, состоящая из главного Смысла, вокруг которого выстраиваются частные смысловые структуры. При этом главный Смысл представлен двумя аспектами —

осмысленностью жизни в целом и ощущением человеком своего призвания, зова со стороны высшего, трансцендентного.

Создатель логотерапии В. Франкл усматривал существование высшего замысла относительно жизни человека, его предназначения и жизненных событий, с которыми он сталкивается. Между тем это предназначение является непознаваемым в силу ограниченности сознания человека и может быть лишь приблизительно сформулировано в форме сверхсмысла (Франкл, 1990). Такая формулировка, согласно автору, является попыткой расшифровать запредельный для человеческого существования замысел, переводя его в доступный для человека личностный смысл, в котором субъект соотносит события своей жизни с наивысшей перспективой. Обращаясь к примеру столкновения человека с заболеванием, В. Франкл описывает обретение смысла в страдании как столкновение личности с психофизиологической данностью собственного организма. Духовный аспект смысла в данном случае проявляется в том, что личность усматривает неразрывную связь между своей судьбой в ее сакральном значении и переживаемым сейчас страданием: «В этом столкновении с участием больного, в своем отношении к этой участи пораженный болезнью человек осуществляет некоторый — нет, глубочайший! — смысл и реализует некоторую — нет, высшую! — ценность» (Там же). Интересна идея Л.З. Левита (2022), который находит возможности определить содержания высшего смысла через введение категории самосовершенствования. Мы не беремся анализировать необходимость рассмотрения самосовершенствования в качестве содержательной характеристики высшего смысла, однако усматриваем в ней указание на интенциональность высших смысловых образований. На наш взгляд, содержание высшего смысла может варьироваться в зависимости от индивидуальной системы верований человека, при этом обнаружение высшего смысла неизбежно направляет личность в сторону ее жизневосхождения (термин М.Ш. Магомед-Эминова (2005)).

Безусловно, процессы осмысления играют ключевую роль в том, чтобы личность справилась с критической ситуацией (Василюк, 1981; Магомед-Эминов, 2005; Леонтьев, 2019, с. 270). Однако, когда речь идет о предельно сложных ситуациях, разрушающих сами основы личности и лишаящих ее всяческих опор, встает вопрос о том, какого рода смыслы способны выстоять и не рассыпаться в таких обстоятельствах? Мы предполагаем, что такими смыслами будут некие архетипические знания, относящиеся к духовной культуре, являющиеся квинтэссенцией преодоления человечеством самых разных пограничных ситуаций. Однако ключевую роль играют не сами знания, а то, как личность и сохранившееся в ней понимающее начало будут преодолевать собственные заблуждения и видеть замысел о себе. Поэтому **цель** данного исследования заключается в том, чтобы определить функциональную роль духовного смысла в структуре переживания духовного кризиса.

Метод

Методологические основания. В данном исследовании мы опираемся на ряд теоретических идей, которым можно было бы посвятить отдельную статью,

поэтому кратко остановимся на их перечислении. Во-первых, ситуация духовного кризиса должна рассматриваться в синергетической парадигме (Пригожин, 1991), поскольку вопрос о смысле предполагает разомкнутость личности за пределы себя (Леонтьев, 2019). Во-вторых, мы предлагаем использовать идеи об уровнях регуляции личности (Калитеевская, 1997; Леонтьев, 2011). В-третьих, в соответствии с программной статьей Д.А. Леонтьева высшим уровнем признается духовная регуляция (Леонтьев, 2005). В-четвертых, ценностно-смысловые ориентации личности предстают важным ресурсом для исследований в этой области (Двойнин, 2007; Леонтьев, 2019; Leontiev, 2016a). В-пятых, опираясь на идеи М.М. Бахтина, мы полагаем, что духовное измерение может быть изучено, поскольку имеет смысловое содержание: «Душа — это образ совокупности всего действительно пережитого, всего наличного в душе во времени, дух же — совокупность всех смысловых значимостей, направленностей жизни, актов исхождения из себя» (Бахтин, 1979б, с. 98–99).

Дизайн исследования. С целью изучения динамики осмысления духовного кризиса нами был выбран лонгитюдный дизайн исследования, состоящий из двух этапов с интервалом в два года. Первый этап качественного лонгитюдного исследования был проведен в 2020–2021 гг. Второй этап осуществлялся в 2022–2023 гг. На втором этапе исследования респонденты согласились повторно рассказать о пережитом духовном кризисе и поделиться тем, как развивались дальнейшие события. Сбор данных проводился в формате полуструктурированного интервью. В дальнейшем все беседы были расшифрованы и преобразованы в текстовый формат.

Выборка. К участию в исследовании приглашались лица, находящиеся в актуальном переживании духовного кризиса или имеющие опыт его преодоления. В первом качественном срезе принял участие 31 информант (10 мужчин и 21 женщина) в возрастном диапазоне от 19 до 52 лет (средний возраст — 27 лет). Из участвовавших в первом срезе информантов 18 человек (14 женщин и 4 мужчины) согласились пройти повторную беседу на втором этапе качественного исследования. В выборку вошли православные христиане, протестант, буддист, итсист, не относящие себя к какому-либо вероисповеданию и атеисты.

Для формулировки позитивной траектории духовного кризиса было принято решение взять в конечную выборку только тех информантов, которые: 1) оценивали произошедшие с ними события и переживания как духовный кризис в двух беседах; 2) оценили прошедший духовный кризис как позитивно разрешенный. 14 из 18 респондентов спустя два года после проведения исследования также считали, что пережитый ими кризис является духовным, и оценили его как положительно разрешенный. Трое информантов на момент проведения второй беседы сообщили, что перестали рассматривать описываемый период жизни как духовный кризис, относя его к личностному/ценностному кризису или проявлению психического расстройства. Один из респондентов оценил свое прохождение духовного кризиса отрицательно.

Анализ данных. Для получения объемного представления об особенностях формирования духовного смысла и его роли в переживании духовного кризиса, с учетом индивидуальных вариаций в случаях информантов, мы выбрали качественный дизайн исследования (Бусыгина, 2024). Анализ расшифрованных бесед проводился с опорой на метод обоснованной теории (Страусс, Корбин, 2001), который позволяет получать теории, максимально укорененные в эмпирических данных за счет преимущественно индуктивной логики анализа. Этот метод предполагает проведение последовательных этапов: 1) *открытого кодирования*, которое заключается в выделении смысловых кодов по всему массиву данных и присвоении им «ярлыка» в соответствии с ответом на вопросы «что это такое?» и «что это собой представляет?»; 2) *осевого кодирования*, которое подразумевает объединение кодов в категории, отвечающие модели парадигмы, включающей в себя каузальное условие, феномен, контекст, промежуточные условия, стратегии действия/взаимодействия и следствия; 3) *избирательного кодирования*, которое завершает анализ формированием основной теории.

Результаты

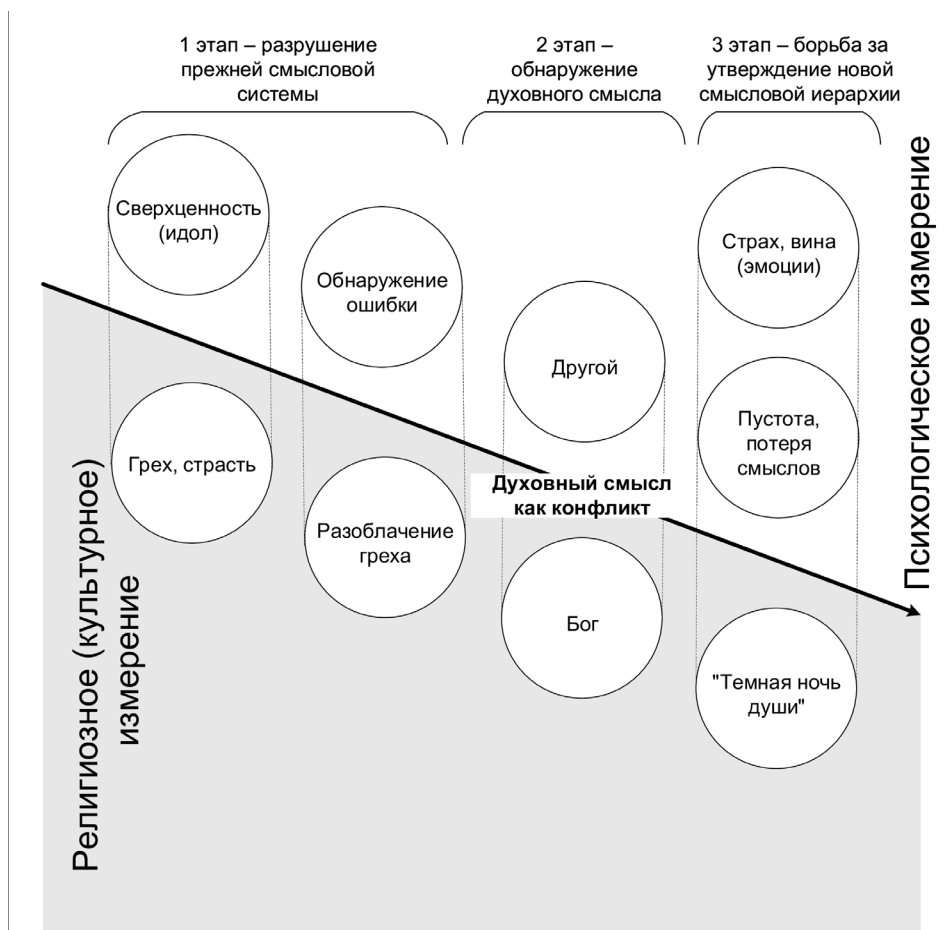
По прошествии двух лет между двумя беседами о произошедшем духовном кризисе некоторые информанты объясняли собственные переживания уже не в дискурсе светского мировоззрения, а усматривая «закулисы» собственных духовных процессов и отношений с чем-то/кем-то вне себя. В связи с этим нами было принято решение отразить разворачивающийся духовный кризис в двух плоскостях: психологической, имея в виду личностный, мировоззренческий план, и религиозной, имея в виду сакральное, внеличностное, но культурно в личности укорененное (см. рисунки 1, 2). Полученные в исследовании результаты были обширны, однако складывались в поэтапный процесс обнаружения духовного смысла и дальнейшей трансформации его функциональной роли в ходе духовного кризиса. Итак, нами были выделены следующие этапы, через которые проходило переживание духовного кризиса: 1) разрушение прежней смысловой системы; 2) обнаружение духовного смысла, имеющего для личности значение сакрального, священного; 3) борьба за утверждение новой смысловой иерархии; 4) обретение и инкорпорация духовного смысла в смысловую систему; 5) духовный смысл как «двигатель» духовной регуляции личности.

Этап 1. Разрушение прежней смысловой системы. Респонденты, пережившие пройденный духовный кризис, отмечали, что его причиной послужила их собственная ошибка; верующие информанты приходили к заключению о совершении ими греха. Например, одна из респонденток видит причину своего кризиса в слишком сильном желании выйти замуж за знакомого мужчину. При этом в первом интервью она делает акцент на том, что у нее *«на первом месте был мужчина и семья»* (P7)⁵. Она добавляет: *«...я внутренне с*

⁵ Здесь и далее: P — респондент, цифра — порядковый номер респондента в анализе.

Рисунок 1

Этапы переживания духовного кризиса (этапы 1, 2, 3)



этим не спорила, я точно знала, что Бог не находится на первом месте» (P7). Во втором интервью повышается градус категоричности оценки этой ситуации – респондентка впервые начинает описывать ситуацию через понятия «грех», «идол»: «Скорее такой **идол, идол, идол** [быстрая речь] и был создан. Был такой внутри меня. Ну, мне вообще свойственно было из мужчин делать идолов, потому что они были боги. <...> Не Бог источник моей жизни, а мужчина» (P7). Кроме того, прямо во время второго интервью респондентка воспроизводит внутренний диалог с Богом и приводит прямую речь от Его имени: «Ты правильно туда шла, ты правильно Меня слышала, и ты сделала то, что Я хотел. Но цель ты не могла увидеть <...> Так вот, этот **грех** – непопадание в цель» (P7).

Другая респондентка, не относящая себя к какой-либо конфессии, описывала свой духовный кризис как ощущение того, что вся ее жизнь (ценности,

убеждения, цели, люди, мир вокруг) стала восприниматься как «не то», «не туда», «неправильно», «как будто все не так. И при этом непонятно тогда, что — так» (P8). При этом первая беседа характеризуется более развернутым описанием духовного кризиса.

В целом по выборке при первом рассказе информантов нарратив был чаще сосредоточен на описании личных тяжелых переживаний и в гораздо меньшей степени относился к рефлексии своих поступков и критическому взгляду на себя. В последующих беседах респонденты указывали, что мысль о совершенной ошибке/грехе могла осознаваться ими в некоторой степени, однако тяготела к тому, чтобы остаться в тайне: «Приходила некоторая самоуверенность и ощущение того, что совершённое можно будет исправить или скрыть» (P1). В личностном измерении грех предстал в форме сверхценности — это могли быть очень сильные чувства к человеку или чрезмерная привязанность к событию, поведению, в том числе негативному. Именно это переживание ценности происходящего не давало человеку в полной мере осознать его ошибочность. В последующем, по словам информантов, совершение ошибки не приносило должного удовлетворения и приводило к ощущению опустошения: «Я дохожу до какого-то дна, обнаруживаю себя в свинарнике, поедаящим пищу для свиней. Может, вокруг все прелестно, хорошо, а внутри какое-то душевное опустошение, отсутствие смысла» (P2).

Этап 2. Обнаружение духовного смысла, имеющего для личности значение сакрального, священного. На следующем этапе чувства бессмысленности и страдания находили свое объяснение в сути совершенного поступка. На эту рефлекссию информанта чаще всего наталкивал диалог с Другим (знакомый, священник, внутренний голос и др.): «И тогда мне батюшка просто напомнил притчу о [немилосердном] работодателя, который... Ему простили большой долг, а он вышел, увидел своего должника и начал его трясти за долг. Как бы обычная притча, часто ее на проповеди говорят, но вот тогда я как-то себя увидела в этот момент, именно этим человеком, который пришел и хочет встряхнуть свой малый долг» (P3). Здесь можно говорить о первом появлении *духовного смысла*, который на данном этапе оказывается сопряжен с внутренним конфликтом, недостаточной готовностью интегрировать его в смысловую систему личности.

Этап 3. Борьба за утверждение новой смысловой иерархии. Появление духовного смысла проживаемой ситуации зачастую приводило к возникновению внутренней борьбы. Некоторые респонденты говорили об очень сильном переживании конфликта и разделенности внутри себя, в котором старая система смыслов и ценностей вступала в ожесточенное противоречие с новой, еще не до конца принимаемой: «Как будто каждый условный конфликт — это две сцепленные кляксы, и мне их нужно было расцепить. Я воспринимал, что в итоге каждый такой конфликт можно решить правильно. Что это не выбор из двух зол, а из блага и неблага. Мне было довольно тяжело. ...Это была борьба» (P4).

