Three Conversations on Perezhivanie*

Conversation with Misha and Sasha  
on Jenny’s Experience in “An Education”

Andy: I saw another interesting movie illustrating perezhivanie last night: An  
Education, starring Carey Mulligan. A talented but poor schoolgirl, Jenny,  
wa...
Anyway, it seems to be more fruitful and interesting to treat this not in the context of "norms and deviations", but within context of mutual frustrations and trans-locations of individual paths and cultural contexts.

**Andy:** The milieu in which the young woman was living showed no sign of the changes we associate with that time. The parents are depicted as extremely conservative; home life is stifling. The teachers are strict and expect few of the girls to be other than housewives. The audience recognises the change to come in the restlessness of the girl, her contempt for everything, but Jenny does not know what is to come. In suburban west London it could be 1957. There is enormous tension and frustration.

**Sasha:** But, really, She's herself is a sign of changes to come! First, she's tempted by the "norm" of a dependent women's being, but on the second step, she resolves to choose something unpredictable, but belonging to her own generation ...

**Andy:** I think you are right that she is a sign of change. There is a genre of work set among youth just before the 60s. It belongs to this genre. She does not see of course the trap of dependence. She thinks it will be "fun" etc., but her confrontation with the wife brings her crashing down. Her change is actually conformist - study hard, no sex - but because she is talented and rebellious her decision has a strong flavour of freedom. She has become an adult by realizing that she is not yet actually an adult.

**Andy:** Nice Movie anyway!

**Sasha:** No doubt, the movie is interesting and, if possible to say, "awakening." But really, the main problem is here how to apply more or less known concepts, be they from the Cultural-Historical tradition or Psychoanalysis to a real cinema-text .... Unfortunately, Freudian (and, specially, Lacanian) technique seems here to be more applicable and powerful ... For example, even the "dubbing" of young miss and the elder wife, elder and young men - all these "reflections" are very important and readable in the context of the "mirror-stage," but really, I may not imagine how to treat them in cultural-historical context ...

**Andy:** Maybe, But it did not strike me as having Freudian overtones.

**Sasha:** Certainly, Freudian seems to be excessively sexual, but what would you say about Lacan?

**Andy:** I am Ignorant of Lacan. The sex in the movie was almost invisible, btw, there was not even a depiction of sexual desire. For Jenny it was more about nightclubs, art auctions, Paris and being admired.

**Sasha:** Frankly speaking, I am sure, any return to an "authentic cultural-historical approach" is possible only by re-thinking it in a broader context. In fact, CHAT, which was developed before the "Linguistic turn" may not remain the same, as in the 30s. Lacanian psychoanalysis is just a version of this turn
(other versions are represented by Heidegger, Derrida, Deleuze), but the thing is we may not refuse the languages and texts, which appeared in the second half of the 20th century ....

Sasha: It May be interesting: Look through just http://solutions psy.com/psychoanalytic-film-festival/

Misha: a great movie, thank you, Andy. That was clear from my first words that from which I proceed, stating that the film does raise the issue of "perezhivanie" in the context of CHAT. It is also clear that in this case we are dealing with the perezhivanie of a 16-year-old schoolgirl. Another important point, too, as Andy said - the perezhivanie does not affect the life of a girl just because of the sexual moment in this picture - the sexual problem is not of primary importance for both the hero and heroine. Though of course, says Jenny, - fun. Apart from this what can be said about the perezhivanie itself. The film's director wanted to show the work over, - original. Since the girl is young and cannot (this is my version) process the shocking truth about her lover, and, afterwards, and the groom - the plot of the writer and director at the end of the film, Jenny is sent on a vacation to the same Paris, but not with the ladies' man, but with her classmate, a normal and apparently sensible guy. This trip will help her accomplish what Jerome Bruner mentioned in conversations with Luria - going to meta. That is to compile and mentally in the activity, the key to melt in the minds of the recent unpleasant events. A trip to Paris for the second time - this is the zone of proximal development with a positive effect when the heroine without the help of an adult is able to realize the details of his life. But the role of the adult in this situation carries a second trip to Paris with another guy! The first zone of proximal development in the face of Goldman (anti-hero of the film) has a group of anti-development, when the seductive material things dominated the minds of girls. I agree with Andy that if Jenny was stupid and could not go to Oxford, then a guy like Goldman would be the best alternative in her life. But, Andy, for these people and studying in Oxford, that was not such a "life choice." On the idea of the film: it has been repeatedly raised and repeated in different societies, but still its meaning is poorly absorbed - it is better to engage in a serious affair than getting easy money and find a spectacular opportunity to spend it, deceiving everyone, especially families. The girl friend of David - Helen - perfectly demonstrates what a beautiful woman can become with such an attitude to life. She says earnestly Jenny: "You came to Oxford to read books? Better read magazines, they benefit more." Next, I think it is not necessary in this discussion just to name names of Freud, Deleuze, Derrida, Lacan, etc. We are discussing life and its concrete manifestations. And within the note, CHAT. If you have any ideas of these thinkers, they can be constructively discuss and have to remember them in vain, I think, is not the case. PS. The irony - British journalist, from memoirs which filmed, went "the other way", if I understand correctly. She started practicing random and frequent sexual relations, appeared in Penthouse and others. The negative charisma prototype of the hero in my life turned out to be stronger than that "wants" art in the form of a
movie. Again, if we use the terminology of CHAT - bad ZPD created the conditions for antisocial, delinquency personality development journalist. It would be good has always been like a movie :)

