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Chronotope of the city
in the context of the psychology of everyday life

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Хронотоп города в контексте психологии повседневности

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The connection of everyday life with synergetic processes and psychodynamic qualities is shown. The role of everyday life in realizing the picture of the world and one's place in it in a situation of crisis (social and personal) and small but constant changes in the norms, values and standards of the world is shown. The common, individual and personal qualities that are manifested in the psychology of everyday life are analyzed. It is proved that everyday life from the point of view of psychology plays a role not only in the individualization of everyday life, but also in its transition into being, becoming at the same time a synergetic support for the individualization of being and the expression of existence. Various styles of existence in everyday life are described and their connection with the individuality and personality of a person is analyzed. The close relationship of the different personal spheres in everyday life is shown. It is revealed that everyday life in psychology performs two functions of a barrier: supporting the congruence of the external and internal world and helping a person to maintain the integrity of identity, becoming the border of the exosphere. It is exposed that frustration is a forbidden entry into the personal space, into the exosphere. The content of the inner form of the city chronotope is revealed. Its connection with the concept of urban identity and urban capital is shown. The differences between the internal form of the urban chronotope, territorial and urban identity are clarified. The relationship between the concepts of urban and small chronotope is analyzed, as well as the role of "spots of time" in enhancing the creative activity of a person and constructing his personal space. The concept of transitive and digital everyday life is introduced and proved that the digital everyday life is especially relevant for modern youth. It now can be considered as a new form of everyday life that takes place in various online communities – FB, VKontakte, Instagram, Twitter and Telegram. Thus, not only new names enter into everyday life, but also new forms of interaction with the world, with others, with oneself. The important connection of everyday life with daily behavior and culture, with aesthetic and ethical standards is emphasized.

Key words: chronotope of the city, internal form of urban chronotope, urban and territorial identity, digital everyday life

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Everyday life - common features

The most natural foundation of the psychology of everyday life is associated with the psychology of the individual, since people always strive for rootedness, which is provided by everyday life with a simple habitual way. But simplicity and everydayness do not always contribute to the emergence of rootedness and emotional comfort today. Therefore, first of all, it is necessary to understand the differences, at least from the point of view of psychology, between the concepts of everyday life, rootedness and simplicity.

Yes, everyday life is often simple in terms of preserving energy potential, since the ritualization of habits allows save the energy necessary for over situational activity. Therefore, the simplicity of life is often associated mainly with its rootedness. Embeddedness correlates with synergistic tendencies. The study of the process of self-development and self-organization of the psyche in the natural and artificial world is associated with an analysis of what significant differences arise in the transition from natural to cultural people and to what extent it is generally possible to speak about synergetic / entropic tendencies here.

Structuring these works, psychologists, quite rightly, sought to find some point of reference from which they considered the process of self-organization of the human psyche, a determinant that would also build the process of self-development. It could be the desire for integrity (holism), or, on the contrary, in its violation, the desire for an optimal hierarchy of needs for survival in the physical and social world, the hierarchy of activities, the desire for self-actualization, the balance of identities, the acquisition of the meaning of life or congruence of the self and world-image. The stimulus that includes these processes of self-development could be the inadequacy (lack of congruence) of the world-image, a violation of the balance of identities.

It seems that everyday life, which is the core of all the above parameters, can be considered as such a determinant that regulates the direction and dynamics of the course of synergetic / entropy processes in the development of the psyche. Indeed, it is in everyday life that there is a fairly

stable congruence between the usual image of the world and the image of oneself in this everyday world. It certainly has a familiar hierarchy of activities and needs: where to go, how to spend time, what to eat and drink, what objects and how to handle. These needs and activities are habitual – habits, and give awareness of both the simplicity of the world and its stability. And from this point of view, for an individual, indeed, we can talk about a harmonious connection between rootedness, everyday life and simplicity.

In modern changeable and uncertain reality the family becomes the most important factor in rootedness. Apparently, this is due mainly to the fact that in a situation of change, the family remains the most stable group and plays the role of both shelter and support. The leading role of the family increases significantly for all respondents who have moved to another country. It can be assumed that the role of the family as emotional protection and support in the changed, that is, rigid transitivity, provides emotional comfort maintaining the usual way of everyday life, at least in a small space of the family.

At the same time, there is a certain pattern, expressed in the fact that the strengthening of external influences activates the stabilization potential of everyday life, which can perform a synergistic function that balances the destabilizing negative influences of the environment. Apparently, this relationship to some extent reflects the same reciprocal relationship – negative emotions stimulate reflection and cognizance of the environment, while positive emotions stabilize the image of the world.

