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# Developmental Phases of Personality Formation in Childhood (III)

The crisis that occurs in adolescence differs significantly from the previous developmental crises, which we have already considered. It seems to us to be the most acute and most long-lasting of all the developmental crises that accompany the transitional phases in the development of the child's personality. In essence, the whole adolescent period is a prolonged transitional period between childhood and maturity.

Throughout this period all the child's previous attitudes to the world and to himself break down and are reformed (first phase of adolescence—ages twelve to fifteen), and the processes of self-consciousness and self-determination develop. This ultimately leads to the stance with which the schoolchild begins his independent life (second phase of adolescence—ages fifteen to seventeen, which is often called the period of early youth).

It should be specially noted that the process of personality formation is not completed during the adolescent period. This whole

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 "Etapy formirovaniia lichnosti v ontogeneze (III)," in *Problemy formirovaniia lichnosti: izbrannye psikhologicheskie trudy* (Moscow: Moskovskii psikhologo-sotsial′nyi institut, 2001), pp. 228–44. (Originally published in *Voprosy psikhologii*, 1979, no. 4, pp. 23–33.)

period involves significant restructuring of the psychological structures that formed previously, as well as the appearance of new ones, which at this point are only just beginning their development. However, the leading factors in this postadolescent period are not age-linked developmental principles, but principles associated with features of psychological development specific to each individual.

In this article we will be concerned with the processes of development in the early school years that directly pave the way for the adolescent crisis, analysis of this crisis itself and the appearance of the central personality structure that terminates the adolescent crisis, and at the same time the whole period of the child's development.

It must be remembered that the critical nature of the shift from one phase of personality formation to the next is the result of the needs and drives generated by newly formed psychological structures encountering obstacles to their satisfaction and, thus, remaining unsatisfied.

The adolescent crisis is more prolonged and acute than those at other ages because of the rapid rate of physical and mental development in adolescents. This rapid development gives rise to many drives that cannot be satisfied because of the inadequate social development of schoolchildren at this age. Thus, during this critical period, unmet needs are felt much more acutely, and, because of the lack of commensurate social, physical, and mental development in the adolescent, this is very difficult to overcome.

The adolescent crisis is also different in another, very important way. The fact is that during the previous periods, the failure of newly developed needs being met is associated primarily with external impediments (parental bans that make a child's way of life unchangeable and restrict his/her activity, etc.). In the adolescent crisis, an equally significant role is played by internal impediments (bans the adolescent imposes on himself, previously formed psychological structures, i.e., habits, character traits, etc.). These impediments frequently prevent the adolescent from attaining what he wants, especially emulating the model he himself has chosen

as his ideal. Of course, external conditions are still very important. This is especially true of the need to remain dependent on adults, just when the desire has arisen to have another more adult social status that would liberate the adolescent from constant external monitoring and allow him to solve problems for himself. However, this class of factors is not decisive.

In the same way, the factor of biological maturation is not in itself decisive, although, to this day, many psychologists attach exaggerated importance to it. It cannot be denied, of course, that physiological restructuring, including changes in the shape of the body, have an effect in adolescence. Investigations have shown that the physiological processes that occur during this period increase the emotional excitability of the adolescent, his impulsivity, lack of stability, and so forth, and that his rapid physical maturation increases his sense of "adultness," with all the consequences thereof. Moreover, during this period, a new very powerful biological need—the sex drive—first develops and fills his consciousness with new thoughts and feelings. Without any doubt, a lack of satisfaction of this drive may frustrate the adolescent and thus explain certain characteristics of his feelings and behavior. At the same time, it must be remembered that the sex drive, like all other biological human drives, acquires a qualitatively different, mediated nature during the process of development. In the same way that, for example, the need for stimulation necessary for the development of brain systems first becomes a drive for external impressions, and then a drive for active cognitive activity, the sex drive in the course of its development, takes on the form of the desire for the love of another human being. Arising during puberty, this drive is assimilated into the adolescent's already existing acquired psychological structures (diverse interests, moral and aesthetic feelings, opinions and value judgments), and combines with them to form an attitude toward the opposite sex in which the sex drive does not generally occupy the dominant position. For this reason, failure of this drive to be satisfied (as a result of the adolescent's social immaturity) is not a serious frustrating factor and does not play the decisive role in the adolescent crisis. Thus,

