

The Birth of Personality: From "Prama" to Individuality

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Abstract

The article examines two hypotheses about the nature of personality formation in ontogenesis. The author adheres to the second, believing that personality develops in adolescence and youth under the pressure of society; at the same time, a restructuring of his psyche and "I" occurs. The logic and stages of the process of personality formation are outlined: the formation of prerequisites ("vital catastrophes", patterns and language with the help of which the individual reaches a new understanding of the world and himself in it), the exit from the "prima" of childhood and the transition to the reality of the "I", attribution I characteristics that attract the individual, finally, a change in the reality of the "I" under the influence of failures in real behavior and activities. Some features of the modern situation that complicate the process of personality formation are discussed.

Keywords: Individual; Personality; "I"; Childhood; Adolescence; Youth; Situation; Schemes; Language; Reality; Activity

Introduction

The most important stage in a teenager's growing up is the process of personality formation, the analysis of which by D.I. Feldstein devoted a number of his studies. There are two different opinions on the nature of this process. One, the most common, was clearly formulated by Alexander Asmolov. He believes that personality is an integral characteristic of a person, but it does not show its activity immediately, in early childhood, but only when faced with contradictions in activity. "The search for the "engine" that gives rise to the activity of the individual, " he writes, "must be sought in those contradictions born in the process of the flow of activities, which are the driving force for the development of the individual"... Acting as a source of personal development, the socio-historical way of life, as it were, sets the emerging a scenario is brought to light to a person, drawing him into a certain routine of actions. The rigidity of this routine depends, first of all, on how much the freedom to choose certain types of activities varies in a specific socio-historical way of life" [1, p. 195, 340].

In the scheme proposed by Asmolov, a person "chooses" types of activities, "masters" his own behavior, solves the problem of "what should be in it", etc. that is, he is already conscious and formed, but his personality was in the background and for the time being time was not realized. However, what is explained then, since the main thing is to understand where this personality came from and how it was formed?

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A similar approach, when the pre-existence of personality is introduced, which then reveals itself in the process of development, explains the important thesis of A. Asmolov that personality has always existed in history.

"So", he writes, "at various stages of human history in the development of culture, sociotypical and individual behavior of the individual conduct an endless dialogue with each other. The presence of this dialogue serves as proof that in history there was no impersonal period of the existence of society" [1, p. 310].

Representatives of the second point of view, which the author joins, argue that personality is not formed immediately. In phylogenesis, it appears only in ancient culture, going through a long path of development and acquiring familiar features only in the culture of modern times (here we can recall Pico della Mirandola's "Speech on the Dignity of Man", as well as the definition of personality given by Immanuel Kant that personality is this is freedom over natural necessity, but its essential characteristic is the free adherence to the principles of morality, ethics and law [3, pp. 509-511]). In ontogenesis, personality develops during the transition from childhood to adolescence and youth, and then in crisis situations it can change significantly.

For our time and country, an important question is how the modern civilizational crisis of culture and the process of transition from modernity to postmodernity, as well as domestic problems and contradictions, influence the formation and characteristics of personality? The changes are so significant that modern teenagers and young men, compared to young people of the last century, look like aliens from other planets.

In order to at least partially understand the situation and problems outlined here, let us turn to the analysis of several cases (ontogenetic and phylogenetic), using them as empirical material for reconstructing the process of personality formation and clarifying its features characteristic of our time. All cases represent a description of the formation of personalities, but not theoretical, but empirical (eventbased in content), our task is to reflect on these descriptions and come to a general diagram of the process and mechanism of formation.

Case one: I remember very well how my personality emerged. It was September 1st, after the summer holidays. I came to fourth grade and seemed to wake up. It was from this time that I perceived myself, looked closely at myself, observed myself. The feeling of personality was so unusual that I remembered my state and experiences well. It seemed to me that everything that had happened before was disappearing into complete darkness. Only a few pictures were scattered in this dark past.

Something completely different begins in fourth grade. I am discovering myself, it seems to me that now I remember myself continuously, although this, of course, which I realized later, was an illusion. Thinking through why this happened, I found the reason, on the one hand, in reading books, it was by this time that I began to read quite confidently and a lot, on the other hand, in the fact that I went to school, and was always alone at home (my father was in the army, and my mother disappeared at work). Books gave me a form of self-awareness, and independent life at school and at home forced me to restructure. I could no longer count on the help of my mother or teacher as before, I had to rely on myself. The books suggested how to do this - look at yourself from the outside, see yourself, characterize your Self.