Individualized being in everyday life

The approach to everyday life as a manifestation of individuality, on the one hand, is exterior (we are very different in everyday life, even in small things), on the other hand, in a strange way, it contradicts the established views of everyday life as stereotyping. But the individualization of everyday life is associated with our individual typologies, with psychodynamic qualities that determine our lifestyle, including everyday life. For example, aggressiveness helps a person in any everyday situation to insist on his own opinion, achieve the desired results, and organize his own and others activities. Therefore, this quality is a necessary component of leadership and can be considered as a form or style of everyday life. Likewise, anxiety in everyday life can help a person by improving his reactions, increasing reflection, organizing activities, contributing to the formation of the necessary knowledge and skills.

However, for all the importance of these qualities, for everyday life, apparently, the most significant are such traits as impulsivity, reflexivity, rigidity,

plasticity, emotiveness. It is these features that not only individualize everyday life, but also determine to a large extent a person's ability to change his usual life, sometimes, under the influence of circumstances, change radically. Psychodynamics determines not only habitual reactions to habitual stimuli, but also habitual ways of solving even not the most ordinary problems. For example, impulsive people know that it is more comfortable for them to do something quickly, even if it is not quite right, and then correct their mistakes. Often such people choose their own style of work, postponing the solution of the problem until the last moment. Naturally, reflexive people reject this style and in everyday life they definitely need a spare time to react and solve a problem. It is also natural that in transitivity, especially in crisis periods of rapid changes, these people find it most difficult to cope with the situation. Likewise, it is difficult for rigid people who, unlike plastic ones, are not able to quickly rebuild. Therefore, we can say that everyday life becomes for a person with pronounced psychodynamic qualities, an important protection, helping to build the surrounding reality in their characteristic style.

It seems that indeed it is the rootedness that helps or prevents some kind of people from accepting changes in their surroundings, and assessing the multifaceted nature of these changes. According to N.V. Grishina (Grishina, 2019), an indicator of a person's tendency to simplify reality can be considered adherence to stereotypes of everyday consciousness. She also emphasizes that a person's attitude towards changes or conservation of immutability is associated with his attitude towards accepting the complexity of the world or building a simplified picture of it. And these materials, at a different level of analysis, confirm our data.

The modern day-to-day reality for a very significant part of young people is connected with the Internet. The new generation does not separate the real and the network space from each other, linking on-line and off-line into a single daily routine. At the same time, the individualization of every-day life in the network to a large extent significantly reduces the individual characteristics of everyday behavior. The growing confidence in information from the Internet leads to ambivalent consequences. If the majority of young people consider the digital space to be an extension of off-line life with a set of new functions and opportunities, there is a serious danger that they do not divide their world into virtual and real. Another danger is associated with the fact that the new on-line everyday life leads to a serious discrepancy between different generations. According to the fact that the family during the period of transitivity is one of the most important factors of emotional well-being and rootedness, this becomes a serious problem for maintaining emotional well-being.

Digital everyday life can now be considered as a new form of daily life that takes place in various online communities FB, VKontakte, Instagram, Twitter, Telegram. Thus, not only new names enter into everyday life, but also new forms of interaction with the world, with others, with oneself. At the same time, the older generation notes the possibility of independent choice of information relevant to their interests as the most important advantages of the new digital everyday life, while younger people note that networks are needed as a platform for communication, downloading music and video content. The older users value fast communication and freedom of expression less than younger users. This brings us to the personal dimension of everyday life, but before moving on to this issue, it is necessary to talk about culture as one of the aspects of the individualization of everyday life.

New trends have penetrated into furniture, interiors, decorations, demonstrating new symbols of the era, and individual tastes of a person, and new everyday life. It is not for nothing that one of the directions in the research of I. Hoffman (Goffman, 2000) was precisely the study of the possibilities of everyday use of objects and their transformations.

The usual clothes also were modified. But clothing is a marker not only of individuality, but also of changing fashion. That is, we can say that everyday life and changeability, transitivity are connected through fashion. At different times, fashion changes, reflecting the change in the modes of being, for example, the transition from crinolines to long skirts, then to short and even mini. But fashion reflects not only the everyday, but also the psychological characteristics of the era. In the middle of the last century, not only humanistic or existential psychology became such a reflection of the new era, but also the new fashion introduced by Christian Dior. K. Dior showed a fundamentally new style, new flying dresses, moveable suits, and his collection became a kind of manifesto of the transition to a new life after the war. But this has become not only a new fashion, but also a new everyday life.