Некоторые респонденты сообщили, что в результате переживания внутреннего конфликта они отказались от духовного способа осмысления ситуации и своей жизни. Двое информантов отметили, что испытали охлаждение к

религиозной жизни, а один из них, будучи до этого воцерковленным с детства человеком, пришел к отрицанию существования Бога и принял светское мировоззрение: «Если бы я был добрый, я бы так не делал с людьми. А Бог так делал со мной, и соответственно я начал сомневаться. Потом я начал активно изучать вопросы атеизма, веры, религии, того, как это все устроено, в культурном аспекте, в историческом, в разных» (P5). Интересно, что во второй беседе информант объяснил свой уход из религии незрелостью детской веры, которая не смогла выдержать испытания.

Этап 4. Обретение и инкорпорация духовного смысла в смысловую систему. Некоторые респонденты описывали, что в процессе переживания внутренней борьбы они достигали «пика отчаяния», в котором ощущали свою

Рисунок 2

Этапы переживания духовного кризиса (этапы 4, 5)



беспомощность. Участники исследования говорили о том, что здесь они оказывались «на дне» и из глубины этого состояния обращались к Богу с молитвой или бессловесным признанием невозможности справиться с ситуацией. Помимо уединенной молитвы трансцендирование отчаяния могло происходить после исповеди. Примечательно, что здесь как раз и раскрывается в своей полноте духовный смысл — не как рациональная идея, но в подлинном личном его переживании: *«Это был такой голос. Я бы назвала его духовным. <...> Это было как пробуждение, как будто тебя окатило водой, и тут внезапно умылся холодной водой, и такой так, стоп. Просто проблема в том, что это был такой разрыв психический. И потом идея суицида, она... И я думала, что ну все, теперь мне нужно это сделать. И тогда я такая: “Так, стоп, не нужно, вообще не нужно”. Это было как такое, молния»* (Р6). Вместе с переживанием духовного смысла информанты также говорили об ощущении радости освобождения от греха: *«Я была несколько лет под этим всем, я привыкла к этой духовной боли, что я так живу, я уже не рыдалась. А тут меня вытащили на корму. Уже кажется, что живешь и все так, как полярная ночь. А потом оказывается, что это уже не полярная ночь, ее сняли духовно, вау, без нее-то как хорошо! Свободу пережила. Это тоже был этап уже исцеления»* (Р7).

Утверждение духовного смысла означало для верующих в том числе необходимость отказаться от того, что ранее было ценно и что осмыслялось как неправильное с точки зрения нового понимания, новой логики бытия. Респонденты отмечали, что «отрезание» части себя, своей привычки, страсти происходило в соработничестве, диалоге с Богом и потому словно «анестезировалось» радостным ощущением благодати.

Информанты говорили о том, что впоследствии они выбирали новый образ жизни в соответствии с обретенным духовным смыслом, что было характерно как для верующих, так и для неверующих респондентов. Например, одна из респонденток до кризиса реализовывала себя в бизнесе и была постоянно озабочена достижением карьерных и финансовых успехов. Разочаровавшись в своей прошлой жизни, она описывает все как *«неправильное»* (Р8). Выбор новой жизни она объясняет в логике смерти и рождения, усматривая в этом *«закон природы»* (Р8). Интересно, что в течение двух лет между интервью эта респондентка вышла замуж.

Этап 5. Духовный смысл как «двигатель» духовной регуляции. В последующем информанты сообщали об укреплении себя в новой выбранной ценностной системе координат и образе жизни. Духовный смысл занимал роль регулятора жизнедеятельности человека, выступая ориентиром в актах самопреодоления и самопреобразования: совершение того или иного поступка чаще стало производиться с опорой на духовные ценности и принципы, «материальными носителями» которых могли являться известные человеку священные книги, заповеди, слова духовного наставника и др.

После преодоления глобального духовного кризиса респонденты отмечали, что на этом духовные кризисы в их жизни не закончились. Напротив, духовный кризис, с одной стороны, становился «проторенной» дорожкой переживания и преодоления собственных недостатков, греха, а с другой —

запускал внутреннюю работу покаяния, метанойю. Повторившийся духовный кризис имел более краткое и менее бурное течение, характеризовался позитивными преобразованиями, особенно в тех случаях, когда информанты отмечали утверждение нового мировоззрения. Респонденты объясняли это тем, что в процессе переживания глобального кризиса обрели инструменты духовной регуляции (молитва, исповедь и т.д.) и могли обращаться к ним в дальнейшем в переживании новых ситуаций. Особо ценным оказалось понимание того, что за духовным кризисом стоит серьезная ошибка: *«Ты вроде как валишься туда же, тебя начинает штормить, у тебя начинаются какие-то припадки, какие-то состояния, ты рыдаешь. Но <...> ты обращаешься к этой зоне. Ты делаешь по этой лесенке несколько шагов вверх и как бы с этого балкончика обозреваешь свою ситуацию, свою личность, свой конфликт — все, что с тобой происходит в этом безумии кратком. А с другой стороны, ты еще при этом находишь грех, вот в чем дело»* (P1).

Событие, которое прежде было основным содержанием духовного кризиса, наблюдалось в регистре непосредственного переживания и сопровождалось мучительными состояниями, во втором срезе у некоторых информантов обнаруживалось в регистре рефлексии: оно стало восприниматься как индикатор совершенной ошибки, которую необходимо отыскать. При этом обретенный духовный смысл стал работать в новых аналогичных ситуациях в качестве предупреждения, «сообщая» личности о возможности повторения ошибки, которая приведет к тяжелому состоянию или даже разрушению личности: *«И это такое состояние бодрости, трезвости, смиренности. Что, как бы ты ни думала, как бы ты ни хотела, ты не пойдешь туда, где будет действительно разрушение личности, — тебя никто оттуда не спасет, как тебя не спасло тогда. Поэтому <...> это действительно такая штука, что, когда ты захо-дишь <...> слишком далеко, возвращается это состояние»* (P6).

Обсуждение результатов

Безусловно, выделенные нами этапы переживания духовного кризиса могут перекликаться с этапами трансформации любого смысла, однако, как нам кажется, качественное исследование столь масштабного кризиса позволяет нам, как в микроскопе, увидеть те процессы, которые в случае более мелких трансформаций проносятся вне рефлексивного сознания.

Согласно одной из последних редакций теории смысла Д.А. Леонтьева, «стимулы могут направлять и побуждать к действиям только потому и в той мере, в какой они имеют смысл, несут определенный личностный смысл в контексте жизненного мира человека» (Leontiev, 2016b, p. 133; перевод наш). Потому разрушение или нарушение смысловой связи между стимулами и потребностями приводит к утрате вторыми мотивирующей силы (Ibid.). Иными словами, в духовном кризисе определенный поступок, довольно скоро рефлекслируемый человеком как серьезная ошибка, инициирует разрывы в смысловой ткани, что неминуемо сопровождается и разрушением текущей мотивационной иерархии. По-видимому, поступок вступает в серьезное противоречие

с вышележащими уровнями (Ibid., p. 12) и потому так сильно влияет на смысловую систему в целом, так как верхние уровни динамической смысловой системы организуют порой множество смысловых связей, невозможных напрямую. В этом неразрешимом противоречии между поступком и содержанием ядерных структур динамической смысловой системы порождается реальное событие, некоторое обстоятельство, которое деятельно утверждает конец старого контекста, сопряженного с прежним жизненным миром. Этот этап заслуживает отдельного внимания, однако ему посвящены другие наши работы, поэтому здесь не будем подробно останавливаться на нем (см.: Витко, 2021, 2023; Столярова и др., в печати).

Второй и третий этапы процесса преодоления духовного кризиса, как показывают лонгитюдные данные, предполагают разоблачение истинного смысла поступка, который признается ошибочным. Духовный смысл выступает «наречением имени» прежде замкнутого в самом себе переживания «извне», из трансцендентного, где «ограниченное и удерживаемое теперь своим именем, оно приобретает статус третьего лица — того, о чем идет речь между первыми двумя лицами — Я и Ты, личностью и Богом» (Василюк, 2021, с. 114). Сначала разоблачение может быть инициировано Другим и даже не приниматься личностью, однако прирост смысла осуществится только в том случае, если в следующем акте личность примет на себя всю ответственность за собственный поступок. В этом индивидуальном действии происходит самое существенное — личность добровольно принимает на себя мучительное переживание. Именно здесь становится возможным торжество смысла над страданием, в котором, подобно истинному мученичеству, утверждается «не количество и интенсивность перенесенных мук, а — победа над мукой» (Там же, с. 11). Подобная трансформация может быть проиллюстрирована библейским сюжетом, к которому часто обращаются верующие респонденты. Двое респондентов отмечали, что в глубине собственного страдания и тоски по себе исчезнувшему они обнаруживали фигуру Христа. При этом речь шла не о том, что Он сострадал им, а о том, что они сами вдруг становились способными через собственный опыт глубокого раскаяния в совершенных ошибках приобщиться к Его страданию за ошибки человечества.

В этом «сораспятии», в опыте сопричастности Другому как носителю высшего смысла, и происходит победа смысла над мукой собственных переживаний, сила которых утрачивает доминирующее положение в печальной участи кризисных переживаний. По мысли Ф.Е. Василюка, такой высший (мученический) тип страдания «характеризуется предельным доминированием смысла над силой боли, победой смысла над силой» (Там же). Столь серьезная перемена личности, болезненная и мучительная, как смерть, связана с радикальной сменой контекста, что и совершает «впадение моей души в понимание» (Мамардашвили, 2015, с. 731). В этой борьбе за утверждение человеческого в человеке и реализуется либо полный крах, либо победа смысла, возвращающая личности соАвторство, разделенное с высшим Другим, с Богом. Результатом победы смысла будет преодоление совершенной ошибки (ошибок), которое заключается не в изменении следствий в мире — зачастую ничего

изменить уже нельзя, — а в изменении себя как причины и следствия этой ошибки. В этом заключается перемена ума, действительная метанойя, которая делает невозможным возвращение к старой системе смыслов. Напротив, неуспех в преодолении критической ситуации будет означать и крах смысла, его аннигиляцию, «пустоту, промах мимо себя» (Братусь, 2019, с. 475). Однако, как показывают интервью, духовный кризис неминуемо сопряжен с такого рода возвратами на предыдущие этапы. Этот тип кризиса отличается тем, что становится длительным и по своей протяженности охватывает годы. Само по себе продолжение существования человека, его прохождение в том числе и новых витков кризиса представляется нам вполне закономерным и порой заслуживающим восхищения, поскольку в этих циклах трансформируется сам закон существования личности.

Духовный смысл, таким образом, организован из духовной вертикали бытия (Зинченко, 1997), он зарождается в зоне разрывов чувственной ткани смысла и генетически восходит к внеличному бытию, поскольку изначально был порожден в отношениях со сверхличным Другим. Нельзя не отметить, что такая динамика образования духовного смысла и его внедрение в регуляторный механизм личности перекликается с законом развития высших психических функций: «...всякая функция в культурном развитии ребенка появляется на сцене дважды, в двух планах, сперва — социальном, потом — в психологическом, сперва между людьми, как категория интерпсихическая, затем внутри ребенка, как категория интрапсихическая» (Выготский, 1983, с. 145). В моменты духовного кризиса во внутренней полифонии сознания (Бахтин, 1979а) возникает новый голос, олицетворяющий высшие ценности или образ Бога. Инициация личностью диалога с этим голосом запускает процесс самоизменения, в ходе которого на смену разрушившейся смысловой системе постепенно приходит новое понимание себя и мира. Однако далее по мере укрепления духовных ценностей личности голос Бога способен занять метапозицию и взять на себя функцию управления разрозненными голосами и Я-позициями (Hermans, 2021). Таким образом, действительный выход из духовного кризиса становится возможен, когда личность не только открывает для себя трансцендентное, но и обретает способность свободно (добровольно) «передавать» регуляторный центр за собственные пределы, используя новый функциональный орган — духовный смысл. Подобные идеи описывает С. Кьеркегор, делая акцент на том, что «“Мой Бог” ведь это не тот Бог, Который принадлежит мне, но тот, Которому принадлежу я» (Кьеркегор, 2023, с. 80). Стоит отметить, что эти процессы хотя и описываются как внешние, происходящие с субъектом, топологически «размещены» во внутреннем плане сознания, однако генезис Диалога с высшим в сознании субъекта все еще соответствует основному закону психического развития — *ab exterioribus ad interiora* (от внешнего к внутреннему) — от диалога со значимым Другим, с Богом к внутреннему диалогу и полифонии. Нам видится эта динамика обратного возвращения из внешнего плана во внутренний крайне важной для описания нормально функционирующего сознания. Возвращение в индивидуальный план позволяет личности восстановить границы сознания и собственную субъектность, а также вновь ощутить свободу, автономию и ответственность.

Как было отмечено В.А. Петровским, в проблемных ситуациях личность ищет способ обращения к Другому-Я, отличному от Актуального-Я, что позволяет субъекту мобилизовать с помощью такого интроекта те качества, которые способствуют выходу из трудностей (Евченко, 2016; Петровский, 2020). В исследовании, проведенном М. Пухальска-Васил и З. Зарзуска (Puchalska-Wasył, Zarzyska, 2020), было показано, что молитва, обращенная к Богу, редуцирует негативные руминирующие голоса во внутреннем диалоге путем смены фокуса на духовное, что приводит к повышению благополучия. В результате смена саморегуляции на регуляцию из точки, к которой подобно кровеносному сосуду протягивается духовный смысл, требует от личности воли к разотождествлению с иными ценностными образованиями в пользу Другого как олицетворения высшей ценности. Только в таком случае духовный смысл обретает мотивационную силу и становится регулятором образа жизни личности.

В соответствии с функциональной парадигмой (Леонтьев, 2011) духовный кризис бросает личности «вызов» самоизменения, в результате которого духовный смысл, возникая в зоне разрушения прежнего способа саморегуляции, позволяет сконструировать новый способ бытия человека. Усвоение духовного смысла, таким образом, идет по пути его трансформации из культурной формы во внутренний императив, позволяющий овладеть своим бытием из перспективы «над», т.е. из вертикального измерения.

Наконец, обретение духовного смысла позволяет преодолеть духовный кризис, в последующем обращая последний из критического переживания в системообразующий фактор и инструмент духовной регуляции и развития личности.

В качестве дискуссии мы предлагаем продолжить логическую цепочку, в которой критерием психического здоровья выступает «зрелость, сохранность и активность механизмов личностной саморегуляции, мера способности человека трансцендировать свою биологическую, социальную и смысловую детерминированность...» (Калитеевская, 1997, с. 235). На наш взгляд, эта идея справедлива и экстраполируема на анализ высших уровней регуляции (например, на уровень духовной регуляции, выделяемый Д.А. Леонтьевым (2019)). В таком случае мы предполагаем, что в качестве критерия духовного здоровья личности, которое на практике глубоко сопряжено с психическим здоровьем, могут быть рассмотрены мера овладения духовным смыслом, а также целостность личности — ее способности к интеграции опыта и динамическому единству с миром. Данные размышления тем не менее требуют существенной проработки методологического аппарата психологии, а также дополнительных эмпирических исследований в этой области.

Выводы

Таким образом, духовный кризис может быть определен как особая сверхбытийная ситуация, содержащая в себе «смысловой вызов». Духовный кризис предлагается понимать как особую духовную ситуацию, в которой

(в отличие от более локальных критических ситуаций) под вопрос ставится сама логика бытия личности в мире, ее основание и центр регуляции. По результатам качественного анализа бесед с людьми, прошедшими духовный кризис, были выделены следующие этапы его проживания: 1) разрушение прежней смысловой системы; 2) обнаружение духовного смысла, имеющего для личности значение сакрального, священного; 3) борьба за утверждение новой смысловой иерархии; 4) обретение и инкорпорация духовного смысла в смысловую систему; 5) духовный смысл как «двигатель» иной (высшей) формы духовной регуляции.