In general, by this time (fifth and sixth grade) I was completely living in books. Artistic events interested me much more than the surrounding poor post-war life. In those years there were no televisions or players, and practically no toys either. We lived in a huge house of the Wool-Cloth factory with a corridor system. At one end of the corridor there was a public kitchen, where I once watched a fantastic dance of fat rats for two minutes, at the other end of the corridor there were two common toilets.

There were only two Jewish families in the house. Anti-Semitism flourished among both adults and their children. My brother and I had to defend our independence more than once with the help of our fists; I remember, for example, how we stood in the yard surrounded by

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our peers spitting at us. All this also did not stimulate the desire to live by ordinary events; as soon as the opportunity arose, I tried to dive into the world of books, where noble ladies, gentlemen and villains walked, passions boiled, heroes suffered and reflected on life. When the opportunity did not arise, I tried to create it myself, reading even at night under the covers, turning on the flashlight, and turning the pages carefully so as not to wake up my mother.

Naturally, with such a lifestyle, I did not have time to prepare my homework. Every day I waited with fear to see if the teacher would call me. But sooner or later my last name was pronounced. As a result, I neglected my studies so much that I was already afraid to go to school. For about two weeks or more, I went to the subway instead of school. The question is, was this a choice and an act or not? I found several poorly torn tickets in the trash cans behind the Elektrozavodskaya station, and, holding the torn edge with my fingers, I passed by the control. On the subway I found a free bench and sat on it, devouring another book. At the appointed time, as if nothing had happened, I was returning home. This would have continued for who knows how long if someone from the class had not seen me on the subway and told the class teacher about it. I apologized for everything, promised to catch up with my studies and only asked that they not tell my mother. She learned about this story many years later from me.

Around this time, I read Goncharov's "Oblomov" and was shocked. For some reason I decided that I was an exact copy of Ilya Ilyich, in particular, as weak-willed as the latter, since I could not sit down for homework or tidy up my room for the sake of a book. I was truly frightened; the prospect of scab overgrowth and the death of a living soul, brilliantly outlined by Goncharov, clearly appeared before me. I decided to save myself, to cultivate my will. He started with a simple task - he tried not to say a word for two days. The next task was more difficult, then even more difficult. So I entered the warpath with myself. There was already, without a doubt, a choice and an action. On this path I suffered more failures than victories, but still did not stop fighting for many years. Gradually, my efforts, to my surprise, began to bear fruit, and by the ninth grade I had already become a completely organized young man. By this time, the family had moved to the city of Anapa, which also contributed to the improvement of my personality.

Looking back from afar, I think that, oddly enough, a large role in the formation of his personality was played not only by the literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, which his mother and father lovingly collected, but also by the general unsettled life of that time, which determined the fact that I lived as if without parents. I either had to disappear, as happened with many of my peers, or become a person capable of independent behavior and understanding of reality. For some reason the latter happened.

What is worth paying attention to here so far? Firstly, I was already aware of the troubles in my life (being captivated by reading, the inability to resist it, fear and dissatisfaction with the current circumstances). Secondly, books gave me a form of awareness that moved me to make drastic changes. Having identified myself with their heroes, I was able to see my future, be horrified and make a decision (began to remake myself).

Case two: Let us turn to one teenage memory and experience of Jung. The content of this experience is as follows. One day on a beautiful summer day in 1887, admiring the universe, Jung thought: "The world is beautiful and the church is beautiful, and God, who created all this, sits far, far away in the blue sky on a golden throne and ... (Here Jung's thoughts stopped and he felt suffocation). I was numb and remembered only one thing: Don't think now! Something terrible is coming" [8, p. 46].

(After three days and sleepless nights, difficult from internal struggle and experiences, Jung still allowed himself to finish the thought he had begun and such a seemingly harmless thought).

"I gathered", he writes, "all my courage, as if I had suddenly decided to immediately jump into the flames of hell, and gave the thought the opportunity to appear. I saw the cathedral in front of me, the blue sky. God sits on his golden throne, high above the world - and from under the throne a piece of feces falls onto the sparkling new roof of the cathedral, breaks through it, everything collapses, the walls of the cathedral are broken into pieces.