attempts to explain this complex developmental crisis with reference to sexual maturation do not seem justified to us. We also consider ill-founded all the theories of adolescence that attempt to explain adolescent psychology with reference only to factors external to psychological development. After all, biological and social factors do not directly determine development. Rather they are included in the process of development and become internal components of the psychological structures that grow by virtue of this development. A.N. Leontiev was correct when he stated that no development can be derived directly from factors that are its precursors. In his view, development must be studied as a "self-propelled" process in which "its precursors act to transform its own intrinsic components."[1] Thus, the structures that have already been developmentally acquired themselves act as the internal factors of development. They refract the influences of the individual's experiences, integrate his consciousness, and thus determine his internal positioning, his behavior, and the subsequent course of his personality development.

From this standpoint, no theories of adolescence (and there is no lack of these, as everyone knows) can be constructed on the basis of a single factor. Adolescence, in L.S. Vygotsky's words, cannot be captured with a single formula. To understand this, we must study the internal motive forces and contradictions inherent in this phase of psychological development, and analyze the new central systemic structures that perform the integrating function, which makes it possible to understand the adolescent syndrome, that is, the nature and phenomenology of the crisis that occurs during this period.

Based on data in the literature and our own investigations, we hypothesize that the adolescent crisis is associated with the development during this period of a new level of self-consciousness, the characteristic trait of which is the adolescent's new ability to be aware of himself as a personality, with a set of inherent traits that distinguish him from everyone else. This gives rise to a desire for self-affirmation, self-expression (i.e., the desire to show himself in possession of the personality traits he considers valuable),

and self-development. A frustration of these needs is the basis for the adolescent crisis.

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We will attempt to trace the changes in the psyche of younger schoolchildren that give rise during the transitional period to the development of the new systemic structure described above.

The structure of schoolwork is different in many respects from the structure of play: it is goal directed, product-oriented, mandatory, and arbitrary. It is subject to social evaluation and thus determines the schoolchild's position among his peers, which in turn influences his internal positioning and feeling of well-being.

Consequently, the leading factor during this stage of development is schoolwork, and especially the process of acquiring knowledge, which makes new demands on the schoolchild's thinking. In other words, it is the factor responsible for the new systemic psychological structures that develop: theoretical forms of thinking, cognitive interests, the ability to control one's own behavior, sense of responsibility, and many other mental and character traits of schoolchildren that distinguish them from preschoolchildren. The development of thinking, which occurs in the course of acquiring scientific knowledge, plays the main role here. The new structure that develops is essential for understanding the changes that occur in the consciousness and personality of adolescents.

According to Vygotsky, instruction in school pushes thinking to the center of the child's consciousness. This means that there is a restructuring of consciousness itself. As the dominant function, thinking begins to determine the operation of all the other functions, and integrates them in order to solve the problems the individual faces. As a result "the functions that service thinking" are intellectualized and become conscious and voluntary.

However, the most essential changes occur in thinking itself. Before exposure to school, this process, relying on direct life experiences, operates either with concrete images and ideas or with a kind of equivalent to concepts, that is, results of the child's

unconscious sensory generalizations ("everyday concepts").[2] School education transforms this process into theoretical and discursive thinking, which is the basis of operating with true concepts.

As he acquires knowledge, the schoolchild assimilates the process of concept formation, that is, masters the ability to generalize not on the basis of similar features (regardless of how much things have in common), but by identifying critical associations and relationships. In order to form, for example, a concept such as life, one needs, in Engels's words, "to investigate all forms of life and depict them in their mutual relationships."[3] Thus, in acquiring a concept, the schoolchild acquires not only the "abstract generality," but also the "bundle of supporting judgments" that it includes. He masters the ability to analyze these judgments, to go from concept to concept, that is, to reason theoretically.