Ключевым переломным моментом преодоления духовного кризиса мы усматриваем **духовный смысл**, под которым предлагаем понимать психологическое явление, организующее целостность личности в ее связи с трансцендентным (как медиатор), появившееся в результате преодоления духовной критической ситуации и в дальнейшем ставшее инструментом конструирования (как генератор) и функционирования (как регулятор) духовной регуляции личности.

Духовный смысл в процессе переживания духовного кризиса предстает в трех планах: в социальном, индивидуальном и трансцендентном. Первоначально (**в социальном** плане) он появляется как смысл, задаваемый извне — другим человеком, текстом и т.д. Однако это еще не смысл как таковой, поскольку для человека он предстает внешним, чужеродным и конфликтным. Тем не менее появление этого смысла запускает последующее развитие кризиса. Второе появление духовного смысла происходит **в индивидуальном**, в пространстве самой личности, где он возникает как новообразование (обретенный духовный смысл) — во внутреннем Диалоге, в момент личной Встречи с Богом. Наконец, третье появление духовного смысла мы наблюдаем **в трансцендентном**, когда он становится «проводником» и двигателем регуляции личности. Такая ипостась духовного смысла, явленная человеку изначально как утешение, в дальнейшем становится источником новой жизни. Духовная регуляция преобразует образ жизни личности и действует уже не в эгоистической логике, но вокруг надындивидуальных ценностей «в соответствии с сущью вещей, с глубинными законами жизни», в логике «познания сути»: «За-не-зачем, а потому что инаиначе-как!» (Леонтьев, 2019, с. 526).

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ПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ РАЗЛИЧИЯ ПСИХИАТРОВ И СУИЦИДАЛЬНЫХ ПАЦИЕНТОВ: ПОТЕНЦИАЛЬНЫЕ ОСТРЫЕ МОМЕНТЫ ДЛЯ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ТЕРАПЕВТИЧЕСКОГО АЛЬЯНСА

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Psychological Differences in Psychiatrists and Suicidal Patients: Potential Critical Issues for Development of Therapeutic Alliance

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Резюме

Суицидальные пациенты традиционно считаются трудными в лечении и реабилитации, отчасти вследствие сложности налаживания психотерапевтического альянса. Данная работа исследует психологические различия психиатров и суицидальных пациентов с целью выявления потенциальных острых моментов при фор-

Abstract

Suicidal patients are traditionally viewed as hard to treat and rehabilitate, partly because of the difficulty in establishing therapeutic alliance with them. This work describes the study of psychological differences in psychiatrists and suicidal patients, which aims to find potential critical issues

Работа выполнена в рамках Госзадания № 124020800061-8 «Разработка клинико-патогенетической модели и диагностического модуля расстройств тревожно-депрессивного спектра у пациентов с хронической патологией».

The work was performed according to the Governmental Task № 124020800061-8: To develop a clinical pathogenetic model and a diagnostic module of anxiety and depression spectrum disorders in patients with chronic pathology.

мировании альянса. Представлены материалы эмпирического исследования пациентов в остром постсуицидальном состоянии ($N = 185$, 64 мужчины, 121 женщина, возраст 16–27, $M = 21.39 \pm 2.42$, 2–14 дней после суицидальной попытки), их возрастной нормы ($N = 156$, 40 мужчин, 116 женщин, возраст 18–24, $M = 19.8 \pm 1.11$) и врачей-психиатров ($N = 168$, 49 мужчин, 119 женщин, возраст 27–81, $M = 46.25 \pm 13.88$). Использовались методики: «Опросник временной перспективы личности Ф. Зимбардо», краткие версии опросников «Опыт близких отношений», «Отношение к смерти», «Страх личной смерти», а также «Тест жизнестойкости» и авторская анкета «Опыт смерти». В ходе исследования обнаружены значимые различия между врачами-психиатрами и разными подгруппами суицидальных пациентов по шкалам «Гедонистическое настоящее», «Будущее», «Тревожный стиль привязанности», «Страх последствий для близких», «Нейтральное принятие смерти». Приведены данные анализа средних ANOVA, post hoc критерий Геймса–Хоуэлла, показатели критерия t Стьюдента для независимых выборок, величина различий d Коэна. Выявленные в исследуемых группах мировоззренческие расхождения (во временных ориентациях, стилях привязанности, отношениях к смерти) потенциально способны вызывать трудности в работе с данной категорией пациентов. Кроме того, даются рекомендации по преодолению этих трудностей.

Ключевые слова: суицидальное поведение, терапевтический альянс, отношения к смерти, страхи смерти, стили привязанности, временная перспектива, депрессия.

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for development of therapeutic alliance. A sample of the study consisted of patients in acute postsuicidal state ($N = 185$, 64 men, 121 women, age 16–27, $M = 21.39 \pm 2.42$, 2–14 days after suicide attempt), their age norm ($N = 156$, 40 men, 116 women, aged 18–24, $M = 19.8 \pm 1.11$) and psychiatrists ($N = 168$, 49 men, 119 women, aged 27–81, $M = 46.25 \pm 13.88$). The questionnaires used were Zimbardo Time Perspective Inventory, the short versions of Experiences in Close Relationships — Revised, Death Attitude Profile — Revised, Fear of Personal Death Scale, as well as Hardiness Survey and Death Experience form. Significant differences were found between psychiatrists and suicidal patients in their levels of Present Hedonistic, Future, Anxious Style of Attachment, Fear of Consequences for Family and Friends, Neutral Death Acceptance, according to the analysis of variance (ANOVA) Games-Howell post hoc test, t-Student criterion for independent samples and Cohen's d. These worldview differences (in time perspectives, attachment styles and death attitudes), as found in the studied groups, can cause difficulties in therapeutic work with this category of patients. The recommendations are given for coping with these difficulties.

Keywords: suicidal behavior, therapeutic alliance, death attitudes, death fears, attachment styles, time perspective, depression.

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Множество авторов отмечают трудности психотерапевтической работы с суицидальными пациентами (Веспа и др., 2021; Чистопольская и др., 2019б; Galynker, 2023; Huggett et al., 2024; Soulié et al., 2020). Эти трудности связаны как с особенностями самих пациентов: с амбивалентностью их отношений к жизни и смерти (Амбрумова, Калашникова, 1998; Соколова, 1989; Шнейдман, 2001), острым психологическим неблагополучием, включая душевную боль и самостигматизацию (Колачев и др., 2023; Положий, Руженкова, 2016; Чистопольская, Ениколопов, 2018; Corrigan et al., 2009; Pompili, 2015), скрытностью и малой предсказуемостью их суицидального и самоповреждающего поведения (Чистопольская и др., 2023; Galynker, 2023; Huggett et al., 2024; Oexle et al., 2017), так и с контрпереносной реакцией клиницистов, их эмоционально-когнитивно-поведенческим ответом (не всегда осознаваемым) на эмоциональное состояние, убеждения и действия своих подопечных (Веспа и др., 2021; Barzilay et al., 2022) и повышенным чувством ответственности за пациентов (Huggett et al., 2024).

Существуют попытки объяснения этих затруднений действием зеркальных нейронов: специалист «считывает» на нейронном уровне психологическое неблагополучие, душевную боль пациента, «заражается» ею, присваивает ее себе и объясняет это переживание на сознательном уровне как собственную несостоятельность, неспособность помочь (Pompili, 2015). Есть подход, рассматривающий смешанный эмоциональный отклик клинициста (сочетание страха, отторжения и надежды) как особый диагностический критерий суицидальной готовности пациента, тяжести его психологического состояния (Веспа и др., 2021; Barzilay et al., 2022; Galynker, 2023). Это особенно актуально в связи с тем, что пациенты зачастую не склонны сообщать открыто о своей суицидальности даже при прямых вопросах специалистов (Чистопольская и др., 2023; Galynker, 2023; Huggett et al., 2024). Другие авторы, признавая трудности взаимодействия, провели исследование психотерапевтов, предпочитающих работу с людьми, склонными к суицидальному поведению, в результате чего была сформулирована модель позитивного настроения помогающего специалиста, включающая навыки эмоциональной синхронии и сострадания по отношению к таким пациентам (Soulié et al., 2022). Также необходимо отметить

направление, тематически близкое к работе с суицидальными людьми, – работу с утратой и горем, которую называют «работой со смертью» («death work», Chan, Tin, 2012). Авторы утверждают, что специалистам в этой области необходимо обладать не только определенными навыками, сформированными в процессе получения образования, но и личным опытом столкновения со смертью и преодоления горя.

Помимо того что суицидальные пациенты традиционно считаются «трудной» категорией больных, они предсказуемо неоднородны. Среди пытавшихся покончить с собой выделяют тех, кто осуществил одну или несколько попыток, обычно отмечая, что риск летального исхода повышается с числом незавершенных суицидальных действий (Холмогорова и др., 2020). Некоторые исследователи описывают еще одну группу: людей, которые по всем признакам совершили суицидальные действия, но *a posteriori* не признают своих суицидальных намерений (O'Connor et al., 2015; van Praag, Plutchik, 1985). Кроме того, выделяют пациентов, не совершивших на момент общения со специалистом суицидальных действий, но имеющих суицидальные намерения, и суицидальных людей (с намерениями или действиями), практикующих несуицидальные самоповреждения (далее – НССП) (Чистопольская, Ениколопов, 2019, 2021).

Ранее нами было показано, что врачи-психиатры и молодые пациенты в остром постсуицидальном состоянии имеют разную (и отличную от возрастной нормы пациентов) содержательную наполненность отношений к смерти, если рассматривать эти переменные через призму конструкта длительности Я (Чистопольская и др., 2019а, 2019б). Выявлено травматичное отношение к смерти суицидальных пациентов и условное посттравматическое отношение к смерти врачей. Также нами описаны три категории пациентов (с отказом от суицидальных намерений, с признанием одной и нескольких попыток суицида). Усугубляющееся суицидальное поведение объяснено через разрушение культурного буфера тревоги, в соответствии с теорией управления страхом смерти (Чистопольская, Ениколопов, 2013, 2014, 2015).

В настоящей работе поставлена цель: исследовать психологические различия психиатров, разных категорий пациентов в остром постсуицидальном состоянии и возрастной нормы пациентов, чтобы дополнительно выявить «горячие» моменты, потенциально способные приводить к нарушению терапевтического альянса, который традиционно понимается как согласие пациента и специалиста в целях и задачах терапии, а также как непосредственная эмоциональная связь «врач – пациент» (Bloch-Elkouby, Barzilay, 2022; Flückiger et al., 2018; Huggett et al., 2024).

Гипотезы исследования

1. Разные категории пациентов в остром постсуицидальном состоянии будут демонстрировать усугубляющуюся симптоматику психологического неблагополучия.

2. Врачи, пациенты и их возрастная норма будут иметь качественно разный опыт столкновения со смертью, что найдет отражение в их мировоззрениях¹, а также потенциально — во взаимоотношениях между врачами и пациентами.

Метод

Выборка. В данном исследовании возраст участников основной и контрольной групп был в диапазоне 16–29 лет, когда суицидальная активность уже велика, но еще не максимальна. Тем не менее в глобальном масштабе среди причин смертей людей в этом возрасте суицид занимает второе место (Саксена, Круг, 2014).

Клиническое исследование проводилось в мужском и женском отделениях острой токсикологии НИИ СП им. Н.В. Склифосовского. В основную группу вошли 185 человек после недавней попытки самоубийства (2–14 дней, 64 мужчины, 121 женщина, возраст 16–27, $M = 21.39 \pm 2.42$). Перевес женщин в выборке обусловлен тем, что они чаще совершают суицидальные попытки, но процент фатальных суицидов у них ниже, чем у мужчин, а также тем, что женщины чаще обращаются за медицинской и психологической помощью после самоповреждений (Wendt, Shafer, 2016). Критерием включения в группу было совершение суицидальных действий с точки зрения врачей. Из выборки 42 человека отрицали суицидальные намерения вне зависимости от тяжести последствий, 108 человек признавали одну попытку суицида, 35 человек сообщали о двух и более попытках суицида в течение жизни. Психиатрические диагнозы пациентов: F43.20 и F43.22 (из круга диагнозов «реакция на тяжелый стресс и расстройства адаптации»).

Группой сравнения стали врачи-психиатры из Тулы и Санкт-Петербурга с опытом работы в психиатрической больнице от 5 лет (168 человек, 49 мужчин, 119 женщин, возраст — 27–81, $M = 46.25 \pm 13.88$).

Контрольная группа составила 156 студентов 2–3-х курсов гуманитарных факультетов московского вуза (40 мужчин и 116 женщин, возраст 18–24, $M = 19.8 \pm 1.11$).

В ходе работы были использованы следующие методики (методики представлены в порядке предъявления): «Опросник временной перспективы личности Ф. Зимбардо» (Zimbardo, Boyd, 1999; адаптация: Сырцова и др., 2008) использовался вместе с подсчетом профиля отклонения от сбалансированной временной перспективы (далее — ОБВП) (Stolarski et al., 2014); «Опыт близких отношений — переработанный опросник», краткая версия (Fraley et al., 2000; адаптация: Чистопольская и др., 2018); «Тест жизнестойкости» (Maddi, 1998; адаптация: Леонтьев, Рассказова, 2006); Опросник депрессии А. Бека

¹ Мировоззрение понимается в широком смысле как набор отношений, ценностей, ожиданий о мире и о себе, которые потенциально влияют на мысли и поведение человека (Koltko-Rivera, 2004). В теории управления страхом смерти мировоззрение входит в культурный буфер тревоги (Чистопольская, Ениколопов, 2014).

(Beck, 1961; адаптация: Тарабрина, 2001); краткая версия опросника «Отношение к смерти» (Wong et al., 1994; адаптация: Чистопольская и др., 2017б); краткая версия опросника «Страх личной смерти» (Florian, Kravets, 1983; адаптация: Чистопольская и др., 2017б) и авторская анкета «Опыт смерти» для выяснения фактического опыта смерти опрашиваемых. Вопросы касались столкновения со смертью в повседневности (Чистопольская и др., 2017б).

Статистическая обработка данных производилась в программе SPSS 20.0. Применялись: анализ значимости различий для независимых выборок t Стьюдента, анализ величины различий d Коэна и дисперсионный анализ ANOVA — *post hoc* критерий Геймса—Хоуэлла (Field, 2006), а также корреляционный анализ Спирмена.

Результаты

Анализ психологических различий пациентов в остром постсуицидальном состоянии и их возрастной нормы

С помощью анализа средних ANOVA *post hoc* критерия Геймса—Хоуэлла (таблица 1) были исследованы различия между пациентами разных групп (группы с отказом от суицидальных намерений, с одной и несколькими попытками суицида) и выборкой условной нормы (студенты гуманитарных факультетов московского вуза). Анализ средних в группах позволил сопоставить выборку нормы с разными группами пациентов, а также сравнить пациентов разных групп между собой.