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That's it! I felt an incredible relief. Instead of the expected curse, grace descended on me, and with it an inexpressible bliss that I had never known... I understood many things that I did not understand before, I understood what my father never understood - the will of God... Father accepted the biblical commandments as a guide, he believed in God as the Bible prescribed and as his father taught him. But he did not know the living God, who stands, free and omnipotent, above the Bible and above the Church, who calls people to become just as free. God, for the sake of fulfilling His Will, can force the father to abandon all his views and beliefs. Testing human courage, God forces one to abandon traditions, no matter how sacred they may be" [8, p. 50].

As we see, Jung also realized (though perhaps in retrospect, when he began to write his memoirs) his situation as unfavorable. He was, judging by the book, in conflict with his father, who, according to Jung, doubted God, but still conscientiously performed his service. In addition, after his first communion, Jung became disillusioned with the church, from which he expected some kind of miracle, but it did not happen. We do not know what means (books or something else) helped Jung realize his troubles and reach a new understanding of God and himself. However, it is clear that after three days of intense experiences, Jung rethought God and himself. In my opinion, he was able to do this by creating a scheme by which he replaced the Christian God in three persons with a revolutionary God, ready for the sake of freedom and truth to destroy even his own Home - the Church. It was this scheme that helped Jung shift control to himself: now the authority for him was not his father (hereditary pastor) and not the church, but himself, supported by the authority of the new God created by Jung.

Case three: The third case is crime and punishment. We will talk about a real life story, retold in the third issue of the newspaper "Jewish Word" by Arkady Krasilshchikov. "I managed to escape from the collective farm", Klavdiya Zotova began her story, "at the age of fourteen. Workers were needed in peat mining. They sent a responsible comrade to our village, and he included me on the list without further ado, without noticing that I was not old enough. I was tall and strong in appearance.

For two years then she lived in a barracks and worked as a molder on a press for 12 - 14 hours a day, but by the fifty-first year this enterprise was closed due to unprofitability, and former prisoners deported to the 101st kilometer began to be housed in the barracks. I had to return to the collective farm - to swell from hunger, but then a kind man was found and got me a job at a weaving factory in the city of Porkhov...

Now I'll tell you about the main thing. A family Jew named Longe, Yakov Samoilovich, worked in our factory. He worked as a paramedic at a health center. He was married and had two children, with a large age difference. The eldest son, Venya, was already 17 years old when we met, and the youngest, Sashok, was just born.

I fell in love with this Vienna. You can say that because of this love, I entered evening school to study in the fifth grade, and he, Venechka, just finished tenth in regular school. Vienna, perhaps, at first, also thought that I was sweet and desirable to him. I became the first woman in his life. Our love continued for a year, and then he was drafted into the army, and he wrote me a letter from there that he asked for forgiveness for everything, but he no longer intended to be close to me, he didn't want to deceive me...

A lot of time has passed, but I can safely say that there has never been greater grief in my life. I even wanted to kill myself.

We need to remember what time it was then. Everyone around said that the Jews would soon be deported to the North, to camps, since they were "murderers in white coats". Venya's father was kicked out of his medical job, but our director was a kind and smart man. He left Yakov Samoilovich as a laborer at the factory. That's what he said: "until better times".

I didn't have enough kindness and intelligence. I responded to Vienna with a terrible letter. The meaning of the letter was this: how dare he, a Jew's face, leave me, a Russian girl, and mock my high feelings.

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Venya did not answer this letter, but I was still burning with a terrible fire. I suddenly hated not only him, but the entire Longey family. I then conceived a terrible revenge: I decided to steal their recently born son, take him to a distant forest and throw him there in the snow so that he would die a cold death. I then thought that I would not get anything from the authorities for this, because all the Jews in the USSR seemed to have become outlaws, and you could do whatever you wanted with them...

Then one day the right moment happened to steal the baby. The little one knew me well and smiled when I put him in a large plywood box. So, she carried it to the forest. He cooed to me from there from the box, and then he even fell asleep. So, I almost ran with Sashka for more than an hour, and then I walked away from the road through the deep snow into the forest, put the box under the spruce and began to run away from this place.

Then Sashok seemed to understand everything and began to cry. He's crying out loud, and I'm running. Then suddenly I ran out of strength, fell, grabbed the snow with my lips and clearly understood that I couldn't leave the little one to his death.