**Misha:** there is another irony - the irony of the Russian film. Title of the film in English “An Education,” has been translated as "Воспитание чувств" (Training the Feelings). I saw the irony in the fact that the girl's parent just aimed at marriage to the rich instead of lost relevance of higher quality education. I agree with the translation of the title of the film, if the "education" is to life itself. For the Russian-speaking audience to give a link to the movie in Russian polyphonic dubbing. [http://www.hdkinoteatr.com/drama/702-an-education.html](http://www.hdkinoteatr.com/drama/702-an-education.html)

**Andy:** Thank you Michael. I agree with all the additional things you said (if I understood them properly) and of course, a movie is open to interpretation from any standpoint. I agree with Sasha that these late-20th century writers must be studied. It is just one, Lacan, that I have never found a connection with. But Michael, the girl is 16/17 and she is intellectually more mature than her classmates. The whole contradiction is that she is still a child, and (as she tells her father) young girls can make mistakes which adults are supposed to protect them from. But at the same time, she is, I think, able to make that leap, at least insofar as she comes to see her mistake and understand the need for her to undergo a normal passage into adulthood and consciously manages that passage. Really acting above her age in the last scenes of the movie. So I question your insistence that at her age, 17, she is unable to have perezhivanie. It is an imperfect, even "broken" perezhivanie, but she succeeds in working over it and really without adult help. The teacher gives tuition, but her catharsis is her own.

**Misha:** Andy, glad you coped with my Russian text :) By the way, your understanding of the Russian and the fact that it is written, sometimes even better understanding of the local language media) With regard to experience of a 16-year-old girl: You're right, I was is not quite accurate in describing the thoughts and feelings that accompanied her discovery of the "truth of life." Learning the night that David is married, Jenny went home and locked herself in her room, crying and remembering. Then her father came to the door of her room and began to explain why he is so stingy why he first wanted to give his daughter a good education, and then "went over" to the policy of a profitable marriage, when Oxford was not needed. (The girl's father, it turns out, was all his life afraid of something, he was anxious and did not want his daughter to experience the same inner discomfort.) So, the girl cried all night and took a radical solution - to learn more and enter the Faculty of Humanities, and the assistance in the preparation of her will be the teacher whom she has offended before that. Here's the night in tears and meditations - is its meta-perezhivanie. But you're right, it is imperfect because of the age of the girl. Therefore, the director gives her another opportunity to work over her affair experience, "sending" her to Paris with her equal in intellect and integrity. Re Paris, I think she must rise above herself. And as we say goodbye to the past with a smile. I think that the "smile" is one of the important components, showing that the
perezhivanie was traumatic situation which was resolved successfully. She’s in Paris will be the same dance on the banks of the Seine, the same places of entertainment, well, the hotel will certainly be easier, would not be likely to expensive restaurants, but remember it is not the amount of money spent in Paris, and that she was in this Mecca of Arts and Culture with a nice guy with whom you can talk about what interests them both. About Lacan: it was a psychoanalyst several stages in the creative and scientific development. Therefore, it seems to me, is worth more to specify what we mean when we take this case (An Education) for his thoughts, for example, Heidegger and Lacan. Lacan was involved in language and its symbolic interpretation. He believed that the language of the other - it is a separate psychological reality, which stimulates the creative person to an extraordinary conversation with this friend. In the film it is possible, of course, to find, but, as we say again, it would be far-fetched, that is an artificial analogy. Although if we consider a particular example, it is still exciting to me is to analyse it from this point of view. Heidegger again wrote dozens of volumes of essays on various topics. What exactly is meant in relation to this film? Like Sasha, I liked the two observations, which he called “dubbing”. Often would he do such technical specific comments. Still, "general conversations" are more appropriate in the policy or in municipal meetings :) Anyway, thank you all for your participation.