Concept formation requires the schoolchild's activity to be directed at solving the educational problem set before him. In other words, to some extent, this process is creative. Assimilation of knowledge in school thus fosters concept formation and development of theoretical thinking, which demands that the child analyze the causes of certain phenomena, understand the principles that link them, and also be conscious of the thinking techniques that will lead him to the correct conclusions. As this occurs the child begins to be conscious of the system of arguments provided to him, and then of his own thinking process.

The development of theoretical thinking, utilizing concepts in the scientific sense of the term (a functionally new structure, which is conscious and expressed verbally), triggers many changes in the schoolchild's psychology. These are most marked during the adolescent period. This development allows the adolescent to master new subject matter, form a new type of intellectual interest (an interest not only in facts but also in principles), and engenders a broader view of the world. Perhaps the most important factor in understanding the changes in adolescent personality leads to the development of a reflex or ability to "focus his thinking on thought itself" and also to a consideration of his own psychological processes and all the characteristics of his personality. This in turn

leads to the development of a new level of self-consciousness.

Of course, the development of thinking is not the only factor that leads to the formation of the self-awareness particular to adolescence. This is also fostered by the new conditions that distinguish the adolescent's life from that of younger schoolchildren. First and foremost, there are increased demands made on the adolescent by adults and peers whose opinions depend not so much on the child's success in school as on many of his other personality traits, opinions, capabilities, and character, and his ability to meet the accepted "code of behavior" among those in his peer group. All this gives rise to motivations that cause the adolescent to focus on self-analysis and on how he compares to others. Thus, he gradually becomes concerned with value judgments and forms relatively stable behavioral models, which, unlike the models of young schoolchildren, typically are not associated with a specific person but involve certain requirements that the adolescent imposes on other people and on himself. And even when this model is associated with a particular person, special investigations have shown that this person is merely the embodiment of the qualities that this adolescent values.[4] In other words, while the direct emotional appeal of a person makes him a role model for younger children (who accept him as a whole personality, together with his negative qualities), in the adolescent, the emotional appeal of a model lies in the extent to which the model embodies requirements that the adolescent imposes on human beings in general.

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The development of self-consciousness and its most important aspect—self-appraisal—is a complex and prolonged process, accompanied in the adolescent by a whole range of specific psychological experiences (often involving internal conflict), which literally all psychologists working with this age have noted. In particular, lack of stability, quick temper, frequent changes in mood, occasional depression, and the like, have been singled out as characteristic of adolescence.

The still very immature attempts by the adolescent to analyze his own capacities are accompanied, in turn, by soaring self-confidence and by self-doubts and vacillation. This type of lack of self-confidence often leads the adolescent to a negative type of self-assertion—bravado, dissipation, or breaking of laws or rules solely in order to assert his independence.

Frequently, the results of adolescent self-appraisal are contradictory. Consciously the young person sees himself as a significant, even exceptional individual, and believes in himself and his own capacities, ranking himself above others. At the same time, he is consumed by doubts that he tries to exclude from his consciousness. However, this subconscious lack of confidence manifests itself in negative emotions, such as, depression, bad moods, lethargy, and so forth. The adolescent himself is unaware of the cause of these moods, but they are reflected in his touchiness ("sensitivity"), rudeness, and frequent conflicts with the adults in his life.

Sometimes the opinion is expressed that these and certain other traits (e.g., a striving for self-assertion, a feeling of isolation, withdrawal) so often described in detail in traditional psychology are characteristic only of adolescents developing in bourgeois societies, that is, they have a specific historical source.