She returned, took him in her arms, and Sashok immediately stopped crying...

Claudia decided to pass off the stolen boy as her son, adopted from a random person, and took him to the village to his mother, who first raised him. Then Zotova took the sick mother and "son" to her place. Sasha's fate was successful: he graduated from school with honors, entered the Faculty of Mathematics of Moscow State University, completed graduate school and then began working in a "mailbox".

"And then I got sick. I became seriously ill with breast cancer. I accidentally overheard doctors talking about my fate, that I didn't have long to live. Then my conscience began to torment me, and I called Sashko straight to my operation. He arrived immediately. He sat down by my bed in this damn regional hospital, looked at me and said all sorts of words, kissed my hands. So, he made an excuse, then it was my turn to speak.

He learned everything from my sick whisper. And about that plywood box in winter, and about my parents, and about my love for his brother Venichka. I whisper and cry, I whisper and cry. I closed my eyes, afraid to look at Sasha. Then I opened my eyes: I saw that a tear was also running down his cheek.

"I feel sorry for you, mom", says my stolen son. - It's so unfortunate that I can't even tell you...

Venya has a good family, three children, and already grandchildren. I saw him twice. Once in Russia, another here in Israel, recently. She asked for forgiveness, but he sighed heavily and said nothing. I think he didn't forgive me because of my mother. She remembered her Sashenka all her life.". [4].

During the period of the crime, Claudia was clearly not herself ("burning with a terrible fire"). She was driven by the desire for revenge and "naked schemes" that Jews are "killers in white coats" and "she will not get anything from the authorities for this". As we see, the choice can be different, and so can the personality. But Claudia had a conscience, which in a situation of existential crisis (threat of death, but she survived), probably led to the formation of a new personality.

Case four: Personality restructuring. Life of St. Augustine and Emanuel Swedenborg are also examples of the formation of a second personality in adulthood. The first personality of Augustine and Swedenborg is rational. Augustine was an ancient philosopher, skeptic, rhetorician, Swedenborg was very famous at the beginning of the 18th century. scientist and engineer. But Augustine, captivated by the general movement of the people around him into Christianity, "believed in God even before faith", that is, although he accepted the existence of God, he could not think rationally about him for many years. Only by spending enormous efforts, which involved the creation

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of new schemes (for example, Augustine came to the conclusion that "God is creativity, the path and the truth") and radically changing his life, which required the abandonment of many desires, Augustine felt the Creator and found himself in reality, where he experienced intense ecstatic experiences. It turns out that Augustine's second, already only partially rational, personality took many years to develop, and again the schemes that he built played a big role in this process.

Swedenborg did not need to come to the Christian faith; he was a believer from childhood. And at the same time a scientist. Since his youth, in many of Swedenborg's completely secular scientific, engineering and philosophical manuscripts, at the bottom of many pages there is the following instruction to himself:

- 1. Read God's Word often and meditate on it.
- 2. Submit yourself in everything to the will of God's providence.
- 3. Observe true decency in all actions and always maintain an impeccable conscience.
- 4. Fulfill honestly and truthfully the duties of your rank and duty of service, and try to make yourself a useful member of society in all respects" [6, p. 4].

That is, Swedenborg, like Pavel Florensky, was, so to speak, a servant of two masters. I mean Swedenborg simultaneously adopted two worldviews - scientific and religious. He could not refuse either the first or the second, or rather, both worldviews equally determined his life and actions. And how could it be otherwise: Swedenborg's main occupation for almost half a century was science, his main way of life and view was Christianity. For him, the world of science and the Lord were not two opposing realities, but one, one world and life. A philosopher and psychologist would say that his consciousness was holistic. The consciousness was the same of Augustine, Descartes, Kant, R. Steiner, P. Florensky. It is no coincidence that I mentioned Rene Descartes in this list. He largely determined Swedenborg's attitude towards the Creator of everything. Like Descartes, Swedenborg not only believed that man in his perfection approaches the Lord, which is why angels are perfect people, but that it is possible to know nature, the Lord, and heaven. At the same time, by cognizing, the thinker reproduces the Lord and, as it were, creates the world, relying only on himself.