Была выявлена зависимость: показатели психологического неблагополучия повышались, а благополучия — понижались по мере утяжеления суицидального опыта. Так, временная перспектива (далее — ВП) «Гедонистическое настоящее» была понижена в группе с отказом от попытки и не отличалась от нормы в других группах пациентов. «Фаталистическое настоящее» было повышено в группах с одной и несколькими попытками. «Негативное прошлое» было повышено у всех пациентов. Индекс ОБВП был повышен в группах с одной и несколькими попытками, а показатели жизнестойкости понижены в этих группах. Различий по ВП «Позитивное прошлое» и «Будущее» не наблюдалось. Показатель по шкале «Депрессия» был значимо повышен у всех пациентов.

Привязанность не исследовалась в данной выборке нормы, но группы пациентов различались между собой постепенным повышением показателя «Тревожный стиль привязанности». Анализ корреляций определил характер связей шкал привязанности с другими конструктами в разных группах пациентов. В группе с отказом от попытки обнаружены корреляции шкалы «Тревожный стиль привязанности» с тремя шкалами принятия смерти ($r = 0.33-0.37, p < 0.05$). В группе с одной попыткой шкалы «Тревожный стиль привязанности» и «Избегающий стиль привязанности» парно коррелировали с «Депрессией» ($r_T = 0.36, p < 0.001; r_U = 0.24, p < 0.05$), «Страхом последствий для тела» ($r_T = 0.23, p < 0.05; r_U = 0.36, p < 0.001$), «Страхом забвения» ($r_T = 0.24; r_U = 0.23$,

Таблица 1

Анализ различий трех групп пациентов, людей в относительно психологическом благополучии и врачей-психиатров с опытом работы 5 лет и больше с помощью ANOVA post hoc критерия Геймса—Хоуэлла

Шкалы	Пациенты (M (SD))			Сравнение групп пациентов				Норма				Психиатры				
	0	1	2	0-1	0-2	1-2	M (SD)	F Уэлча ^a	0-Н	1-Н	2-Н	M (SD)	F Уэлча ^b	0-П	1-П	2-П
	Негативное прошлое	2.9 (0.69)	3.2 (0.78)	3.5 (0.85)	-0.27	-0.54*	-0.30	2.6 (0.76)	20.5***	0.37*	0.64***	0.91***	2.6 (0.78)	19.2***	0.34*	0.61***
Гедонистическое настоящее	3.3 (0.48)	3.4 (0.56)	3.6 (0.53)	-0.14	-0.25	-0.11	3.6 (0.63)	3.0*	-0.25*	-0.11	0.001	3 (0.53)	21.7***	0.32**	0.46***	0.58***
Будущее	3.6 (0.49)	3.5 (0.54)	3.3 (0.54)	0.09	0.24	0.15	3.4 (0.68)	1.6	0.16	0.06	-0.08	3.8 (0.55)	12.0***	-0.23*	-0.33***	-0.47***
Позитивное прошлое	3.5 (0.67)	3.6 (0.58)	3.5 (0.63)	-0.10	-0.01	0.09	3.7 (0.71)	1.1	-0.17	-0.07	-0.16	3.6 (0.61)	0.3	-0.07	0.02	-0.07
Фаталистическое настоящее	2.7 (0.6)	3 (0.68)	3.1 (0.77)	-0.30*	-0.43*	-0.13	2.5 (0.63)	13.3***	0.16	0.46***	0.59**	2.7 (0.74)	6.5***	0.003	0.30**	0.44*
ОБВП	2.3 (0.61)	2.6 (0.78)	2.9 (0.74)	-0.24	-0.56**	-0.31	2.1 (0.93)	14.24***	0.28	0.53***	0.84***	2.3 (0.77)	7.9***	0.04	0.29*	0.60***
Тревожный стиль привязанности	3.2 (1.36)	3.9 (1.29)	4.1 (1.44)	-0.71*	-0.96*	-0.25		5.17**				2.8 (1.23)	19.1***	0.37	1.08***	1.33***
Избегающий стиль привязанности	2.8 (1.09)	3.0 (1.07)	3.2 (1.0)	-0.18	-0.40	-0.22		1.27				3.1 (1.1)	1.5	-0.35	-0.18	0.04
Вовлеченность	3 (0.51)	2.8 (0.53)	2.7 (0.52)	0.2	0.33*	0.13	3 (0.44)	6.4**	0.003	-0.20**	-0.33**	3 (0.43)	7.8***	-0.02	-0.22**	-0.36**
Контроль	2.8 (0.45)	2.6 (0.43)	2.5 (0.57)	0.25*	0.28†	0.04	2.8 (0.46)	6.5***	0.04	-0.21**	-0.25†	2.7 (0.42)	4.4**	0.11	-0.14	-0.18
Принятие риска	2.6 (0.46)	2.5 (0.55)	2.3 (0.6)	0.12	0.29†	0.17	3 (0.43)	28.3***	-0.36***	-0.48***	-0.65***	2.7 (0.51)	5.0**	-0.07	-0.18*	-0.36*
Жизнестойкость	8.4 (1.3)	7.9 (1.4)	7.5 (1.5)	0.56†	0.91*	0.34	8.7 (1.1)	14.1***	-0.32	-0.88***	-1.23***	8.4 (1.23)	6.5***	0.02	-0.54**	-0.88*
Принятие-приближение смерти	3 (1.32)	3.5 (1.37)	3.7 (1.54)	-0.47	-0.68	-0.21	3.8 (1.23)	4.8**	-0.82**	-0.35	-0.14	3.3 (1.37)	1.9	-0.28	0.19	0.36
Избегание темы смерти	5 (1.21)	4.6 (1.19)	4.1 (1.54)	0.42	0.86*	0.45	4 (1.58)	7.7***	0.99***	0.58**	0.13	4.3 (1.53)	4.5**	0.74**	0.32	-0.13

Таблица 1 (окончание)

Шкалы	Пациенты (M (SD))			Сравнение групп пациентов				Норма				Психиатры				
	0	1	2	0-1	0-2	1-2	M (SD)	F Уэлча ^a	0-H	1-H	2-H	M (SD)	F Уэлча ^b	0-П	1-П	2-П
	Страх смерти	4.1 (1.4)	4.4 (1.36)	4.1 (1.37)	-0.29	-0.004	0.29	3.9 (1.5)	3.0*	0.25	0.54*	0.25	3.8 (1.46)	4.6**	0.36	0.65**
Принятие смерти как бегства	2.6 (1.29)	3.2 (1.48)	3.9 (1.9)	-0.56	-1.3**	-0.72	2.9 (1.34)	4.8**	-0.24	0.32	1.03*	3 (1.51)	4.2**	-0.36	0.2	0.92*
Нейтральное принятие	5.6 (1.1)	5.4 (1.16)	5.5 (1.22)	0.21	0.04	-0.17	5.7 (1.22)	2.1	-0.17	-0.37†	-0.21	6.1 (1.01)	9.6***	-0.49†	-0.70***	-0.53†
Последствия для личности	4.9 (1.2)	4.8 (1.38)	4.5 (1.6)	0.06	0.35	0.3	4.1 (1.7)	5.06**	0.71**	0.65**	0.35	4.5 (1.77)	1.3	0.36	0.3	-0.004
Последствия для тела	3.6 (1.93)	3.8 (1.99)	3.4 (2.01)	-0.20	0.18	0.38	2.9 (1.8)	5.59**	0.74	0.93**	0.56	2.9 (1.74)	5.9**	0.74	0.94**	0.56
Трансцендентные последствия	4.2 (1.63)	4.5 (1.5)	4.4 (1.92)	-0.23	-0.13	0.11	4.2 (1.86)	0.6	0.03	0.27	0.16	3.9 (2.01)	2.4†	0.33	0.57*	0.46
Последствия для близких	5.1 (1.32)	5.1 (1.4)	5.2 (1.46)	-0.01	-0.06	-0.05	4.7 (1.51)	2.11	0.38	0.4	0.44	4.5 (1.54)	5.6**	0.63*	0.65**	0.70†
Забвение	2.3 (1.01)	3.2 (1.77)	3.6 (2.06)	-0.85**	-1.29**	-0.43	2.2 (1.29)	11.35***	0.1	0.96***	1.39**	2.7 (1.57)	6.7***	-0.33	0.52†	0.96†
Депрессия	34.5 (7.84)	38.4 (8.28)	39.1 (11.1)	-3.85*	-4.57	-0.72	29.2 (7.33)	32.7***	5.35**	9.20***	9.92***					
Суммарный опыт смерти	3.8 (3.23)	4.2 (2.66)	6.4 (2.8)	-0.46	-2.64**	-2.18**	2.3 (1.87)	33.5***	1.51*	1.97***	4.14***	4.8 (4.56)	6.5***	-1.03	-0.57	1.60*

Примечание. Группы пациентов: 0 — отказ от попытки, 1 — одна попытка, 2 — несколько попыток. Н — людей в относительном психологическом благополучии (норма). П — врачи-психиатры с опытом работы 5 лет и больше.

^aF Уэлча для сравнения пациентов с нормой, ^bF Уэлча для сравнения пациентов с нормой, ^cF Уэлча для сравнения пациентов с психиатрами.

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

$p < 0.05$). В группе с несколькими попытками шкала «Избегающий стиль привязанности» взаимодействовала с «Принятием-приближением смерти» — $r = 0.4$; $p < 0.05$; с «Принятием смерти как бегства» — $r = 0.53$; $p < 0.01$; со «Страхом трансцендентных последствий» — $r = -0.38$; $p < 0.05$, а «Тревожный стиль привязанности» взаимодействовал только со шкалой «Депрессия» ($r_T = 0.4$; $r_u = 0.37$, $p < 0.05$). Т.е. косвенно наблюдалось повышение значимости фактора избегающего стиля привязанности при утяжелении опыта суицидальности.

Показатель «Принятие-приближение смерти» понижен в группе с отказом от попытки по сравнению с нормой и не отличался от нормы у групп с одной и несколькими попытками. Шкала «Избегание темы смерти», напротив, повышена у группы с отказом от попытки, показатель снижался с суицидальным опытом. Показатель «Страх смерти» не отличался значимо от нормы в группах с отказом от попытки и несколькими попытками суицида, а в группе с одной попыткой был значимо повышен. Балл по шкале «Принятие смерти как бегства» повышался по мере утяжеления суицидального опыта. По показателю «Нейтральное принятие смерти» выборки не различались. Повышения по шкалам опросника «Страх личной смерти» наблюдались преимущественно в группе с одной попыткой («Последствия для личности», «Последствия для тела»), однако показатель «Страх забвения» был особенно высок в группе с несколькими попытками суицида. «Суммарный опыт смерти» (показатель на основе анкеты «Опыт смерти») рос по мере утяжеления суицидального опыта.

Анализ психологических различий пациентов в остром постсуицидальном состоянии и врачей-психиатров

Далее мы провели аналогичную процедуру сравнения показателей с задействованием группы психиатров (таблица 1). Как и в случае выборки нормы, группа врачей отличалась от всех групп пациентов меньшим баллом по шкале «Негативное прошлое». Психиатры, по сравнению со всеми пациентами, были менее ориентированы на «Гедонистическое настоящее» и более ориентированы на «Будущее». Они не отличались от пациентов по показателю «Позитивное прошлое», но «Фаталистическое настоящее» было выше у групп с одной и несколькими попытками, индекс ОБВП — тоже, а по шкалам «Вовлеченность», «Принятие риска» и общему показателю жизнестойкости эти группы пациентов были ниже. На уровне тенденции обнаружилось различия между психиатрами и группой с отказом от попытки по шкале «Контроль» — у пациентов этот показатель был выше.

Группы пациентов с одной и несколькими попытками отличались от врачей более выраженным тревожным стилем привязанности. По шкале «Избегающий стиль привязанности» группы не различались.

Психиатры не отличались от пациентов по баллам шкалы «Принятие-приближение смерти». Однако у них был менее выражен показатель «Избегание темы смерти», чем у группы с отказом от попытки, ниже показатель «Страх смерти», чем у группы с одной попыткой суицида, меньше балл по шкале

«Принятие смерти как бегства» по сравнению с группой с несколькими попытками суицида; выше балл по шкале «Нейтральное принятие смерти» по сравнению со всеми группами пациентов.

У психиатров был менее выражен страх «Последствий смерти для тела», «Трансцендентных последствий», чем у группы с одной попыткой; они меньше боялись «Последствий смерти для близких», чем все группы пациентов, но лишь с пограничным уровнем значимости меньше боялись забвения, чем группы с одной и несколькими попытками самоубийства. Показатели психиатров оказались ниже по «Суммарному опыту смерти» только по сравнению с группой с несколькими попытками, с остальными группами пациентов их опыт смерти был сопоставим.

Анализ психологических различий между сводной выборкой пациентов и выборкой нормы

Выборка пациентов в остром постсуицидальном состоянии была неоднородной: группы значимо отличались друг от друга по многим параметрам, но для понимания отношения к смерти у пациентов и психиатров нужно было выяснить, как объединенная выборка пациентов отличалась от нормативной и от выборки врачей.

Объединенная выборка пациентов не отличалась от нормы по показателям позитивной ВП (шкалы «Гедонистическое настоящее», «Будущее», «Позитивное прошлое») (таблица 2). Но у нее были высоки показатели негативной ВП, за счет чего повышался индекс ОБВП; понижены показатели жизнестойкости, особенно «Принятия риска», высок суммарный балл «Опыта смерти». Норма отличалась более высоким баллом по шкалам «Принятие-приближение смерти» (вера в рай) и «Нейтральное принятие смерти», хотя уровень различий был невысокий. Выборка пациентов характеризовалась повышенными баллами по шкалам «Страх смерти», «Избегание темы смерти», «Принятие смерти как бегства». Наблюдались повышения по всем шкалам страхов смерти, кроме показателя «Страх трансцендентных последствий» (значимо не отличался от нормы). Выборка пациентов резко отличалась от нормы по баллу «Депрессии». В анкете «Опыт смерти» пациенты указывали больше столкновений со смертью в семье, смертью друга, собственной смертью, больше суицидальных попыток и мыслей о смерти. Они не отличались от нормы только по пункту «Смерть незнакомого человека».