Andy: Michael, I cannot understand Russian. I just use Google translator. What does traumatic mean, for example? I appreciate your observation about the smile, and yes, your interpretation of the function of revisiting Paris is right. Re the father’s words though: the father actually blames the daughter when the daughter admonishes him for not protecting her form the older man: she points out that he was prepared to believe that CS Denis did not go to Cambridge because Jenny had had her book signed by him in Oxford - Jenny and Goldman had collaborated to fool her father. I took it that at this point she knew she had to transcend her father who was after all a bit of child himself.

Misha: Goldman and Jenny together deceived the girl's father about the event experience. Jenny became different after psychotraumatic (or shocking) situation. Her father, of course, naive (as a child), but after a night when he stood at the door and Jenny frank, I thought he was cute. I remembered another thing I remember in the movie: Jenny told the teacher that such a life is boring and paid little, but Jenny still went to study. When asked why she did it? - Can be difficult to answer - it is necessary to feel :) ps. google-translator does not understand me :))

Andy: Yes, Google translator is an Imperfect Instrument. Some things I miss. But generally I can understand even if the English expression is awful.

Misha: But Google-translator is at the Same time A SOURCE of intense perezhivanie because of its imperfectness. Guess we should work it over in Vygotsky’s manner, ie, to be aware of this and take it for granted :)}
Sasha: Dear Andy! If concerning the problem of "perezhivanie" as a substantial problem of the psychology and theatre as well, I would remind you of Mikhail Tchekhov - an outstanding actor and a theatre pedagogue, who influenced Marilyn Monroe, Clint Eastwood etc. It would be very interesting to correspond his own actor works, his ideas of "actors' craft and mastership" (including the "atmosphere", "gesture" etc.) and psychological approaches. I think, as during the last period of his life he worked at the US, you may find adequate translations of his work, and surely, see the films, where he took part.

Andy: Also Constantin Stanislavski I Believe. and Stanislavski also talks of "units" in the same way as Vygotsky.

Sasha: Moreover, one may comprehend, what Vygotsky wrote about only by conceiving all the circle of theatre innovations of the first third of the 20th century. Cultural-Historical Approach itself is a kind of "theatrization" and "linguistic turn" in Psychology, and surely, it has very definite (also different) reflexes towards Stanislavsky, Mikhail Tchekhov, Meierhold, Eisenstein (if concerning theatre and cinema), and formalists (Tynyanov, Shklovsky, Eichenbaum, Jakobson) if treating linguistics ...

Misha: by the way, the memoirs of Mikhail Chekhov. Here is an excerpt from the book "The Way of the Actor," where he explains how the actor should portray death on the stage, in order to initiate "perezhivanie" with the audience: "How untrue we are, the actor portraying death on stage! There was too much attention is given to the physiological processes which, it seems to us, and give a picture of death. But this is untrue and inartistic already by the one that the realistic portrayal of physical torment dying person cannot be art. We should not torture the audience gasping for breath or writhing in front of them in the throes of agony. In addition to pain and disgust, we did not call it by such methods. The more precisely we depict physical dying, the more we will be on the pattern of death, it must act in the art. Death at the scene should be shown as slowing and loss of sense of time. The actor who plays death must in this place so build rhythmic and metric drawing their roles to the audience, watching him, felt the time dilation and quietly came to the point where the slower pace, as it stops for a moment. And this stop will experience death. In this case, the public should be freed from the need to observe the gross and nonfiction techniques depicting the physiological processes of the dying man. Of course, for this we need high acting technique. It is necessary that the actor has learned to not only feel the stage time, but his own. He must learn to control the tempo. How often instead of tempo it is necessary to see on stage a rush. And the more the actor on the stage in a hurry, the slower it seems his game."
Conversation with Misha
on James Lawson’s Experience

Andy: Below is an excerpt from an interview with James Lawson, one of the leaders of the sit-ins in the US South in 1960 which eventually broke down the racist laws. It seems to me that Lawson is describing a perezhivanie he had at aged 10. Do you agree?