It was precisely as a Cartesian and scientist that Swedenborg could not help but recognize the presence of many contradictions in the Holy Scriptures. How the Lord can exist in three persons is a clear contradiction; why did He allow evil and Lucifer if the Lord is love and good; what does the resurrection of a person and death mean, if disappearance into nothingness, then it is unlikely that the Lord after death every time creates each person anew; how to understand that "man is created in the image and likeness of God"; what heaven and hell, angels and demons are like; why the pagans will not be saved when many of them live more righteously than Christians and know nothing at all about the Lord, etc. A simple believer does not ask such questions, but Swedenborg was not only a Christian, but also a scientist.

As a result of fundamental doubts and reflections, but not a renunciation of faith, Swedenborg begins to rethink religious reality. His personality also undergoes a metamorphosis. In what direction did this rethinking go? We know this well from his second spiritual period. Swedenborg began to revise contradictory and unrelated religious themes, replacing them with his own constructions in the spirit of rational Cartesian thinking. Swedenborg was confident that he was only clarifying the true state of affairs, conducting a kind of knowledge of spiritual reality, still understood as canonical. This work was quite lengthy and difficult, stretching over many years, involving a "shuttle movement", that is, a return and revision of the original principles and designs.

As a result, along with the two main realities - the scientific and religious world, a third reality gradually enters Swedenborg's consciousness. This is a reality that he himself creates as a result of rethinking the second world, on the one hand, similar to this world, on the other, radically different from it.

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Swedenborg, of course, could not help but notice that the new reality in many points contradicts canonical Christian teaching. However, there was another serious problem. Swedenborg understood his work as knowledge of spiritual reality in the spirit of the latest natural science of his time. And it required facts and experiment. The latter, however, were not there. The situation for Swedenborg was quite dramatic. The new spiritual reality had practically already taken the place of the canonical one; it was perceived as the true state of affairs, but was in conflict with both the religious dogmas of the church and Swedenborg's own scientific methodological guidelines, according to which this reality needed to be confirmed by experience.

It is in this situation that the psyche comes to the rescue, beginning to produce spontaneous dream-like scenes, on the one hand, filling in the missing elements of scientific thinking and reality, on the other, "painting" a picture in which Swedenborg received sanction from above for a new way of knowing and thinking. (We are talking about Swedenborg's meeting with the messenger of the Lord and further spiritual travels and communications with angels).

As I show in my research, the emergence of such dream-like plots into consciousness presupposes the comprehension and work of thinking, the construction of new schemes, the creation of interpretations, and even a rethinking of one's position in the world [5]. We find all this in the life of Swedenborg. Firstly, he outlines new principles of scientific knowledge: he interprets nature as subordinate to the spiritual world, formulates the correspondence relation and the associated procedure for identifying correspondences, considers the statements of angels and his own spiritual experience as facts and scientific experience. Secondly, he claims that the church does not adequately present the Holy Scriptures, but the Lord revealed the secrets and the true meaning of the Word to Swedenborg. Thirdly, as we remember, Swedenborg declares himself the messenger of the Lord, the messiah, called to reveal to Christians the true meaning of the Word and knowledge of reality, since the end times are approaching. "Such direct revelation is taking place now because it is the same thing that is meant by the coming of the Lord" [6, p. 14].

It was under the influence of all these factors that Swedenborg's second personality was formed.

Let us now try to generalize and theoretically comprehend the presented material. In my work on childhood, I argued that one of the features of the "culture of childhood" is the process of transition from "prime" to personality. The fact is that during childhood, parents and the child form one biological and mental whole; there are not yet two subjects here. Here a mother smiles at her two-week-old or two-month-old (it doesn't matter) son, and a miracle - he immediately breaks into a smile too. Modern psychologies grab their heads, and fantasies begin: the child imitates his mother, he is almost a personality [9]. Nothing of the kind, L.S. Vygotsky would object, it's just that the child and the mother are one whole, "prams". And I would add: a child smiles not because he already has emotions and is imitating someone, but because, as a component of the whole (prama), he is guided by another component of this whole (the mother's smile).

I show that the life and development of a child within the framework of the organization and conditions set by adults contributes to certain characteristics of a child's existence (reliance on an adult, meaning of reality, thinking in diagrams, mastering the adult world through play and other semiotics). These features are characteristic of the entire period of childhood. However, the child's life activity during this period constantly becomes more complicated (first he masters the meaning of words, then relationships with people - adults and children - then he learns to create patterns and play, expands his zone of freedom and at the same time grasps the basic "rules of the game" that life is subject to, and etc.). The child becomes more and more convinced that the skills and abilities developed during childhood stop working.