There is no doubt that the way of life and upbringing have a real effect on the characteristics of human personality. It should also be noted that the older the child, the more pronounced are the results of his particular individual experiences. There is not and could not be a single adolescent who does not differ from every other. Each of them has a unique personality. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to use this fact as a justification for denying that there are certain psychological traits characteristic of each phase in child development, including adolescence. However, this opinion can be found in the literature, both Soviet and foreign. This opinion is based on the fact that many studies, especially contemporary ones, have found large differences in the psychology of children and adolescents as a function of the conditions of their socialization.[5] There is no doubt that such cultural, social, economic, specific historical, general, and biological differences have an effect on

the content, nature, and course of the adolescent crisis. However, this does not mean that there are no psychological features common to all adolescents and determined by the new psychological structures typical of this age, which have arisen in accordance with the logic of psychological development. After all, every psychological structure characteristic of each qualitatively different stage of development is built on the foundation of preceding structures and is a necessary prerequisite for the development of subsequent structures. To deny this would be to deny psychological development as a self-propelled process subject to its own laws.

In connection with this statement and also to provide a clearer picture of the personality traits typical of adolescence in general, we will speak briefly about two specific research projects, one of which was performed in the 1890s, and one in the 1960s.

L.S. Sedov organized and compared data that he and other Russian and foreign scholars collected, showing that the adolescent traits L.N. Tolstoy embodied in the character of Nikolenka Irteniev essentially coincide with those that have been identified in various works by psychologists, although their subjects were adolescents whose development occurred under different social conditions.[6]

The second study by T.V. Dragunova involved a comparison of the personality traits of Nikolenka and those of adolescents in the 1960s.[7] She used the following methodology. After the adolescents had read a special selection of excerpts from Tolstoy's *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth* [Detstvo, otrochestvo i iunost′], they underwent an experimental interview in which they were asked what aspects of Nikolenka (his behavior, relationships with others, and his feelings) they remembered particularly, what they found most familiar, that is, similar to themselves, and what, on the contrary, they found alien and hard to understand, bewildering, or even repellent to them. At the end of the interview Dragunova asked: "Could Nikolenka be friends with the young people of today, and, if not, what would prevent this?"

She was able to establish that the majority of specific adolescent traits shown by Nikolenka coincide with the characteristics of our schoolchildren, others are not typical, and still others, although they

did have something in common with those of our adolescents, differ with regard to a specific content and means of expression. For example, our adolescents did not understand Nikolenka's feeling of isolation as a permanent feature of his life. However, many remarked that they often felt the desire to be "alone" or "left to themselves," in addition to wanting to be "with others" and "where the action is." This fact suggests that solitary reflection does occur as a special independent type of activity as part of the logic of psychological development in adolescents. However, under conditions of education whose central principle is collective education, this activity does not lead adolescents to withdraw into themselves, to "excessive introspection," or to a feeling of isolation.

But, as we have already stated, most of Nikolenka's personality traits were shared by contemporary adolescents, that is, they were traits typical of the developmental turning point occurring during this period.

Before the age of eleven, schoolchildren generally skip over the spots in Tolstoy's novella where Nikolenka's attitude to himself is described; most often they do not even notice them. It proved to be impossible to have a conversation on this topic with them: they became bored and changed the subject to the events in Nikolenka's life.

But by the time children are twelve, the picture starts to change. Schoolchildren note with increasing frequency the places where Nikolenka's personality traits and moral qualities and feelings are described. Without leading questions, they begin to compare themselves to Nikolenka ("I have started to think about myself, too") and empathize with his feelings and the actions associated with them ("He was right to take offense!" "I often feel the same way," "It's insulting when people don't trust you," "It was good that he protested," and so forth).

Like Nikolenka, our adolescents react strongly to their own successes and failures. They tend to attribute the latter exclusively to their own capacities, and, as a result, either feel proud of themselves and their achievements or become immersed in a feeling

of incompetence. Chance, good fortune, or praise has a marked positive effect on the adolescent's mood and temporary failures, especially if they are noted by others, cause him to feel low, and induce lack of self-confidence and shyness.