Анализ психологических различий между сводной выборкой пациентов и выборкой врачей-психиатров

Та же процедура сравнения применена к выборкам пациентов и врачей (таблица 2). Группы не различались по показателю «Суммарный опыт смерти». Не было различий по опыту смерти близких (друзей и родственников), но выборка пациентов чаще отмечала опыт личного столкновения со смертью

Таблица 2

Анализ различий между сводной выборкой пациентов, выборкой нормы и выборкой врачей-психиатров (Чистопольская и др., 2019б)

Шкалы	Пациенты M (SD)	Норма M (SD)	Сравнение с нормой		Врачи M (SD)	Сравнение с врачами	
			t(339)	d Коэна		t(351)	d Коэна
Негативное прошлое	3.21 (0.79)	2.58 (0.76)	-7.41***	0.81	2.61 (0.78)	-7.17***	0.76
Гедонистическое настоящее	3.44 (0.54)	3.56 (0.63)	1.94	0.2	2.98 (0.53)	-7.88***	0.86
Будущее	3.47 (0.53)	3.41 (0.68)	-0.87	0.1	3.80 (0.55)	5.76***	0.61
Позитивное прошлое	3.55 (0.61)	3.66 (0.71)	1.58	0.17	3.56 (0.61)	0.23	0.02
Фаталистическое настоящее	2.93 (0.69)	2.51 (0.64)	-5.74***	0.66	2.67 (0.74)	-3.41**	0.36
ОБВП	2.59 (0.75)	2.06 (0.93)	-5.82***	0.63	2.30 (0.77)	-3.58***	0.38
Вовлеченность	2.84 (0.53)	3.01 (0.44)	3.30**	0.35	3.04 (0.43)	3.88***	0.41
Контроль	2.61 (0.48)	2.78 (0.46)	3.13**	0.36	2.71 (0.42)	1.84	0.2
Принятие риска	2.47 (0.54)	2.95 (0.43)	8.95***	0.98	2.67 (0.51)	3.34**	0.38
Жизнестойкость	7.92 (1.40)	8.74 (1.14)	5.85***	0.64	8.40 (1.23)	3.39**	0.36
Тревожный стиль	3.77 (1.37)				2.81 (1.23)	-6.77***	0.74
Избегающий стиль	2.96 (1.07)				3.14 (1.10)	1.5	0.17
Принятие-приближение смерти	3.43 (1.40)	3.85 (1.23)	2.88**	0.32	3.31 (1.37)	-0.80	0.09
Избегание темы смерти	4.59 (1.29)	4.01 (1.58)	-3.76***	0.4	4.36 (1.53)	-2.19*	0.16
Страх смерти	4.30 (1.37)	3.88 (1.50)	-2.69**	0.29	3.77 (1.46)	-3.47**	0.37
Принятие смерти как бегства	3.19 (1.57)	2.86 (1.34)	-2.03*	0.23	2.98 (1.51)	-1.25	0.14
Нейтральное принятие смерти	5.44 (1.16)	5.73 (1.22)	2.27*	0.24	6.05 (1.01)	5.26***	0.56
Последствия смерти для личности	4.75 (1.39)	4.15 (1.65)	-3.67***	0.39	4.50 (1.77)	-1.50	0.16
Последствия смерти для тела	3.68 (1.97)	2.86 (1.81)	-3.97***	0.43	2.86 (1.74)	-4.09***	0.44
Страх трансцендентных последствий	4.40 (1.61)	4.20 (1.86)	-1.03	0.11	3.90 (2.01)	-2.55*	0.27
Страх последствий для близких	5.12 (1.39)	4.72 (1.51)	-2.56**	0.24	4.47 (1.54)	-4.17***	0.44
Страх забвения	3.09 (1.74)	2.25 (1.29)	-5.00***	0.55	2.68 (1.57)	-2.32*	0.25
Депрессия	37.66 (8.89)	29.20 (7.33)	-9.42***	1.04			
Смерть близкого родственника	1.28 (0.98)	0.91 (0.76)	-3.80***	0.42	1.47 (1.09)	1.74	0.18
Смерть друга	0.47 (0.78)	0.22 (0.50)	-3.48**	0.38	0.38 (0.51)	-1.22	0.14

Таблица 2 (окончание)

Шкалы	Пациенты M (SD)	Норма M (SD)	Сравнение с нормой		Врачи M (SD)	Сравнение с врачами	
			t(339)	d Коэна		t(351)	d Коэна
Смерть незнакомого человека	0.45 (0.67)	0.39 (0.64)	-0.81	0.09	2.44 (3.92)	6.79***	0.71
Близость к смерти	0.69 (0.97)	0.41 (0.71)	-3.01**	0.33	0.40 (0.57)	-3.45**	0.36
Суицид	1.06 (0.92)	0.10 (0.47)	-11.88***	1.31	0.02 (0.13)	-14.50***	1.58
Мысли о смерти	0.37 (0.48)	0.24 (0.43)	-2.72**	0.29	0.09 (0.29)	-6.58***	0.71
Суммарный опыт смерти	4.53 (2.96)	2.26 (1.87)	-8.31***	0.92	4.80 (4.56)	0.66	0.07

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

(тяжелая болезнь и/или физическая травма и суицид) и мысли о смерти, а врачи чаще отмечали смерть незнакомых людей.

Сводная выборка пациентов превышала выборку психиатров по баллам шкал «Негативное прошлое», «Гедонистическое настоящее», «Фаталистическое настоящее», ОБВП, «Тревожный стиль привязанности», но была ниже по показателям «Будущее», «Вовлеченность», «Принятие риска», «Жизнестойкость». Пациентов характеризовали более высокие баллы по шкалам «Избегание темы смерти» и страхов смерти (особенно показатель «Последствия смерти для близких») и низкие показатели по шкале «Нейтральное принятие смерти». Различия по шкале «Принятие смерти как бегства» не обнаружены.

Обсуждение

Исследование показало, что психологическое неблагополучие пациентов (повышение ОБВП, снижение жизнестойкости) растет с суицидальным опытом, а показатель «Избегание темы смерти», повышенный у людей с отказом от попытки, наоборот, с суицидальным опытом падает. Страхи смерти особенно актуальны для людей с признанием одной попытки. Два показателя принятия смерти («Принятие-приближение смерти» (вера в рай) и «Принятие смерти как бегства», но не «Нейтральное принятие смерти») и суммарный показатель «Опыт смерти» растут по мере усиления суицидального поведения. Это подтверждает идеи Т. Джойнера о постепенном научении бесстрашию к смерти (Чистопольская и др., 2017а) и свидетельствует об общем утяжелении состояния пациентов с ростом числа попыток.

Обнаружено, что врачи характеризуются равным с пациентами с отказом от попытки индексом ОБВП. У врачей повышен показатель «Будущее», но снижена шкала «Гедонистическое настоящее» и равный с группой с отказом от попытки показатель «Фаталистическое настоящее». Стоит обратить внимание на то, что по сравнению с нормой шкала «Гедонистическое настоящее» у пациентов с отказом от попытки снижена. Эти различия ценностные, они могут спровоцировать негативную реакцию врача, поэтому важно знать, что гедонизм, присущий пациентам, не является отклонением.

Пациенты в сводной выборке отличаются от своей возрастной нормы большей травматичностью опыта: помнят больше столкновений со смертью, демонстрируют повышенные показатели негативной ВП, депрессии, пониженные показатели жизнестойкости. Но показатели позитивной ВП значимо не отличались. Это противоречит исследованиям ВП прошлого и будущего у таких пациентов: утверждается, что в остром постсуицидальном состоянии существует сверхобобщенный образ позитивного прошлого и размытый образ позитивного будущего, но негативных воспоминаний и ожиданий у них столько же, сколько и в норме (Williams, Broadbent, 1986). Возможно, наш результат можно объяснить разными методами сбора информации.

У сводной выборки пациентов по сравнению с нормой повышены почти все показатели страхов смерти, снижены «Нейтральное принятие смерти» и «Принятие-приближение смерти», а показатель «Принятие смерти как бегства» повышен, что свидетельствует о суицидальном статусе выборки. Однако среди отношений к смерти лидирует «Избегание темы смерти», что косвенно говорит о травматичности темы смерти для пациентов.

Между сводной выборкой пациентов и врачей не наблюдалось различий по баллам шкалы «Суммарный опыт смерти». Однако по содержанию опыт смерти в группах различался: так, почти все врачи отрицали у себя суицидальное поведение и не отмечали опыт смерти близких (хотя, учитывая возраст, они неизбежно должны были терять родных), но указывали больше опыта столкновения со смертью незнакомых людей. При этом у пациентов более выражены страхи «Последствий смерти для близких» и «Последствий смерти для тела». Мы предположили, что этот результат может отражать факт вытеснения опыта смерти у врачей, перенос этого опыта в сферу безличного, возможно, так «физикальность» смерти становится для них менее пугающей. Кроме того, выборка пациентов отличалась от врачей сниженным и менее содержательно наполненным (Чистопольская и др., 2019б) показателем по шкале «Нейтральное принятие смерти».

Мы назвали мировоззрение врачей-психиатров посттравматическим, потому что их опыт столкновения со смертью был велик, а отдельные психологические показатели находились на одном уровне с пациентами, что характерно для посттравматического роста (Tedeschi, Calhoun, 2004). Авторы теории отмечают, что, преодолев травматичную ситуацию, человек не возвращается к прежнему функционированию до травмы и продолжает ощущать горечь утраты, для него актуальны некоторые болезненные воспоминания, но он становится более осознанным в отношении к смерти, смиряется с ее неизбежностью.

Повышенный показатель по шкале «Тревожный стиль привязанности» у пациентов тоже может стать камнем преткновения в общении врача и пациента. Если рассматривать в динамике группы, набранные методом срезов, по данным корреляционного анализа и анализа средних пациенты постепенно переходят от «прилипчивого» стиля (не избегают фигуру привязанности, тревожно ищут подтверждения чувств) к «робкому» (тревожатся по поводу искренности чувств, стремятся к самодостаточности, замыкаются в себе)

(Чистопольская и др., 2018; Mikulincer, Shaver, 2010). Неизвестно, связано ли это с суицидальным опытом, или пациенты с несколькими попытками изначально более «робки», но потенциально «прилипчивые» пациенты способны вызывать раздражение у врачей, восприниматься «навязчивыми», а «робкие» могут быть охарактеризованы как «несотрудничающие», и в обоих случаях существует риск отторжения, стигматизации, досрочного прерывания терапии (Dattilo, 2005).

Выводы

В исследовании подтверждается гипотеза о постепенном утяжелении состояния пациентов в соответствии с их суицидальным опытом. Подход к таким пациентам должен быть индивидуализированным и информированным. Клиницисту важно понимать, на какой стадии суицидального процесса и развития суицидального поведения находится пациент: пребывает ли он в отрицании своего первого суицидального опыта, испытывает ли экзистенциальный кризис от столкновения со смертью, или чувствует острую безнадежность и размыкание социальных связей. От этого зависит, как развернется беседа, о чем пациенту будет важнее говорить. Так, у пациентов с отрицанием суицидальной попытки могут даже развиться некоторая эйфория и ложное ощущение, что они способны с легкостью решить свои жизненные проблемы, которые привели их к такому поведению, но тем горше будет восприниматься неудача (O'Connor et al., 2015). Вместе с тем высокий уровень безнадежности у человека с несколькими попытками или острый страх («я сделал это с собой») человека, осознающего последствия своего поведения, способны привести помогающего специалиста к дистрессу и переживанию собственной несостоятельности (Pompili, 2015). Клиницисту важно уметь выдерживать подобную фрустрацию, оставаться эмпатичным и сочувствующим, транслировать надежду (Хенден, 2024; Huggett et al., 2024).

Мировоззренческие различия (большой гедонизм и меньшая ориентация на будущее, тревожность в привязанности, страх за близких у пациентов, более нейтральное отношение к смерти у врачей) — потенциально «горячие» моменты, способные привести к конфликту, раздражению со стороны врача, стигматизации пациентов и нарушенному терапевтическому альянсу. Их следует учитывать врачу при общении с пациентом после попытки суицида. Врачам нежелательно воспринимать себя ролевой моделью для пациентов: хотя посттравматический рост — важное достижение (Tedeschi, Calhoun, 2004), следует учитывать и возрастные нормы своих подопечных. К примеру, страх за близких и забота о них могут стать решающими для пациента в ситуации выбора между жизнью и смертью, поскольку это значимый страх многих молодых людей (Чистопольская и др., 2019а, 2022), а более мрачный и скептический взгляд психиатра в этом вопросе не поможет улучшить самочувствие пациента и не приведет к отказу от суицидальных планов. Та же ситуация и с проблемой гедонизма: у пациентов этот показатель выше, чем у врачей, но при этом он оказывается ниже, чем у возрастной нормы. Становится очевидно, что

проблема не в том, что суициденты ориентированы на удовольствия в настоящем, а в том, что этот показатель связан у них с отдельными отношениями к смерти, возможно, защищая пациентов от проникновения страха смерти в сознание (Чистопольская и др., 2019б). Поэтому не нужно снижать гедонизм пациентов: целесообразнее учить их ставить перед собой небольшие, достижимые задачи («очень маленькие шажки») (Хенден, 2024), из которых постепенно складываются высокие цели. То же самое можно сказать и о тревожном стиле привязанности пациентов: он потенциально может провоцировать отторжение клинициста. Важно не обрывать резко такую стратегию общения пациента, а помочь ему сформировать доверительные отношения (Dattilo, 2005; Mikulincer, Shaver, 2010), на основе которых он сможет построить новый, более благополучный взгляд на мир.

Ведение суицидальных пациентов — непростая задача для психиатров, у которых не всегда есть возможность проводить длительные психотерапевтические беседы (врач обязан каждый день видеться со всеми своими пациентами в отделении, но беседуют они, как правило, коротко и на тему переносимости лекарств). Далеко не все психиатры имеют специализацию по психотерапии. Полноценных руководств и рекомендаций по психотерапии суицидальных пациентов на данный момент в России не существует, за рубежом есть отдельные попытки их создания (Линехан, 2020; Хенден, 2024; Jobes, 2023; Michel, 2023), и, хотя некоторые из них известны в нашей стране, требуются тщательные исследования эффективности и доказательности подходов. Поэтому важно информирование клиницистов об особенностях работы с такими пациентами, развитие у врачей навыков рефлексии: понимания своих переживаний и осознания того, что они транслируют пациентам вербально и невербально (Хенден, 2024; Barzilay et al., 2022).

Замечания, ограничения и дальнейшие направления исследования

Изначально можно было предположить, что врачи с большим опытом работы отличаются от молодых врачей, но в нашей выборке (при предварительном анализе переменных мы разделили врачей на две группы: с опытом работы менее 15 лет и с опытом работы 15 лет и более) различий почти не наблюдалось, а обнаруженные различия были несущественны. То же можно сказать и о различиях по гендерному признаку: различий мало, и они весьма скромные, т.е. выборка врачей оказалась достаточно однородной.

Данное исследование не рассматривало пары «пациент – лечащий врач», а сосредотачивалось на общих психологических различиях. Следующим этапом будет изучение динамики терапевтического альянса помогающих специалистов и суицидальных пациентов.

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Короткие сообщения

МОРАЛЬНАЯ КОНФОРМНОСТЬ И ИНДИВИДУАЛЬНЫЕ ЧЕРТЫ

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Moral Conformity and Individual Traits

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Резюме

В статье представлено исследование, посвященное кросс-дизайновому воспроизведению эффекта моральной конформности, выявленного в межгрупповых экспериментах, с использованием внутригруппового подхода. Целью исследования было проверить устойчивость эффекта моральной конформности к изменениям исследовательского дизайна, а также проанализировать ее связь с индивидуальными чертами. Изучаемые особенности включали факторы «Большой пятерки», черты «Темной триады», этические диспозиции и склонность к социальной желательности. Выборка исследования составила 252 человека ($M = 19.85$, $SD = 4.15$), 128 женщин и 124 мужчины. Статистический анализ проводился с использованием методов байесовской статистики. Результаты показали, что моральные конформные реакции возникают как при

Abstract

This study presents research dedicated to the cross-design reproduction of the moral conformity effect identified in intergroup experiments, utilizing an intragroup approach. The aim of the research was to test the robustness of the moral conformity effect to changes in experimental design and to analyze its relationship with individual traits. The studied features included the Big Five personality factors, traits of the Dark Triad, ethical dispositions, and social desirability. The sample consisted of 252 participants ($M = 19.85$, $SD = 4.15$), including 128 women and 124 men. The statistical analysis was conducted using Bayesian statistical methods. The results indicated that moral conformity responses occur both under consequentialist and

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консеквенциалистском, так и при деонтологическом пассивном социальном давлении, причем уровни моральной конформности при этих двух типах давления не различаются. Было также установлено, что между мужчинами и женщинами нет значимых различий в силе конформных реакций. Корреляционный анализ показал, что индивидуальные черты, оцененные с помощью различных опросников, не связаны с моральной конформностью. Слабые связи силы конформных реакций с индивидуальными особенностями и отсутствие половых различий указывают на универсальность механизма моральной конформности. Кластерный анализ позволил выделить четыре группы с различными реакциями на пассивное социальное давление в морально-дилеммных задачах. Процент участников, проявивших выраженную конформность хотя бы при одном направлении давления, составил 34%. Таким образом, полученные результаты демонстрируют, что эффект моральной конформности воспроизводим при различных подходах к дизайну эксперимента и не связан с индивидуальными чертами.