Childhood ends with a kind of series of "vital catastrophes", which, as we have seen, are experienced by a little person or a teenager (young man) as trouble. It can be assumed that vital catastrophes are the first prerequisite for the formation of personality.

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even after death.

The second prerequisite is the mastery of language, as well as the invention of schemes, with the help of which a young person represents and comprehends both his troubles and himself, not only in the logic of his life, but also in that which is suggested by the discourse of this language or the meaning of the corresponding scheme. So the author, as a teenager, used classical literature to understand himself and see his future. Young Jung built a scheme with the help of which he rethought God and himself as imitating the Creator. Claudia Zotova "put on", as methodologists say, the ideological schemes that were spreading among the people regarding Jews. St. Augustine worked with the schemes of philosophy and Holy Scripture, Swedenborg with the schemes of science and also Holy Scripture. Even earlier, in antiquity,

I see the importance of the second premise in the fact that it is on the basis of language or schemas that the individual receives a new virtual existence, allowing him to take the next step in the formation of his personality. This step is a switch from "prama" to the individual himself, from the management and support of the young man by his parents to the management and support of him by himself (that is, we are talking about the transition to self-government). Without which neither independent behavior and activity, nor personality is possible. Indeed, without imagining himself, imitating the revolutionary God, also a revolutionary, Jung would hardly have broken with his father and the church after the story discussed above. "In this religion", he writes, "I no longer found God. I knew that I would never be able to take part in this ceremony again. Church is a place where I will never go again. Everything is dead there, there is no life there. I was overcome with pity for my father. I realized the tragedy of his profession and life. He struggled with death, an existence he could not acknowledge. An abyss opened between him and me, it was limitless, and I did not see the possibility of ever overcoming it" [8, p. 64]. The author, as a teenager, would hardly have been able to start working with himself if he had not identified himself, on the one hand, with Oblomov, on the other, with Stolz, who, according to Goncharov, was an active rational person.

Socrates, according to Plato, used religious language, for example, he said that Socrates is a special person, since the gods take care of him

How does a person become based on these premises? Prerequisites are not the cause of a new phenomenon, only the soil on which it grows. Becoming a personality can be thought of as consisting of the following two steps. In the first, with the help of a new language or schemes, the individual creates a new reality (Picture of the world) and himself in it. At the same time, he leaves the "prama" and enters the reality of his own "I". But for now this reality is still empty, not loaded with content and events. Filling and constructing the reality of the "I" occurs in the second step. In a relatively short time, the individual ascribes to himself various characteristics that he likes: I am so-and-so, strong, handsome, smart, thin, plump, loved by my parents, unloved, lonely, I have many friends or not at all, etc. and so on. By saying "attributes", I characterize the second step as a researcher of the natural science approach, as if from the outside, objectively, without taking into account the individual's own feelings. If we take them into account, then we need to say differently: the individual, as a developing personality, discovers in himself, discovers the corresponding sides and states of his "I" (strength, beauty, intelligence, etc.). In order to attribute the necessary characteristics to oneself, one also needs schemes and language, and more broadly, a type of individual creativity. Let us remember Dostoevsky, who wrote that man lives by constantly composing himself.

So, under the pressure of adults and school, the prama disintegrates, the youth begins to move on to independent behavior, learns to manage himself (plans his activities, positions himself in relation to others, centers the world on his "I", separates the internal and external and other metamorphoses, enough well described in fiction and psychological literature). Adolescence is inseparable from school and education, and therefore it is not the game that comes to the fore, but rational types of behavior (study, reasoning, first analyzes of the consequences of one's actions, etc.).

Although objective observation shows that the image of oneself (the Self) is formed when identifying oneself with an attractive (meaningful) image of the "Other", subjectively the teenager believes that the Self is himself. A number of signs of the "I" in a teenager and young man are determined by the influence of schooling and education, this explains why the self-image is partly a rational construction. It is worth noting that the process of mastering one's self-image includes a game plan and fantasy. A teenager (boy, girl) seems to be playing at being an adult, but he perceives these games quite seriously, like his real life.