Lawson grew up in Massillon, Ohio, and attributes his convictions regarding nonviolent struggle to his mother. Upon returning home from Horace Mann Elementary School one day, Lawson, aged 10, was asked by his mother for help on a chore and headed back into town:

A little white child in an automobile yelled ‘nigger’ out the...-

and, since I was in a hurry running my mother’s errand, I smacked the child and went on my way. When the Lawson kids got called ‘nigger’ on the streets or at school, we usually fought. I don’t know where we got that from, except that we figured that it was something to fight over.

On the return trip home, aware of possible repercussions, Lawson tried to find the parents of the offending child, to talk to them, but the car was gone. At home, he sat in his favorite chair in the kitchen, as his mother prepared the evening meal, and told her of his day including the incident. Without turning from the stove, Lawson’s mother replied, ‘Jimmy, what good did that do?’

She talked about who I was, the (act of God’s love, that we were a family of love and that such an incident could not hurt me, because of who I was. I don’t remember anyone else being around, but a stillness took over my being at that moment. It was, as I realized much later on, a mystical experience. In a very real way, my life stood still. I realized in that stillness that I had changed forever. One of the phrases my mother used in her conversation with me was that ‘there must be a better way’. I determined, from then on, that I would find the better way.

Misha: It’s a true meta-perezhivanie. The symptom of that is the phrase "I realized in that stillness(! - M.)) that I had changed forever"

Andy: What does the "meta-" mean in this context, Mikhail?

Misha: Lawson worked over this insult to him as an African American.

Andy: I see. So is it necessary to add "meta-" ? I thought that for you Russians, "perezhivanie" included that working over.

Misha: Yes, the point of incomprehension between us in the fact that Vygotsky in recent years considered immediate experience precisely meta-perezhivanie, when simple experience is realized and is processed. Therefore it is possible in principle only at the teenage period, when a conscious personality is formed. This is a rare case, in that it arose at age of 10 years. “Simple” experience can and frequently does happen with children, about which Vygotsky, and Monica, and Beth write. But this experience - the same as the strong emotion (or singular experience), sometimes intellectual, if child is already able to account (отчет) for their conduct.
Andy: Understood. And Lawson was certainly an exceptional person, whose "career" changed the world. In the famous example Vygotsky gives in "Problem of the Environment" it is only the young teenager who is able to process his situation and realizes that he must be the "senior man" in the family. The younger ones cannot make that development. Yes?

Misha: Yes, when in the early childhood you survive this shock and will be able to overcome it, then a certain charisma of personality appears, which helps this fellow to be prominent in public activity. Lawson's example shows that they can. In the USSR the patriotic war (1941-1945) made independent personalities from boys at a very early age. They saw the death of people close to them, they knew what is hunger is. They knew that it is necessary to help people. This is - already - "adult" experience. But nevertheless such experiences with the introspection appear in the years 17-18. Although they occur, you are right, in exceptional persons. On the whole, to each age - its experience!

We should agree about "the experience": in life in essence and in the children's, and at the adult age are encountered "simple" perezhivaniia. And if we study them and discuss! But always one should consider that sometimes in the adult vozrastesluchayutsya (precisely they occur, since they cannot be predicted or planned) meta-perezhivaniya, as I described them here earlier. You, Andy, give exactly an example of meta-perezhivaniya, which gladdens me in the plan of mutual understanding.

Mike: The fragment from Lawson's memoir provides, I believe, an example of perezhivanie as an interpersonal accomplishment. The young boy is in dialogue with his mother who is an important reflective contributor to the interpersonal experience that the child may well, as Misha indicates, only become capable of later in life, in adolescence for example.
Misha: Mike, interesting idea, that the children’s “simple” or “adult” (as Lawson’s in the case) experiences can accumulate in the soul of child and manifest in mature conscious life. Here there are intersections with the psychoanalytical idea about psycho-injury in the childhood determining later development of people. And also the importance of such organizations as Playworld, which help children to manage their problems, including through productive “kontrperezhivaniya” (dissents - I have in the form with respect to the negative experiences of the type of psycho-injury).

Conversation with Misha and Tatania
on Gorky’s Childhood

Andy: I want to return to a question in the discussion about perezhivanie. I think Tatiana said something like children experience perezhivanija in their own way. So I want to ask about how development happens during childhood. I am currently reading Gorky’s “Childhood”. At one point he is sitting silently next to the lodger "That's fine" and Gorky says "Such moments give rise to thoughts which are particularly pure. ... At such moments character is moulded." But this made me think that in a sense every episode in this book is such a perezhivanie - otherwise how is it possible for Gorky many years later to remember and recount them? Also, the point of the autobiography is in part to represent how he came to be Maxim Gorky (as well as a wonderful picture of rural, 19th century Russia!). What do you think, are all these experiences perezhivanija?