Thus, the results of these studies have shown that psychological characteristics responsible for the development of introspection, giving rise to a need to understand oneself and to meet one's demands on oneself, that is, to attain the level of the ideal model one has chosen, are common to all adolescents, regardless of differences in their socialization. A lack of ability to satisfy these demands gives rise to a whole "bouquet" of psychological traits that are specific to the adolescent crisis.

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However, not all the characteristics of the adolescent crisis are associated with the internal frustrations of the young person, which are manifested externally. The discrepancy between his new motivations and the conditions of his life that limit the opportunities for realizing them, a discrepancy that is characteristic of all developmental crises, also plays a significant role here.

Actually, the adolescent remains a typical schoolchild.[8] Study, school, and his interactions with his comrades take almost all his time and constitute the main content of his life. However, at the same time, the nature of the adolescent's internal positioning changes. The stance (that of a schoolchild) with which he began his school days and that characterized not only his attitude toward schoolwork but his whole system of attitudes toward real life, first grows shaky, and then, by the end of the elementary school years, ceases to define either his psychological life or his behavior. By the start of the adolescent period, as a result of what the schoolchild has learned, his maturation, and the accumulation of real-life experience, and thus general progress in psychological development, he develops new, broader interests, new drives, and the desire to occupy a new, more independent and

"adult" role, a role appropriate to the behavior and personality traits that he thinks cannot be manifested in his "everyday" school life. There is not a single adolescent who would agree that regular compliance with all the rules of the school manifests character, while open acknowledgment of one's inadequacies shows independence and courage. They believe that the exercise and development of the personality characteristics they value demand special, extreme conditions.

The discrepancy between the adolescent's desires, associated with his consciousness and affirmation of himself as a personality, and his actual position as a schoolchild, gives rise to the desire to escape from the confines of everyday school life into some other life where he can be important and independent. Unlike the elementary schoolchild, the adolescent is focused on the future, although his idea of the future is very vague.

The impossibility of actually changing his way of life generates fantasies, which psychologists have always considered and continue to consider to be characteristic of adolescence. Of course, the fantasies of the contemporary adolescent and those of, for example, Nikolenka Irteniev differ in content and specific expression. But they always contain some sort of modeling of the individual's future and of himself in that future, or, as Western psychologists express it, of the acting out of future roles in the imagination. Thus, fantasy, which is a typical component of adolescence, fulfills the same function as play does for preschoolers. Both are a means of realizing those emotional drives that cannot be implemented in actual life.

But this is just one method of "self-expression" used by adolescents, the one that is most desirable. Sometimes adolescents who are keenly experiencing the conflict between their own desires and the opportunities for satisfying them begin to search for other, not imaginary, but real situations, which, however, divert them from the desirable path and disrupt normal adolescent development. In such cases, they drop out of school, and begin to live the life of the street, which frequently leads them into antisocial modes of behavior.

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The course of the adolescent crisis is significantly less severe if, by this age, the adolescent already possesses relatively permanent interests or any sort of stable behavioral patterns.

Permanent interests (as opposed to episodic or situational ones) are distinguished by the fact that they are never totally fulfilled. The more they are satisfied the more stable and strong they become. Examples include cognitive interests, esthetic drives, and the like. The satisfaction of such interests is associated with an active search for (or creation of) an object that satisfies them. This impels the adolescent to continually set new goals, which often go far beyond the present.

The significance of this fact cannot be exaggerated. Recent psychological research clearly shows the important role played by an individual's orientation toward remote goals in development of a stable personality and self-regulation.[9]

K. Levin, too, focused on the decisive significance of long-term goals to the psychological structure and behavior of the individual. In his topological theory of personality, he argued that the goals a person sets and his intentions form a unique kind of drive ("quasi-drive") that does not differ in strength or other dynamic properties from true drives. And the broader the "life space" in which the individual is included, the greater the significance of remote goals. The value orientation of the individual regarding these future goals dominates intermediate goals and thus determines the behavior, emotions, and moral state of the individual.