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A teenager's independent behavior, based on his self-image, often conflicts with his real behavior and relationships that were formed during this period. The problems that arise in this case cause both negative experiences and special forms of behavior - stubbornness, conflicts, denial of adults, self-deprecation, the desire of any whole to prove its importance, etc.

"For the first time", notes Zenkovsky, "a real interest in his own personality appears in the maturing soul; the teenager is extremely busy with himself, his plans, his appearance, his experiences, and is immersed in his dreams. It was by this time that there was an extraordinary development of fantasy, a conscious departure from reality. The youth goes even further than is observed in his second childhood, in the opposition between the inner and outer worlds, but in the new period his attention is entirely turned to the inner world. Extreme and clearly recognized subjectivism puts a stamp on all the activity of a teenager, which is often marked by some taste for adventure. The impossibility of dreams, the unreality of plans, the imprudence of the chosen path do not at all confuse the teenager, and often even mentally increase his taste for moving in a given direction. The teenager, as it were, finds in himself, in his impulses and aspirations, the only guiding principle; at this time all authorities lose their influence, the teenager begins to believe only in himself, his personal experience.

Moral development usually takes on the character of a critical attitude towards everything that has hitherto illuminated the path of life, towards the entire moral tradition, towards morals and customs; the teenager moves from heteronomous moral psychology to the stage of moral anomism and pure subjectivism. In relation to others, a kind of deliberate disrespect, passionate negligence, and arrogance often begins to show itself, often turning into the form of an obsessive desire to teach other people. The teenager is filled with a special belief that he will succeed in what others have not succeeded in. The game does not disappear from the teenager's activity, but it is already taking a new turn. Games in the technical sense of the word no longer attract a young being, perhaps due to a clear awareness of the difference between the sphere of play and the sphere of reality - but the more the game develops in a more hidden and refined form. We should not forget that at this time sexual consciousness awakens, introducing such unevenness, anxiety, and internal excitement into the soul" [2, p. 7].

Sooner or later, these problems thicken, and a new vital catastrophe develops. Its resolution mechanism is not much different from the process discussed above. New schemes are built (a new language is mastered), on their basis the teenager enters a new world and begins to see himself in a new way. With the help of these same schemes, he leaves the existing reality of his personality and enters a new one. The self-image is refined or changed, and as a result, a new cycle of adolescent development begins. Through such repeated changes in self-image, the teenager feels for a more realistic position in the adult world and masters more realistic forms of behavior.

In modern culture, the development of realistic forms of behavior by adolescents is complicated by a number of circumstances. Here is the role of art and the media, erasing the boundaries between different realities, as well as fiction and reality, teaching us to consider virtual life as ordinary, and ordinary life as virtual, here are new, allowing for relativity and pluralism, ways of understanding and interpreting life, law and morality, here and significantly expanded opportunities (and temptations) of social life; finally, the general feeling of a crisis in modern culture, which has not left aside both the family and literally every person, also contributes to the problem.

In this regard, it is interesting to compare the assessment of the state of culture and childhood of our two wonderful teachers - Vasily Zenkovsky (his works date back to the 20s of the last century) and David Feldshein.

Zenkovsky: "Take a look at what is happening even now in all corners of Russia: you will find everywhere a certain number of active figures, animated by social ideals, who are overburdened with work, strained by the weight of the work entrusted to them. And behind them there is a whole mass of "philistines" who only know how to use the results of someone else's work, perhaps they are not averse to criticizing it, but they will not lift a finger to help. The poor development of public initiative is all the more striking in our country because

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life has now become unbearably difficult. Food, housing, and financial crises are pressing on all of us, and despite all this, the same people still appear in the arena of public work... Here in Russia, under the previous conditions of social life, when any sincere and honest service to the public was severely persecuted fortunately, the type of socially indifferent and socially inert person was naturally put forward by life itself and historically consolidated. To these purely Russian conditions, which favored all our Oblomovs, we must also add that factor that has its effect everywhere - namely, the influence of the economic individualism of our era. <...>

It would be more correct to say that modern school does not instill antisocial skills, but that it instills bad sociality. Competition, envy, vanity, etc., these are also social feelings that have their root, their meaning only in the social environment - but these feelings do not bring people together, but push them apart. <...>