Ключевые слова: моральная конформность, моральные дилеммы, социальное давление, индивидуальные черты, воспроизводимость.

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deontological passive social pressure, with no differences in the levels of moral conformity between these two types of pressure. It was also found that there are no significant differences in the strength of conformity reactions between men and women. Correlational analysis showed that individual traits assessed using various questionnaires are not related to moral conformity. The weak relationships between the strength of conforming reactions and individual characteristics, as well as the absence of gender differences, suggest the universality of the mechanism of moral conformity. Cluster analysis revealed four groups with different responses to passive social pressure in moral dilemma tasks. The percentage of participants who exhibited pronounced conformity in at least one direction of pressure was 34%. Thus, the results demonstrate that the moral conformity effect is reproducible across different experimental designs and is not related to individual traits.

Keywords: moral conformity, moral dilemmas, social pressure, individual traits, reproducibility.

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В серии экспериментов (Фёдоров, 2024; Фёдоров, Рахманов, 2024) было установлено, что в ситуации ответа на моральные дилеммы пассивное социальное давление ведет к возникновению конформной реакции. Важно отметить, что во всех этих экспериментах давление выступало межгрупповым фактором¹. Как известно, межгрупповой дизайн (between-subjects design) предполагает, что

¹ В одном из экспериментов *направление* давления было внутригрупповым фактором, однако само наличие давления при этом оставалось межгрупповой переменной.

участники разделяются на группы, и каждая группа подвергается воздействию разных уровней независимой переменной. Внутригрупповой дизайн (within-subjects design), напротив, предполагает, что каждый участник подвергается воздействию всех уровней независимой переменной. Это позволяет минимизировать влияние индивидуальных различий на результат и увеличить статистическую мощность². И хотя некоторые исследователи полагают, что внутригрупповые дизайны следует применять только в случаях крайней необходимости (Poulton, 1975), а нашу жизнь мы воспринимаем в «межгрупповом режиме» (Kahneman, 2011), межгрупповой дизайн не лишен своих недостатков. Например, при изучении субъективных суждений результаты межгруппового исследования могут смешиваться с влиянием контекста, приводя к парадоксальным выводам. Так, М. Бирнбаум показал, что при использовании межгруппового дизайна участники оценивают число 9 как значимо большее, чем 221 (Birnbbaum, 1999)³. С другой стороны, недостатки внутригрупповых дизайнов нередко преувеличивают. В частности, их критикуют за то, что они делают гипотезу исследования излишне прозрачной, что ведет к возникновению нежелательных артефактов. Однако в исследованиях Ч. Лэмдина и В. Шаффер было показано, что это не обязательно так (Lambdin, Shaffer, 2009).

Вероятно, одна из серьезнейших проблем связана с тем, что использование различных дизайнов может приводить к разным результатам (Grice, 1966; Gneezy, 2005; Charness et al., 2012). Безусловно, это происходит не всегда. Так, Ч. Лэмдин и В. Шаффер воспроизвели во внутригрупповом формате три классических межгрупповых эксперимента и во всех случаях получили схожие результаты (Lambdin, Shaffer, 2009). Тем не менее даже они отмечают, что зачастую невозможно предсказать, будут ли результаты исследований согласованы с разными дизайнами, поэтому рекомендуют организовывать сбор данных таким образом, чтобы можно было провести и внутри-, и межгрупповой анализ.

Учитывая «кризис воспроизводимости» (Open Science Collaboration, 2015), особую ценность представляют собой *кросс-дизайновые* воспроизведения, т.е. попытки повторить полученные ранее результаты, используя альтернативный дизайн. Согласно предложенной нами классификации типов воспроизведений, они тяготеют к полюсу дивергенции (Фёдоров, 2023) и позволяют оценить не только повторяемость, но и устойчивость результата.

Цель настоящего исследования заключается в кросс-дизайновом внутригрупповом повторении результатов экспериментов, в которых был продемонстрирован

² Существуют также смешанные дизайны (mixed designs), включающие как внутри-, так и межгрупповые независимые переменные.

³ В эксперименте М. Бирнбаума участники были распределены на две группы: одна оценивала число 9, другая — число 221. Участникам предлагалось оценить величину числа на 10-балльной шкале, где 1 означало «очень-очень маленькое», а 10 — «очень-очень большое». Несмотря на то что 221 объективно больше 9, результаты показали обратное: средняя оценка числа 9 составила 5.13, а числа 221 — 3.10. Различие между оценками было статистически значимым ($p < 0.001$). Такие результаты подчеркивают важность учета контекста и возможных искажений, связанных с дизайном эксперимента.

эффект моральной конформности при пассивном социальном давлении. Следует отметить, что при изучении моральной конформности внутригрупповой дизайн имеет потенциальное преимущество, так как позволяет прямо оценить ее выраженность у конкретного индивида. Поскольку в этом случае каждый участник служит собственным контрольным уровнем, разница в реакциях между условиями может рассматриваться как показатель силы конформной реакции. В межгрупповом дизайне с однократным замером после воздействия такая непосредственная оценка затруднительна, так как нам известны ответы каждого участника только в одном из условий. Это, конечно, не означает, что изучать связь силы конформной реакции с другими индивидуальными переменными в межгрупповом дизайне невозможно, но определенная специфика, требующая учета, безусловно, появляется⁴. Принимая во внимание вышесказанное, были сформулированы два исследовательских вопроса.

1. Позволяет ли внутригрупповой дизайн зафиксировать эффект моральной конформности в ответ на пассивное социальное давление?

2. Связана ли моральная конформность с индивидуальными особенностями, оцениваемыми методиками самоотчета?

В качестве индивидуальных особенностей были выбраны следующие параметры, которые, согласно опубликованным данным, могут быть связаны с конформностью и/или моральным поведением: факторы «Большой пятерки», черты «Темной триады», этические диспозиции и социальная желательность.

В разных исследованиях сообщается о связях между факторами «Большой пятерки» и конформностью. Так, согласно результатам К. ДеЯнга и соавторов, конформности присущи две метачерты: *стабильность*, включающая эмоциональную стабильность (обратный полюс нейротизма), доброжелательность и добросовестность, и *пластичность*, состоящая из экстраверсии и открытости к новому опыту (DeYoung et al., 2002). При этом стабильность связана с конформностью положительно, а пластичность — отрицательно. В более поздней работе была подтверждена связь конформности со стабильностью, но не пластичностью (Kosloff et al., 2017). Стоит отметить, что в ряде других работ связь между конформностью и эмоциональной стабильностью либо не обнаружена (Barron, 1953; Crutchfield, 1955; Franzen, Mader, 2023), либо вообще является отрицательной, т.е. чем выше у человека уровень нейротизма, тем вероятнее конформное поведение (Singh, Akhtar, 1973; Wijenayake et al., 2020).

Вместе с тем существуют исследования, которые показывают, что факторы «Большой пятерки» связаны с моральными диспозициями. Согласно данным Д. Люка и Б. Гавронски, со склонностью максимизировать последствия положительно связан нейротизм и отрицательно — доброжелательность, добросовестность и открытость к опыту (Luke, Gawronski, 2022). Авторы другого исследования отмечают, что, когда все пять факторов рассматриваются как предикторы конвенционалистского мышления в рамках одной регрессионной

⁴ Например, можно формировать группы с учетом индивидуальных различий (см., например: Burger, 1987) или сравнивать силу корреляционных связей в группах с давлением и без давления (см., например: Kosloff et al., 2017).

модели, значимыми являются отрицательная связь с доброжелательностью и положительная — с открытостью к опыту (Smillie et al., 2021).

Черты, входящие в «Темную триаду», положительно связаны с предпочтением утилитарного (консеквенциалистского) выбора в моральных дилеммах (Bartels, Pizarro, 2011; Djeriouat, Trémolière, 2014) и отрицательно — с ценностями конформности по модели Ш. Шварца (Rogoza, Ciecuch, 2020). При этом есть данные, свидетельствующие о том, что на поведенческом уровне индивиды с разным уровнем психопатии не отличаются в выраженности конформного поведения (Overgaauw et al., 2019).

С ценностями конформности также связаны этические диспозиции по Д. Форсайту, при этом идеализм — положительно, а релятивизм — отрицательно (Фёдоров, Бадиев, 2018). Социальная желательность, или потребность в социальном одобрении, связана с конформностью как на уровне ценностей (Schwartz et al., 1997), так и на уровне поведения при решении разных задачах (Strickland, Crowne, 1962; Loomis, Spilka, 1972). Некоторые исследователи вообще операционализируют конформность через тенденцию давать социально желательные ответы (DeYoung et al., 2002). Но, как и в случае с другими диспозициями, есть работы, опровергающие эту взаимосвязь. А. Францен и С. Мадер, изучавшие восприимчивость к социальному давлению как в задаче Аша на определение длины линий, так и в контексте выражения политических взглядов, оценивали в своем исследовании ряд характеристик (факторы «Большой пятерки», самоуважение, интеллект и потребность в социальном одобрении) и пришли к выводу, что конформность не связана ни с одной из них, кроме открытости опыту (Franzen, Mader, 2023).

Очевидно, что результаты исследований далеко не всегда согласуются между собой. По-видимому, одним из ключевых факторов, влияющим на расхождения, является различная операционализация конформности. В некоторых исследованиях конформность оценивается посредством шкал самоотчета, в других исследованиях используется экспериментальная модель Аша, где конформность определяется через наблюдаемое поведение участников в условиях группового давления. Кроме того, вариация в результатах может объясняться различиями в изучаемых типах конформности. Так, конформность в задачах на восприятие, таких как определение длины линий, может существенно отличаться от конформности, связанной с оценкой забавности картинок или моральности определенных действий.

Таким образом, хотя анализ литературы позволяет предположить, что отобранные диспозиции могут иметь отношение к моральной конформности, построение определенных гипотез представляется затруднительным, и эту часть нашего исследования следует рассматривать как поисковую.

Процедура и материалы

Эксперимент проводился онлайн при помощи Google-форм. На первом этапе исследования участникам предлагалось ответить на 12 моральных дилемм. Исходя из результатов предыдущих исследований, дилеммы были

отобраны таким образом, чтобы на треть из них давались преимущественно консеквенциалистские ответы (не менее 75%), на треть — преимущественно деонтологические, в оставшихся дилеммах явного доминирования одного из вариантов не было. Для каждой дилеммы участника просили оценить допустимость описываемого консеквенциалистского морального действия, используя 7-балльную шкалу Ликерта (1 — полностью недопустимо, 7 — полностью допустимо).

На втором этапе исследования участникам предлагалось ответить на вопросы из серии нескольких самоотчетных методик, выполнявших две функции: с их помощью разделялись замеры в разных условиях (без давления и с давлением) и оценивались индивидуальные особенности. Использовались следующие инструменты: *краткий пятифакторный опросник личности, TIPI-RU* (Сергеева и др., 2016), *опросник «Темная дюжина», DD* (Корнилова и др., 2015), *опросник этических позиций Д.Р. Форсайта, EPQ* (Фёдоров, Бадиёв, 2018) и *сокращенная версия шкалы социальной желательности Марлоу-Крауна, SDS* (Ханин, 1976). Показатели внутренней согласованности шкал в данном исследовании приведены в таблице 1⁵. Наряду с коэффициентами α Кронбаха и ω Макдональда был также рассчитан показатель GLB (greatest lower bound).

Обращают на себя внимание достаточно низкие показатели α и ω для шкал пластичности и социальной желательности. Но согласно исследованиям эти коэффициенты чувствительны к нарушениям нормальности, и в таких случаях

Таблица 1

Показатели надежности

Шкалы	Подшкалы	α	ω	GLB
TIPI-RU	Стабильность	0.70	0.71	0.86
	Пластичность	0.44	0.49	0.73
EPQ	Идеализм	0.85	0.86	0.90
	Релятивизм	0.80	0.81	0.88
DD	Макиавеллизм	0.86	0.86	0.87
	Психопатия	0.79	0.80	0.86
	Нарциссизм	0.82	0.83	0.85
SDS	—	0.44	0.43	0.59

⁵ Поскольку α плохо подходит для оценки внутренней согласованности двухпунктовых шкал (Eisinga et al., 2013), в силу чего α отдельных шкал TIPI, как правило, невысоки (Romero et al., 2012; Сергеева и др., 2016), было принято решение рассчитывать коэффициенты внутренней согласованности не для отдельных шкал, а для двух метачерт. По результатам конфирматорного анализа, проведенного на наших данных, двухфакторная модель, согласно которой эмоциональная стабильность, доброжелательность и добросовестность входят в один фактор, а экстраверсия и открытость к новому опыту — в другой (DeYoung et al., 2002), показала хороший уровень пригодности (CFI = 0.962, TLI = 0.905, SRMR = 0.036, RMSEA = 0.056). Отметим, что даже в объединенном варианте шкала пластичности включает только 4 пункта, что отчасти может объяснить невысокие значения α и ω , полученные для нее.

GLB может быть предпочтительнее (Sheng, Sheng, 2012; Trizano-Hermosilla, Alvarado, 2016). В нашем исследовании распределение шкалы пластичности U и ее отдельных подпунктов не соответствует нормальному (все $p_{s-w} < 0.001$). Общий показатель шкалы социальной желательности также демонстрирует ненормальное распределение ($p_{s-w} < 0.001$), а ее подпункты имеют дихотомическую природу, т.е. изначально не могут быть распределены нормально. Соответственно, в этом случае GLB является более подходящим критерием для оценки надежности. Впрочем, хотя показатель GLB шкалы социальной желательности и близок к нижней границе приемлемости (0.6), его значение указывает на разнородность оцениваемого конструкта, что отмечается и в других исследованиях (Barger, 2002)⁶.

На заключительном этапе исследования участникам предлагалось снова оценить допустимость консеквенциалистского морального решения в тех же 12 дилеммах, при этом сообщалось, что в этот раз вместе с самими ситуациями они увидят информацию о том, как отвечали люди в исследованиях, которые проводились ранее. Пассивное социальное давление осуществлялось в противоположную от преобладающего ответа сторону. Для тех моральных дилемм, на которые бóльшая часть людей обычно отвечают деонтологически, создавалось консеквенциалистское давление, т.е. участникам сообщалось, что большинство людей в предыдущих исследованиях дали консеквенциалистский ответ. И напротив, для моральных дилемм, в которых большинство людей обычно отвечают консеквенциалистски, текущим участникам сообщалось, что ранее большинство ответило деонтологически. Процент большинства варьировал от 74 до 89. В четырех дилеммах («филлеры») выраженное давление не оказывалось: для них также сообщалась информация о том, какие ответы давали участники в предыдущих исследованиях, но при этом процентный диапазон составлял от 47 до 53%. Последовательность предъявления дилемм с давлением и дилемм-филлеров приведена в таблице 2.