An adolescent's stable personal interests cause him to be goal-directed, and thus internally more focused and organized, as if he has acquired additional strength of will. Vygotsky was quite correct when refuting the traditional opinion in psychology, he said that the adolescent suffered not from a weakness of will, but a weakness of goals.

Of course, goal-directedness and the other characteristics noted above may develop not only on the basis of unsatisfied interests.

They also arise in connection with other stable motivations requiring goal-directed organization of behavior, for example, motivation to perform socially significant work, or the need to help one's family or support someone close. In other words, any conscious and stable motivations (secondary motivations) can change the entire internal pattern of the adolescent. They become the dominant factors in his motivational structure and thus all other drives and desires become subordinate to them. This eliminates the constant conflict among opposing motivational tendencies that characterizes the crisis at this age and makes the adolescent more internally harmonious.

The critical period of adolescence culminates in the development of a special new personality structure that can be called "self-definition." From the point of view of the individual's self-consciousness it involves consciousness of the self as a member of society and takes the concrete form of a new, socially significant internal positioning.

Self-definition occurs during the second phase of the adolescent period (ages sixteen to seventeen) when graduation from school is imminent, so that the young person must solve the problem of his future in one way or another. It is true that real self-definition is often not complete by the time of graduation, as persuasively demonstrated by a study of the internal positioning of graduates and students in the first and second year of university, conducted by a team from the Department of Education of Voronezh University, under the direction of S.M. Godnik.

Self-definition differs from the fantasies of the adolescent associated with the future by virtue of the fact that it is based on the individual's interests and drives that have already taken a stable form. Self-definition presupposes that the individual has considered his capacities and external conditions. It is based on the adolescent's developing worldview and is associated with his choice of occupation. Indeed, the problem of what one is going to be and do in the future is already of concern to adolescents by the end of eighth grade. However, as experimental data show, during this time they are still not psychologically ready to solve this problem of

self-definition. Most frequently, it is decided for them by adults or the conditions of their lives and only sometimes by themselves, and then either randomly or by imitating someone else. The only exceptions are pupils who possess some special talent or early develop stable personal traits. True self-definition, that is, self-definition as a new systemic structure associated with the formation of the internal positioning of an adult, occurs significantly later and is the culminating and last phase of the child's personality development.

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Comparing the results of the analyses pertaining to all critical periods in the formation of personality during ontogeny (crises at one, three, and seven years of age and during adolescence) suggests that there are some central general underlying principles.

First of all, consciousness and its functions have been found to play a part in this process. Consciousness is the center in which all new psychological structures are integrated, which determines the individual's personality as a "higher psychological system" (Vygotsky)—its structure, and its developmental and individual characteristics.

The integrative and regulating functions of consciousness are based not only on intellectual generalizations but also on affective ones. For this reason new systemic structures characteristic of personality (e.g., moral feelings, convictions, worldviews) are composed not only of intellectual but also of affective components. These are what give these new structures their motivational force.

All external stimuli perceived by an individual and mediated by consciousness are what determine the individual's internal positioning and his global reactions.

The development of consciousness in childhood involves the increasingly great role played by the individual's cognition and awareness of himself as a unified whole, capable of and striving for active self-expression. The development of consciousness changes the nature of the interactions between the individual and

his environment. A newborn baby is a creature who reacts to the effects of his own biological needs. Then the child's behavior and activity begin to be determined by his perception of objects in the external world in which the fulfillment of his biological drives is embodied. During this period he is a slave to the stimulation provided by his immediate surroundings.

However, by the second year of life the situation has changed substantially. During this period the first new personality structure develops—a mental representation that has a motivational force, manifested in the capacity of the child to act in accordance with his internal drives. The motivating mental representations, the result of the first synthesis of intellectual and affective components, allow the child to "break" with his immediate stimulus situation. This gives rise to a drive to act in accordance with his internal motivations and cause him to "rebel" if this activity is frustrated by the environment. Of course, this "rebellion" is spontaneous and unplanned, but it testifies to the fact that the child has begun to progress toward personality formation and has become capable of active as well as reactive forms of behavior.