Oh, how Russia now lacks elementary social virtues! How few people know how to subordinate their personal, party, and class interests to the common good! A rich country, full of young, untapped strength, freed from all external fetters, having the full possibility of free self-determination, vaguely aware of all its infinite strength - Russia is approaching disaster from day to day, torn from within by socially contradictory currents. Let parents and schools save children from the terrible corruption that a poisoned life brings with it, and let them prepare in children love for the common good, the ability for social rapprochement, basic social virtues, a living desire for solidarity, genuine, and not just verbal love for brotherhood! Let them, in contrast to all the terrible facts of mutual bitterness, mutual distrust and hatred, awaken in children's souls a living love for man as such, social responsiveness, consciousness of civic duty, honest performance of one's duties, a loving attitude towards one's work and a sincere desire to contribute to the universal good!" [2, p. 296, 303, 329, 343].

Feldstein: (From a lecture given on December 3, 2010 at the St. Petersburg Humanitarian University of Trade Unions, dedicated to the problems of childhood in the modern sociocultural situation and current psychological and pedagogical aspects of the development of education). "In fact, today, objectively, children have left the system of constant contact with adults. If about two or three decades ago a child developed in a small society: family, class, immediate environment, today the child is faced with a fundamentally new situation. When, already from preschool and primary school age, he is in a huge, expanded social, including new knowledge, space, where his consciousness is literally pressed by a chaotic flow of information, coming primarily from TV, the Internet, blocking the knowledge received from parents, educators, teachers. Profound changes in childhood and the actualization of educational problems. Moreover, this information, which does not have a structural-substantive logical connection, is presented not systematically, but bit by bit, not only does not fit into the education system, but also represents a qualitatively different type, opposed to stationary education, fundamentally changing, in particular, not only the combination of visual and children's auditory perception, but also the structure of their thinking, selfawareness and worldview. This is happening in an environment of a dramatically changed system of relations not only between adults and children, but also adults themselves, including the relationship between parents, their understanding of values, and most importantly, in an environment of loss of parental responsibility for their children, leading to mental stress for the latter. This is also due to the fact that in our adult world today, and we must clearly understand this, an attitude towards childhood as a subject of relationships has not been developed, therefore there is no differentiated position on the character and conditions of its social maturation... At the same time, many of the formative structures of Childhood collapsed, the relationships between children changed, including the strengthening of their "horizontal" connections, which is especially evident in adolescence. There is an intense primitivization of children's consciousness, an increase in cynicism, rudeness, cruelty, and aggressiveness. And behind these external manifestations lie the child's inner deep experiences - uncertainty, loneliness, fear, and at the same time - infantilism, selfishness, spiritual emptiness, that is, those modern acquisitions of Childhood that are a heavy loss for him...

In my opinion, you (here Feldshtein addresses the audience of his lecture - students and young teachers and psychologists - V.R.), who are embarking on the path of familiarization with scientific knowledge today, should know about the tasks that psychologists, teachers, and cultural experts face. Nowadays, the growing person is completely different, and we are trying to approach him on the basis of old,

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well-known positions. And we constantly complain that children don't understand us. Maybe you, who are part of the psychological and pedagogical science today, will be able to better understand the modern child and do what we could not do" [7, p. 10-11, 12, 21].

Conclusion

In a situation of uncertainty and complexity of reality, it becomes impossible to think clearly and consistently about the future and, therefore, it is difficult to answer questions like: what awaits us, where is human development going, what demands are placed on him by the changing times, etc. Of course, in the pedagogical literature they are proposed and discussed There are many different parenting strategies, but none of them are currently based on a clear understanding of the future and reality.

However, life does not stop, it must be resumed in the right direction. It is worth noting that at present there are a lot of forms and types of upbringing and education: education focused on technical culture, humanitarian, artistic, religious, esoteric, with a national bias, military, sports, etc. And I think this trend will continue in the future and perhaps even expand. However, the child must still master the language, learn to build relationships with adults and children, develop towards adolescence (i.e. be ready for transformation into a person), grow up as a decent and moral person, capable of action and choice. Unfortunately, at present, not many people live following moral values and categories.

There is only one way out: to educate both your child and yourself morally, not to assume that we always know how to behave correctly in today's complex, contradictory conditions. Currently, parents and educators must come to terms with the idea that they do not know how to educate correctly and do not know what "correct" itself means. Their task is to understand what proper upbringing is and whether they themselves were brought up correctly. And not just state the current situation, but look for solutions, work to resolve such situations.

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