Выборка. Выборку исследования составили 252 человека от 18 до 60 лет ($M = 19.85$, $SD = 4.15$), 128 женщин и 124 мужчины.

Методы статистического анализа. Статистический анализ данных проводился в программе JASP 0.18.3. В качестве основных использовались методы

Таблица 2

Последовательность предъявления дилемм с давлением и дилемм-филлеров

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
		д	к		д	к	к	д		д	к

Примечание. «–» — дилемма-филлер, «+» — дилемма с давлением, «д» — деонтологическое большинство, «к» — консеквенциалистское большинство.

⁶ В целом, бóльшая часть данных, полученных в нашем исследовании, отклоняется от нормального распределения, поэтому статистический анализ проводился с использованием методов непараметрической статистики.

байесовской статистики. В отличие от частотной статистики, которая оценивает вероятность данных при условии верности нулевой гипотезы, байесовская статистика рассматривает силу доказательств в пользу альтернативной гипотезы относительно нулевой. Обычно для этого используется байесовский фактор (BF), который измеряет, насколько одна гипотеза вероятнее другой, основываясь на полученных данных. Для интерпретации значений BF мы использовали общепринятую шкалу (Jeffreys, 1961; Lee, Wagenmakers, 2013). Следуя политике «В для каждого p » (Halsey, 2019), для всех байесовских факторов мы также приводим соответствующие значения p -уровня значимости и размера эффекта, полученные при помощи классических критериев. Поскольку использование двух систем может приводить к противоречиям (они основаны на разных допущениях и задают разные вопросы), для снижения произвола в интерпретации при вынесении суждений мы руководствовались только результатами байесовской статистики (Dienes, 2024). Для альтернативной гипотезы в байесовских тестах сравнения групп использовалось распределение Коши. Параметр масштаба этого распределения был установлен на стандартное значение 0.707 (или $\approx 1/\sqrt{2}$), что соответствует 50%-й уверенности в том, что размер эффекта будет находиться в диапазоне от -0.707 до 0.707 (Schmalz et al., 2023). Это значение обеспечивает разумный баланс и позволяет адекватно оценивать эффект без чрезмерного увеличения или уменьшения вероятностей⁷.

Результаты и обсуждение

В первом замере средняя оценка допустимости консеквенциалистского действия в четырех «консеквенциалистских» дилеммах (во втором замере в этих дилеммах оказывалось деонтологическое давление) была значимо выше, чем в четырех «деонтологических» дилеммах (5.42 и 3.01 соответственно). BF_{10} , полученный в результате применения байесовского критерия знаков по методу Монте-Карло с марковскими цепями для семплирования (1000 итераций), составляет 1.63×10^{16} , что является экстремально сильным свидетельством в

⁷ Очевидно, что при этом 50% распределения вероятности приходится на значения, превышающие $|0.707|$. Таким образом, при использовании этого параметра есть равная вероятность того, что истинный размер эффекта будет находиться либо в диапазоне от -0.707 до 0.707 , либо за его пределами. Некоторые критики считают это распределение слишком широким, аргументируя это тем, что оно допускает высокую вероятность больших эффектов, которые могут быть нереалистичны в социальных науках (Tendeiro, Kiers, 2019). Однако большие эффекты в психологии не так уж редки (Wetzels et al., 2011). Кроме того, исследования показывают, что использование более узкого распределения хотя и может немного изменять значение байесовского фактора, не оказывает значительного влияния на общие выводы. Влияние ширины априорного распределения оказывается гораздо менее значительным, чем другие факторы, такие как изменения в статистической модели, преобразование переменных или обработка выбросов данных (van Ravenzwaaij, Wagenmakers, 2022). При значении $r \approx 1/\sqrt{2}$ процент ошибочных ложноположительных свидетельств на уровне $BF = 10$ составляет 4.3% (Schönbrodt et al., 2017).

пользу гипотезы о различиях. Это подтверждается частотным критерием знаков для связанных выборок $W = 26861$, $p < 0.001$, $r_b = 0.988$ (большой размер эффекта). Полученные результаты соответствуют ожиданиям на основе ранее собранных данных и свидетельствуют об обоснованности отбора дилемм для исследования.

В таблице 3 приведены результаты сравнения усредненных оценок допустимости консеквенциалистского действия в двух замерах для дилемм с разным направлением давления, а также для дилемм-филлеров.

Таблица 3

Результаты сравнения двух замеров (с давлением и без давления)

	W	BF ₁₀	p	ES (r _b)
Дилеммы с консеквенциалистским давлением	4182.5	194173.91	< 0.001	-0.534
Дилеммы с деонтологическим давлением	11968	184.58	< 0.001	0.333
Дилеммы-филлеры	8746	0.182	0.137	-0.121

Видно, что получены значимые различия для обоих направлений давления. Во втором замере оценка допустимости консеквенциалистского решения стала выше для дилемм, в которых оказывалось консеквенциалистское давление, и ниже — для дилемм с деонтологическим давлением. В обоих случаях значения байесовского фактора являются экстремально сильным свидетельством существования различий. Для дилемм-филлеров, как и ожидалось, значимых различий между замерами нет. Уровни конформной реакции при консеквенциалистском и деонтологическом давлении значимо не различаются ($W = 12151$, $BF_{10} = 0.243$, $p = 0.139$). Различия между полами в силе конформной реакции также отсутствуют как для консеквенциалистского давления ($U = 7695.5$, $BF_{10} = 0.196$, $p = 0.675$), так и для деонтологического ($U = 7686$, $BF_{10} = 0.191$, $p = 0.663$).

Результаты корреляционного анализа с использованием байесовского подхода демонстрируют крайне слабые взаимосвязи между изменениями в оценках допустимости консеквенциалистских решений⁸ и индивидуальными чертами, оцененными с помощью различных опросников (таблица 4). Большинство коэффициентов корреляции Кендалла имеют низкие значения, а байесовские факторы (BF₁₀) указывают на отсутствие поддержки альтернативной гипотезы о существовании значимых корреляций. Некоторым исключением является отрицательная связь между эмоциональной стабильностью (N-) и силой консеквенциалистской конформной реакции, для которой BF₁₀

⁸ Для оценки консеквенциалистской конформности из значения второго замера вычиталось значение первого; для оценки деонтологической конформности, напротив, из значения первого замера вычиталось значение второго, так как в этом случае давление направлено на уменьшение оценки допустимости консеквенциалистских решений.

Таблица 4

Корреляционная матрица связей переменных

	Консеквенциалистская конформность			Деонтологическая конформность		
	τ	BF_{10}	p	τ	BF_{10}	p
Деонтологическая конформность	0.025	0.099	0.583	–	–	–
Е (экстраверсия)	–0.086	0.638	0.065	0.024	0.096	0.611
А (доброжелательность)	–0.024	0.097	0.614	0.025	0.099	0.590
С (добросовестность)	–0.011	0.086	0.807	–0.070	0.323	0.134
N– (эмоциональная стабильность)	–0.120	4.647	0.010	–0.008	0.084	0.866
О (открытость опыту)	–0.091	0.84	0.051	0.051	0.171	0.273
Стабильность (А+С+N–)	–0.074	0.379	0.105	–0.029	0.105	0.523
Пластичность (Е+О)	–0.101	1.447	0.026	0.038	0.124	0.403
Макиавеллизм	0.032	0.110	0.484	–0.111	2.537	0.015
Психопатия	0.085	0.629	0.064	–0.039	0.126	0.397
Нарциссизм	–0.051	0.169	0.271	–0.015	0.088	0.748
Социальная желательность	–0.060	0.225	0.205	0.059	0.214	0.216
Идеализм	–0.024	0.097	0.593	0.041	0.132	0.365
Релятивизм	0.017	0.090	0.707	–0.073	0.370	0.110

составил 4.647, что находится в диапазоне умеренной поддержки альтернативной гипотезы, хотя и не достигает порога, достаточного для уверенной интерпретации.

В целом, отсутствие существенных корреляций индивидуальных особенностей с силой конформных реакций позволяет предположить, что пассивное социальное давление оказывает влияние на моральные решения вне зависимости от этих факторов. Возможно, это указывает на то, что моральная конформность является универсальным механизмом социальной адаптации. Однако это, конечно, не означает, что все люди проявляют единообразные конформные реакции в ситуации социального давления. Под универсальностью моральной конформности мы скорее понимаем то, что данный механизм обусловлен общими биологическими и поведенческими процессами, присущими всем людям, а не личностными диспозициями. Некоторые исследования, такие как, например, работа В.А. Ключарева и коллег (Klucharev et al., 2009), указывают на то, что социальная конформность может опираться на нейронные механизмы, связанные с обучением с подкреплением. Но признание универсальности конформности не исключает возможности разнообразия в проявлении конформных реакций. Следует учитывать, что индивидуальная жизненная траектория, включая историю подкреплений и взаимодействий с

окружающей средой, существенно влияет на вариации в конформных ответах. Это многогранное взаимодействие универсальных механизмов и индивидуального опыта создает сложную картину конформного поведения. Для выявления групп с разными типами реакции на давление в нашем исследовании был проведен кластерный анализ, при котором использовались методы кластеризации на основе близости (*neighborhood-based clustering methods*), относящиеся к жестким алгоритмам разбиения данных.

При проведении кластерного анализа использовались методы кластеризации на основе близости (*neighborhood-based clustering methods*), которые относятся к жестким алгоритмам разбиения данных. Целью этих методов является разбиение данных на несколько кластеров, где каждое наблюдение принадлежит только одной группе. Данные делятся таким образом, чтобы степень сходства между двумя наблюдениями была максимальной, если они принадлежат одной группе, и минимальной, если они принадлежат разным группам.

Для кластерного анализа использовались две переменные: сила конформной реакции при консеквенциалистском давлении и сила конформной реакции при деонтологическом давлении. Количество кластеров определялось на основе значения силуэта (s), который использует сходства наблюдений внутри кластера и их различия с другими кластерами для оптимизации результата кластеризации.

Кластерный анализ позволил выделить четыре группы участников с различной степенью подверженности моральной конформности при разном социальном давлении ($R^2 = 0.604$, $s = 0.401$). Кластер 1 характеризуется контрконформной реакцией при консеквенциалистском давлении и высокой конформной реакцией при деонтологическом давлении. Кластер 2 имеет высокие значения конформности при обоих типах давления. Кластер 3 демонстрирует высокую конформность при консеквенциалистском давлении и среднюю контрконформность при деонтологическом давлении. Наконец, кластер 4 показывает низкие значения конформности при обоих типах давления. Информация по каждому кластеру приведена в таблице 5.

Таким образом, в нашем исследовании процент участников, проявивших выраженную конформность хотя бы при одном направлении давления, составил

Таблица 5

Результаты кластерного анализа

Кластер	Размер	Объясненная доля внутрикластерной гетерогенности	Внутрикластерная сумма квадратов	Кластерные средние		Сырые средние	
				Конс. конф.	Деонт. конф.	Конс. конф.	Деонт. конф.
1	26	0.173	34.478	-0.638	1.656	-0.212	2.115
2	21	0.122	24.161	1.478	1.465	1.869	1.905
3	38	0.231	45.906	1.363	-0.746	1.757	-0.526
4	167	0.474	94.186	-0.397	-0.272	0.025	-0.006

34%. Этот уровень конформности очень близок к результатам, которые были получены в оригинальном исследовании С. Аша в задаче на определение линий (Asch, 1956). Схожий уровень конформности был обнаружен и в недавней работе, в которой изучалась конформность при определении длины линий и выражении политических взглядов (Franzen, Mader, 2023).

Отметим, что, хотя средние значения допустимости консеквенциалистского выбора для дилемм, в которых оказывалось давление, были достаточно далеки от экстремальных показателей, а участники не отбирались по крайним значениям, необходимо учитывать возможность статистической регрессии (Yu, Chen, 2015). Для контроля этой угрозы мы сравнили кластеры по усредненным оценкам допустимости консеквенциалистского решения, полученным в первом замере (таблица 6). Учитывая нарушение нормальности и отсутствие байесовского варианта критерия Крускала–Уоллиса, мы использовали дисперсионный анализ на рангах (Conover, Iman, 1981).

Для всех групп дилемм значения байесовского фактора не свидетельствуют о существовании различий между кластерами в исходных оценках допустимости консеквенциалистского выбора. Если бы регрессия к среднему имела значительное влияние, начальные оценки участников, вошедших в первые три кластера, были бы ближе к экстремальным значениям, чем у представителей четвертого кластера. Следовательно, наблюдаемые изменения в оценках допустимости консеквенциалистских действий обусловлены именно влиянием пассивного социального давления, а не статистической регрессией.

Важно отметить, что один и тот же участник может демонстрировать конформность для одного типа давления (например, консеквенциалистского) и контрконформность для другого (деонтологического). Это указывает на то, что моральную конформность следует рассматривать не как общую латентную индивидуальную особенность, а скорее как контекстно-зависимый поведенческий феномен, связанный с индивидуальной жизненной историей.

Таблица 6

Результаты сравнения кластеров

	P (M data)	BF₁₀	F	p	η²_p
Дилеммы с консеквенциалистским давлением во втором замере	0.155	0.184	1.439	0.232	0.017
Дилеммы с деонтологическим давлением во втором замере	0.054	0.057	0.474	0.701	0.006
Дилеммы-филлеры	0.228	0.295	1.792	0.149	0.021

Заключение

Таким образом, внутригрупповой эксперимент позволяет зафиксировать конформные реакции как при консеквенциалистском, так и при деонтологическом

пассивном социальном давлении. Эти данные согласуются с предыдущими результатами, которые были получены в межгрупповых экспериментах, что свидетельствует об устойчивости эффекта моральной конформности к изменениям исследовательского дизайна. Как и ранее, нами не обнаружена асимметрия моральной конформности в пользу деонтологического большинства, о которой сообщают Д. Бостин и А. Роэтс (Bostyn, Roets, 2017). Нужно также учитывать, что выборка в нашем исследовании характеризуется значительной асимметрией в распределении возраста: большая часть участников моложе 25 лет. Это выступает ограничением исследования, так как результаты могут не в полной мере отражать конформные реакции в других возрастных группах.

Слабые связи силы конформных реакций с индивидуальными особенностями и отсутствие половых различий указывают на универсальность механизма моральной конформности. Наши выводы о том, что конформность не связана с личностными чертами, перекликаются с результатами некоторых других исследователей (например: Franzen, Mader, 2023), но необходимо дальнейшее изучение этого вопроса, учитывая общую противоречивость опубликованных данных. Универсальность моральной конформности не означает и того, что она одинаково проявляется у всех людей. Специфика жизненной истории может делать человека более или менее восприимчивым к разным формам социального давления, а конформные реакции в ответ на одни стимулы могут сочетаться с контрконформными реакциями в ответ на другие. Будущие исследования, несомненно, должны учитывать эту сложность.