During the next phase (the crisis at age three), the child grows able to identify himself as an actor in a world of objects on which he may act and that which can be changed. At this phase, the child is already aware of his "I" and demands opportunities to act on his own ("by myself"). This not only represents a new step in overcoming situationally determined behavior, but also gives rise to the child's desire to have an active effect on his environment, to transform it in order to satisfy his own needs and desires.

During the third stage (the crisis at age seven), the child develops awareness of himself as a social being and of his place in the system of social relationships he is able to understand. This period may be called the period of the birth of the social "I." It is in this period that the child develops an "internal positioning," which gives rise to the motivation to perform significant (real) tasks. And here too, as in all the other cases, the child protests if the circumstances of his life remain unchanged and thus interfere with the implementation of his new activity.

Finally, during the last stage of development, the adolescent develops self-consciousness in the true meaning of the term, that is, the ability to focus his consciousness on his own psychological processes, including the complex world of his feelings. This level of development of the consciousness gives rise in an adolescent to the need for self-examination, to acknowledge himself as a personality distinct from other people and in compliance with the model he has chosen. This in turn induces a drive for self-affirmation, self-realization, and self-development.

The new structure that develops at the end of adolescence is self-definition, which is marked not only by self-understanding but also by understanding one's place in human society and one's purpose in life.

All the phases in child personality formation that we have described schematically bear witness to the fact that the higher the level of development of his personality, the freer the child becomes, and that the formation of personality occurs as the individual adapts to the demands of the environment and under the conditions of constant creative activity directed at restructuring both the environment and himself.

## Notes

1. A.N. Leont′ev [Leontiev], *Deiatel′nost′, soznanie, lichnost′* [Activity. Consciousness. Personality] (Moscow, 1975), pp. 172–73.

2. L.I. Bozhovich, "Etapy fomirovaniia lichnosti v ontogeneze (II)" [Developmental Phases of Personality Formation in Childhood (II)], *Voprosy psikhologii*, 1979, no. 2 [translated in this issue of *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology*, pp. 55–70].

3. F. Engel′s [Engels], "Dialektika prirody" [The Dialectics of Nature], in K. Marks [Marx] and F. Engel′s [Engels], *Sochineniia* [Works], vol. 20, p. 634.

4. M.I. Nikitinskaia, "Psikhologicheskie osobennosti idealov podrostkov i starshikh shkol′nikov" [Psychological Characteristics of the Ideals of Adolescents and Older Schoolchildren], *Sovetskaia pedagogika*, 1976, no. 11. A.I. Grishanova, "Nravstvennyi ideal i ego rol′ v regulizatsii povedeniia starshikh klassnikov" [The Moral Ideal and Its Role in Guiding the Behavior of Older Schoolchildren]. Author's summary of candidate's dissertation (Moscow, 1976).

5. I.S. Kon, *Psikhologiia iunosheskogo vozrasta* [The Psychology of Young Adults] (Moscow, 1979), pp. 9–19.

6. L.S. Sedov, "Psikhologiia iunosheskogo vozrasta" [The Psychology of Young Adults], *Vestnik vospitatelia*, 1897, nos. 6–7.

7. T.V. Dragunova, "O nekotorykh psikhologicheskikh osobennostiakh podrostka i psikhologicheskii analiz otsenki postupkov podrostkami" [On Certain Psychological Characteristics of the Adolescent and a Psychological Analysis of the Evaluation of Adolescent Actions], in *Voprosy psikhologii lichnosti shkol´nika* [Questions of Personality Psychology in Schoolchildren ] (Moscow, 1961), pp. 120–219.

8. For more details see Bozhovich, "Developmental Phases of Personality Formation in Childhood (II)."

9. V.E. Chudnovskii, "K voprosu o psikhologicheskoi sushchnosti ustoichivosti lichnosti" [On the Psychological Essence of Personality Stability], *Voprosy psikhologii*, 1978, no. 2.