Andy: Misha, what do you think?

Misha: Part 1. I think that Maxim Gorky lived through [пережил – perezhil] as a child many, many experiences [in English], some of which led him to those experiences [переживаниям] that moulded his character. In this case, it may be simply said that quantity was transformed into quality. Why "many, many other experiences"? - The answer in this case lies in the interpretation of the identity of the Maxim Gorky. From my position, he was truly “woman” as we talk about him as a thinker. He was very impressionable, emotional, talkative and he loved to listen to other people’s stories interesting. In the words of M. Bakhtin, Gorky was a weak-willed person in the choice of the social standpoint he adopted - he could listen with enthusiasm to a monarchist (living on Capri in Italy) and at the same time have a lively discussion of the problems of Marxism and partisanship in the literature with some Soviet revolutionary figure. Similarly, he was "threw in the towel," in the words of the young Mayakovsky (for English-speaking readers to explain - Vladimir Mayakovsky was a consistent revolutionary agitator in poetry), as illustrated by his crying and sobbing over Blok (Alexander Blok - a prominent representative of the symbolism in the Silver Age of Russian poetry). That is, he could accommodate incompatibles, as can be seen in his life and in his painful hesitation. But this is only one side of his character. The other facet of the personality associated with the above - is his emotions which often follow from
his empathy and understanding of human warmth and compassion. So, Andy, that episode from the novel "Childhood", which you brought in a post indicates, firstly, to the wealth of affective personality of this Russian writer, and secondly - that it is important for our discussion of "переживания" - he was talking about those moments that he experienced and which are likely to be considered "переживаниями" or experiences (see my reasoning just above.) But in this case - not a переживание and recollections of переживания or experiences! And recollections - this is another "genre" of psychic life, though, as we have seen, they are associated with переживанием. That is, based on this quote from your Gorky is possible to reconstruct the spiritual life of the hero of the novel "Childhood", and in the hero's life there is likely to be the переживание. And if you look through the novel, we easily find the same passages in many works of Gorky.

Misha: Part 2: And, Andy, an important point - about the "many scenes" of such переживаний in Gorky and in general in the Russian literature. Anna Wierzbicka wrote about the memories of Martha Nussbaum about her mother's death last as a strong emotional "episode" in her life [There was an earlier discussion about this on FaceBook]. Nussbaum treated it as a short-term "episode" – hence, from my point of view, the term "episode" is accurate. But the most important thing here is that the Western people (such as Wierzbicka) immediately seek to overcome a traumatic situation, trying again to become independent from what is sweeping over his/her feelings. However, a Russian person is situated in an atmosphere of different everyday traditions. The death of a loved one obliges us to emphasize and celebrate the feast with booze, women can cry and even weep. It's, well, normal in a situation of bereavement. Celebrating memorial days afterwards - on the third, ninth, fortieth days, six months, a year. I do not mention on Saturday and others. Religious holidays and days of remembrance. I say all this to the fact that "woe" in the Russian mentality is cultivated not only as a concept in itself, but as a concept expressing the long and pervasive emotional state of emotion and commitment. In one of these aspects "the elusive" Russian soul can be seen :) As for emotional episodes Gorky - that, as I said, it's no wonder; he was an enthusiastic man and a sensitive man (which is more like a woman's nature.) And his childhood he was very difficult. There is an episode is in the novel in which he is lashed with whips every Saturday for "prevention." Here's an переживание! I do not remember exactly how bitterly it is described, but after the first flogging when for a week he could not lie on his back on his bed, he felt that he was cleared as if a "film" (film - the word Gorky, I remember exactly) had been removed from him, he changed, he became peaceful and looked at people in a new way. This powerful experience, but it is connected, I repeat with extreme childhood of the writer.