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Emotional Framing as a Context for the Perception of Social Norm Violation

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Supplementary materials

**The stimuli set developed for the study of brain responses to Highly Emotional,
Less Emotional and Control conditions**

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
A surgeon is performing an important surgery.	During the procedure, he became anxious.	Less emotional, HN*
The group's survival during the mission depended on the precise execution of the commander's orders.	Several members of the group decided to explain this to the others.	Control
It was important for the manager that the employees did not miss the deadline for submitting the report.	For that reason, he decided to warn them.	Less emotional, HN
The woman often and willingly sought help from her neighbor.	Deep down, she adored her.	Control
The diplomats had to find common ground and resolve the conflict that was claiming people's lives.	During the negotiations, they argued.	Less emotional, HN
The driver is steering the bus along a steep and winding mountain road.	One of the passengers is constantly irritating him.	More emotional, LN**
A driver was traveling on the highway.	One of his manoeuvres led to a collision.	Less emotional, LN
The travellers agreed to gather the remaining food in the tent and not to touch it.	The traveller on duty keeps encroaching on them.	Less emotional, LN
Grandfather has heart problems, he shouldn't get worried.	The grandson infuriated him with his words.	More emotional, LN
The daycare teachers organized a film screening for the children.	The film they watched scared the children.	Less emotional, LN
The factory management had claimed that their production processes do not harm the river. Analyses were conducted.	It turned out that their emissions were poisoning the river.	More emotional, LN
A child in the daycare was tired and being cranky.	The caregiver calmed him down.	Control
Unknown individuals called the school and warned the students about a danger.	They terrorized the students.	More emotional, LN

**NH – behaviors closer to the normative standard, **LH – norm-violating behaviors.*

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
A young mother couldn't calm her crying child.	One of the other women decided to humiliate her.	More emotional, LN
The young people were eating ice cream on the lawn, the wrappers left in their hands.	Leaving, they threw the wrappers on the ground.	More emotional, LN
The manager gave a chance to an alcoholic and offered him a job.	The man drinks at work.	Less emotional, LN
In the morning, they painted the curbs in the park.	The teenagers walked around them.	Control
The grandchildren sold the apartment of their deceased grandfather.	They threw out his pets.	More emotional, LN
The traffic light turned red, and pedestrians started crossing the road.	One of the drivers sped past them.	More emotional, LN
There are many people standing on the escalator.	A young man is rushing down it.	More emotional, LN
A new lift has been installed in a high-rise building.	Someone has vandalized it.	Less emotional, LN
The sapper was performing a crucial task, on which dozens of lives depended.	During the operation, he panicked.	More emotional, LN
A young mother couldn't calm her crying child.	One of the other women decided to support her.	Control
The walls in the school restroom were painted.	Someone has vandalized it.	Less emotional, LN
The coach sacrificed everything for the protege to win at the Olympic Games.	The protege didn't like him.	Less emotional, HN
Millions of war victims hoped that the leaders of the countries would negotiate a cease-fire.	During the negotiations, they argued.	More emotional, HN
The young man was coming down with an illness and asked his roommate not to disturb him.	His roommate left him alone.	Control
The subway driver started a new shift and drove the train.	His actions led to an accident.	More emotional, LN
The team of sailors rescued a girl from the water, and they ensured her safety.	Soon, one of them made advances towards her.	Less emotional, LN
One of the family members suffered from a mental illness and needed rest for recovery.	The household members continued to provoke him.	Less emotional, LN
The managers of the waste incineration plant had long promised to reduce emissions into the atmosphere.	Today they are still polluting it.	More emotional, LN
The children were playing ball in the backyard of the house.	A man approached one of them and spanked him.	Less emotional, LN
The man lent money to his female friend for a long period of time.	He didn't bother her all this time.	Control

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
The group of subordinates submitted the report with minor remarks.	In his response, the boss humiliated them.	More emotional, LN
The man asked his tablemate to pass him the salt.	In response, the neighbor tossed it to him.	Less emotional, LN
The driver promised to get enough sleep the night before transporting the children.	That night he drank.	Less emotional, LN
The restorer undertook a challenging task – to restore an antique painting.	As a result, he ruined it.	Less emotional, LN
The landlord promised to notify the tenants in advance if they needed to vacate the apartment.	Next day he didn't bother them.	Control
The family with a child called a taxi in the rain and waited for it by the roadside.	At the appointed time, the driver drove past them.	Less emotional, LN
The pedestrian light turned red.	The pedestrian stopped.	Control
It was important for the manager that the employees didn't miss the deadline for submitting the report.	So he decided to incentivize them.	Control
A pregnant woman who shouldn't worry is a passenger in a taxi.	The driver terrified her with his driving style.	More emotional, LN
The man went to the sanatorium where alcohol was prohibited.	However, he indulged in drinking every evening while there.	More emotional, LN
Drivers were asked to bypass the freshly painted road markings to let them dry.	One of them drove over them.	Less emotional, LN
The orphanage was disbanded.	Its residents were evicted.	Less emotional, LN
The man asked his wife to discuss their problem in private.	The woman decided to publicly humiliate him.	More emotional, LN
The girl decided to marry an elderly man.	She despised him.	More emotional, HN
The child was crying and asking for a toy in the store. His mother wanted to calm him down.	She hit him.	More emotional, LN
Players promised to maintain order and peace within the team during the championship.	Some of them decided to express their dissatisfaction.	Less emotional, HN
A surgeon is performing an important operation.	During the procedure, he panicked.	More emotional, LN
The survival of the group during the task depended on the clear execution of the commander's orders.	Several group members decided to express their dissatisfaction.	Less emotional, HN
The teacher asked to place the diary on the table.	The student placed it there.	Control

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
The woman often and willingly sought help from her neighbor.	Deep down, she despised her.	More emotional, HN
The diplomats had to find common ground and resolve the conflict that was claiming people's lives.	At the negotiations, they argued.	More emotional, HN
The driver is steering the bus along a steep and winding mountain road.	One of the passengers is looking out of the window.	Control
A driver was traveling on the highway.	One of his manoeuvres let him avoid a collision.	Control
The travellers agreed to gather the remaining food in the tent and not to touch it.	The traveller on duty keeps attacking them.	More emotional, LN
The grandfather has heart problems, and he shouldn't be stressed.	His grandson angered him in his own words.	Less emotional, LN
A movie screening was organized for the children at the kindergarten.	The film shown horrified them.	More emotional, LN
The factory management claimed that their productions do not harm the river; tests have been conducted.	Their emissions do not reach it.	Control
A child in kindergarten was tired and throwing tantrums.	The teacher spanked him.	Less emotional, LN
Unknown individuals called the school and warned the students about a danger.	They saved the students.	Control
The teacher asked to place the diary on the table.	The student threw it there.	Less emotional, LN
The ship's captain ordered the crew to strictly follow his instructions to save the ship in the storm.	In response, the crew revolted.	More emotional, LN
The manager gave a chance to an alcoholic and offered him a job.	The man is making progress at work.	Control
The curb-stones in the park were white-washed in the morning.	Some teenagers have vandalized them.	Less emotional, LN
The grandchildren sold the apartment of their deceased grandfather.	They put his pets outside.	Less emotional, LN
The traffic light turned red, and pedestrians started to cross the road.	One of the drivers stopped in advance.	Control
On the escalator in the metro, there are many people standing.	A young man is running down it.	Less emotional, LN
A new lift was installed in the high-rise building.	Someone cleaned it.	Control

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
A sapper was carrying out a responsible task on which the lives of dozens depended.	During the operation, he became anxious.	Less emotional, HN
The ship's captain ordered the crew to strictly follow his instructions to save the ship in the storm.	In response, the crew expressed dissatisfaction.	Less emotional, HN
The victim was going to go to the police.	The relatives of the accused decided not to interfere with him.	Control
The coach sacrificed everything for the protege to win at the Olympic Games.	The protege despised him.	More emotional, HN
Millions of war victims hoped that the leaders of the countries would conclude a ceasefire.	They argued during the negotiations.	Less emotional, HN
A young man was coming down with an illness and asked his roommate not to disturb him.	The roommate deliberately annoyed him.	More emotional, LN
The metro driver started a new shift and drove the train.	His actions led to a collision.	Less emotional, LN
The team of sailors rescued a girl from the water, and they agreed on her safety.	Soon, one of them helped her.	Control
The victim was going to go to the police.	The relatives of the accused decided to intimidate him.	More emotional, LN
The leaders of the waste incineration plant promised to reduce emissions into the atmosphere.	Today they kept their promise.	Control
Children were playing ball in the courtyard of the house.	A man approached one of them and greeted him.	Control
A man lent money to his female friend for a long period.	All this time, he intimidated her.	Less emotional, LN
The group of subordinates submitted a report with minor remarks.	In response, their boss thanked them.	Control
A man asked his tablemate to pass him the salt.	In response, the neighbor threw it at him.	More emotional, LN
The driver promised to get enough sleep the night before transporting the children.	That night, he rested.	Control
A restorer took on a complex task - restoring an antique painting.	As a result, he messed it up.	More emotional, LN

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
The landlord promised to notify the tenants in advance if they needed to vacate the apartment.	The next day, he evicted them.	Less emotional, LN
A couple with a child called a taxi in the rain and waited for it by the road.	At the appointed time, the driver sped past them.	More emotional, LN
The pedestrian crossing light turned red.	A pedestrian dashed across it.	More emotional, LN
A pregnant woman who shouldn't worry is a passenger in a taxi.	The driver scared her with his driving style.	Less emotional, LN
Young people were eating ice cream on the lawn wrappers left in their hands.	As they left, they took the wrappers with them.	Control
The curbstones in the park were white-washed in the morning.	Some teenagers have destroyed them.	More emotional, LN
A man went to a sanatorium where alcohol was prohibited.	He relaxed there every evening.	Control
A surgeon was performing an important operation.	He remained focused during the procedure.	Control
The orphanage was disbanded.	Its residents were kicked out.	More emotional, LN
The man asked his wife to talk about their problem in private.	The woman decided not to discuss it publicly.	Control
A young woman decided to marry an elderly man.	She didn't love him.	Less emotional, HN
The child was crying and asking for a toy in the store; the mother wanted to calm him down.	She spanked him.	Less emotional, LN
The players promised to maintain order and peace within the team during the championship.	Some of them performed brilliantly.	Control
A surgeon was performing an important operation.	He remained focused during the procedure.	Control
The survival of the group during the task depended on the clear execution of the commander's orders.	Several members of the group decided to revolt.	More emotional, LN
It was important for the leader that the employees did not miss the deadline for submitting the report.	Therefore, he decided to intimidate them.	More emotional, LN
The woman often and willingly accepted help from her neighbour.	Deep down, she didn't love her.	Less emotional, HN
Diplomats had to find common ground and settle a conflict that was taking people's lives.	They reached an agreement during negotiations.	Control

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
The driver is steering the bus along a steep and winding mountain road.	One of the passengers is constantly bothering him.	Less emotional, LN
The driver was traveling on the highway.	One of his manoeuvres led to an accident.	More emotional, LN
Travellers agreed to collect the remaining food in the tent and not to touch it.	The traveller on duty keeps a close eye on it.	Control
The grandfather has heart problems, and he shouldn't be stressed.	His grandson delighted him in his own words.	Control
A film screening was organized for the children at the kindergarten.	The film entertained them.	Control
The management of the plant claimed that their productions do not harm the river; tests have been conducted.	Their emissions pollute it.	Less emotional, LN
The child in kindergarten was tired and throwing tantrums.	The teacher hit him.	More emotional, LN
Unknown individuals called the school and warned the students about a bomb.	They were scaring them.	Less emotional, LN
A young mother couldn't calm her crying child down.	One of the women decided to shame her.	Less emotional, LN
Young people were eating ice cream on the lawn, the wrappers left in their hands.	As they left, they deliberately threw them on the ground.	More emotional, LN
The supervisor gave a chance to the alcoholic and offered him a job.	The man drinks heavily at work.	More emotional, LN
One family member suffered from a mental illness and needed rest for recovery.	The household members kept caring for him.	Control
The grandchildren sold the deceased grandfather's apartment.	They took his pets.	Control
At the traffic light, the red signal turned on, and pedestrians began to cross the road.	One of the drivers drove past them.	Less emotional, LN
There are many people standing on the escalator in the metro.	A young man is walking down it.	Control
A new elevator was installed in the high-rise building.	Someone graffitied it.	More emotional, LN
A sapper was performing a responsible task on which dozens of lives depended.	During the operation, he showed his skill.	Control
The ship's captain ordered the crew to strictly follow his instructions to save the ship in the storm.	In response, the team obeyed.	Control

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
The victim was going to go to the police.	The relatives of the accused decided to warn him against that.	Less emotional, LN
The coach sacrificed everything for the protege to win at the Olympic Games.	The protege thanked him.	Control
A young man was coming down with an illness and asked his roommate not to disturb him.	The roommate deliberately annoyed him.	Less emotional, LN
The metro driver started a new shift and drove the train.	His actions led to the schedule being adhered to.	Control
One family member suffered from a mental illness, and rest was needed for recovery.	The household members kept annoying him.	More emotional, LN
A man lent money to his female friend for a long period.	All this time, he terrorized her.	More emotional, LN
The group of subordinates submitted a report with minor remarks.	In response, their boss shamed them.	Less emotional, LN
A man asked his tablemate to pass him the salt.	In response, the tablemate passed it to him.	Control
The driver promised to get enough sleep the night before transporting the children.	That night he drank heavily.	More emotional, LN
A restorer took on a complex task – restoring an antique painting.	As a result, he improved it.	Control
The landlord promised to notify the tenants in advance if they needed to vacate the apartment.	The next day, he threw them out.	More emotional, LN
The teacher asked to place the diary on the table.	The student threw it forcefully.	More emotional, LN
The man went to a sanatorium where alcohol was prohibited.	He drank there every evening.	Less emotional, LN
Drivers were asked to bypass the freshly painted road markings to let them dry.	One of them sped over them.	More emotional, LN
The orphanage was disbanded.	Its residents were taken elsewhere.	Control
The man asked his wife to talk about their problem in private.	The woman decided to publicly shame him.	Less emotional, LN
The girl decided to marry an elderly man.	She fell in love with him.	Control
The child was crying and asking for a toy in the store; the mother wanted to calm him down.	She hugged him.	Control

Stimuli	Key trigger	Stimuli group
The players promised to maintain order and peace within the team during the championship.	Some of them decided to revolt.	More emotional, LN
The walls of the school toilet were painted.	Some teenagers have graffitied them.	More emotional, LN
Millions of war victims hoped that the leaders of the countries would conclude a ceasefire.	They reconciled during the negotiations.	Control
The team of sailors rescued a girl from the water, and they agreed on her safety.	Soon, one of them assaulted her.	More emotional, LN
The leaders of the waste incineration plant had long promised to reduce emissions into the atmosphere.	Today they are still polluting it.	Less emotional, LN
Children were playing ball in the courtyard of the house.	A man approached one of them and hit him.	More emotional, LN
A couple with a child called a taxi in the rain and waited for it by the road.	At the appointed time, the driver arrived.	Control
The pedestrian crossing light turned red.	A pedestrian dashed across it.	Less emotional, LN
The walls in the school restroom were painted.	One of the students noticed it.	Control
A pregnant woman who shouldn't worry is a passenger in a taxi.	The driver's driving style pleased her.	Control