PS. Gorky must be read without thinking about the переживаниях and experiences - they themselves then will float up in the memory when, in the evening, he sits by the fireplace, puffing on his pipe :)
Tatiana: Andy, I think “yes,” they are perezhivanija. They are qualitatively different from adults’ переживания, but they participated in the emotional development of a child. I can add today, that there is evidence which suggests the importance of early emotional experience of children and animals in the animal’s temperament and the activity level of the child. I agree with the I. A. Meshcheryakova, the author of the article "Perezhivanie" in the Bolshoi Psychological Dictionary, which concluded his article with the words: "From the point of view of Vygotsky's theory, Переживание can be approached like any other mental function that develops in the ontogenesis of involuntary and immediate forms to higher forms, having the status of actions or the activities. This approach opens up possibilities to distinguish between several genetic forms of perezhivanie, as well as to search for cultural-historical means of mastering perezhivanie."

Andy: Thank you both! That was all exceptionally enlightening. Tatiana, is it possible to copy that entry from the Psychological Dictionary? I think Mike could translate it and it would be of great interest to all of us English speakers.

Comments on Perezhivanie by I. A. Meshcheryakova

A.G. Asmolov counts three meanings, in which the psychologists use the term “perezhivanie”:

1. Perezhivanie is “any emotionally painted phenomenon of reality, directly represented in the consciousness of the subject and the appearing for it as an event of his own individual life.” Without turning attention to the difference between the perezhivanie and that survived, the author refines, that “perezhivanie” is not exhausted by “affective state,” but represents a certain synthesis of knowledge-relation (c.f. the concept of “living knowledge” in the philosophical psychology of S. L. Franka, and also in the book of V. P. Zinchenko. “Perezhivanie becomes for the man that which occurs personally significant for him or her.”)

2. Understanding perezhivanija as tendencies and desires, which directly present in the individual consciousness the process of what is achieved by a subject’s selection of motives and purposes of his activity and of thus participating in the processes of determination of activity. Tendencies and desires - as the forms of perezhivanie - reflect in consciousness the dynamics of the struggle of motives, selection and rejection of purposes, for which the subject strives. According to A.N.Leontiev, perezhivanija manifest as the internal signals, by means of which are realized the personal sense of the proceeding events.

3. Perezhivanie as the special form of activity, which appears in critical situations of the impossibility of a subject reaching the goal of the leading motives and plans of his life, the wreck of ideals and values. A transformation of mental reality is the result of this [activity].

The three meanings of the term perezhivanie indicated may possibly be connected with each other, by relying on the concept of the development of the
higher mental functions, developed by L.S. Vygotsky. Theoretically it is possible

to approach perezhivanie as any other mental function, which in ontogenesis
develops from the involuntary and direct forms to the highest forms, which
have status of actions or activities (which L.S. Vygotsky named “higher mental
function”). This posing of the question opens great possibilities for
distinguishing several genetic forms of experience, and also for the search for
the cultural means of mastery of perezhivanie both in the ontogenesis and in
the historical phylogenesis. Some of these possibilities have already been
discussed by a number of authors.

Unfortunately, Vygotsky himself did not examine perezhivanie thus, since in its
cultural-historical theory it was limited to the traditional enumeration of
cognitive processes, into which perezhivanie “was not entered”. However, no-
one denies that it is only in the perezhivanie of cognitive functions, that the
contrast of experiences and cognitive processes can be found. Moreover, the
cognitive value of perezhivanie is present in that definition, which Vygotsky
proposed: “perezhivanie is something in which in the irresolvable form the
environment is represented, from one side, first that it survives… from other
side, is represented that, as I survive, i.e., all special features of personality
and all special features of the environment are represented in the
perezhivanie, then that it is selected from the environment, all those moments,
which refer to this personality and are selected from the personality, all those
traits of its nature, constitutional features, which refer to this event. Thus, in the
perezhivanie we always deal with the irresolvable unity of the special features
of personality and special features of situation, which is represented in the
perezhivanie.” There is special interest in the passage of a perezhivanie into its
highest form. It is obvious that this stage is connected with the development of
reflection and conceptual thinking. Let us recall that Vygotsky noted several
consequences of the development of the conceptual thinking: “understanding
reality, understanding others and understanding itself – this is what brings with
itself thinking in concepts” and “only together with the formation of concepts the
adolescent begins to properly understand himself, his internal peace.”
Obviously, to conflate the base with the conclusion, which Vygotsky himself did
not make in an explicit form: the development of perezhivanie in the
ontogenesis follows the general line for the highest mental functions. In a
specific stage of ontogenesis, the intellectualization of perezhivanie occurs
(i.e. reflexive realization and mastery of them), and as a result the subject
gains the possibility to more or less successfully accomplish a conscious self-
adjustment of perezhivanie.