The breakdown of everyday traditions is associated not only with a change in the standards of perception and assessment of the situation, but also with a change in attitude towards these standards. In fact, here we are talking about the internal form of the psychological chronotope, when a change in attitude leads to a change in standards and, in the final stage, a change in culture as an everyday situation of being.

A separate page in the psychology of everyday life should, apparently, become a city, a megalopolis, as one of the phenomena of a new, urban everyday life. A very interesting line runs here, dividing individual and gen-

eralized everyday life. After all, a new fashion, like a new way or speed of life, is not suitable for everyone especially from the point of view of an individual lifestyle.

Personality and everyday life

In the psychology of everyday life, individual and personal, existential spheres of being intersect. Thus, from the standpoint of psychology, everyday life plays a role not only in the individualization of daily life, but also in its transition into being, the protection of this essence from outsiders, becoming at the same time a synergetic support for the individualization of being and the expression of existence.

This can be seen from the example of digital everyday life, since when choosing options for network communication, personal preferences appear in understanding the value of the present. This explains, for example, the passion for streaming video, in live broadcasts and Snapchat, the user appears as he is with all its advantages and disadvantages. Whereas posts on FB and Instagram represent retouched images and specially selected moments of life, streaming video services show a real picture of the world and share your state and mood. The advent of the "transparency" function also supports setting to the present. The ability to show your whole life to other users on-line, according to many young people, keeps them in a constant tone. Constant observation from the outside, instant assessment of your actions (likes, comments) helps, in the opinion of many young people, to become better, but at the same time personal space disappears, or rather, its everyday barrier is significantly narrowed. Therefore, this position clearly cannot be comfortable for many young people, reducing their emotional well-being and self-esteem. And here again individual and personal layers of everyday life are connected.

Styles of everyday life are a striking example of this connection. These styles, of course, are chosen by people themselves, but not always correspond to their individuality, which can lead to tragic consequences for a person's self-realization.

This is of course, a personal choice, but it is, often, also the choice of society, of a certain social group. And such everyday life cripples their lives, especially if there is no strength or opportunity to leave it. One of the most vivid examples is the case of so called "bohemian" everyday life. For some people this version of life is not only harmonious, but also stimulates their creativity, although it cripples their health. These artists write wonderful pictures, books, compose wonderful music. But many die, and their names are lost in this everyday life. And only some, realizing that this is a path into

the abyss find the strength to change life style into another, more suitable for their individuality.

Chronotope of the city

Speaking about the city as everyday life, as a place of human habitation (even from a purely sociological and biological point of view), it is necessary to separate the space and time of urban everyday life. That is, we return to the psychological chronotope, in which there appears the time of life in a given city and the spaces of existence in it – both objective and subjective. Time here shows the duration of a person's life in a given city, and also includes a time perspective associated with his intention to change his place of residence. The inclusion of the emotional experience of time in the internal form of the chronotope also reveals his subjective assessment of the city – as one of the centers of his life, either as a passing and unsuitable place to stay, or as nostalgia for the city. So we can construct a holistic picture of the attitude to the urban everyday life of a particular person, as well as the reasons for his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the place of residence, which violate the harmonization of the psychological chronotope and urban identity.

Specifying the types of the city chronotope, it is necessary to single out a large objective urban chronotope and small chronotope. A large urban chronotope is objective; it incorporates the general image of a place of residence, regardless of its size – a metropolis or a small city. Small chronotope is always subjective, in fact, they are the internal form of the psychological chronotope, that is, the places and times in which significant events for a person in a given city took place.

Revealing the content of small psychological chronotope of the city, it is important to refer to the idea of M.M. Bakhtin on small chronotope in philology (Bakhtin, 1997). M.M. Bakhtin linked the chronotope with the general plot of the book, while the large literary chronotope reflects the complete picture of the author's world and even the historical period. Here you can see a parallel with the large urban chronotope, which concentrates on the general urban everyday life. In order to analyze the development of the plot and predict its further progress, Bakhtin introduced the concept of a small chronotope. It is interesting that Bakhtin connected such a prediction with the space in which the event takes place. For example, the chronotope of the living room is a small social circle, and nature is a big world, as well as a city.

Speaking about the small psychological chronotope of the city, or more exactly, about the internal form of the psychological chronotope of the city, we give subjective and narrow the space and time of what the happen-

ing event. At the same time we also present a relationship to a given place and time, an emotional experience, positive or negative, to the event which is happening at this moment and in this place.

For V. Wordsworth, in these places of time, which have absorbed his emotional experience, including the experiences of the distant past, childhood and adolescence, lies a source of vitality (Wordsworth, 1979). He wrote that spots of time stimulate the development of the imagination. These emotional experiences can have both positive and negative valence or cause ambivalent emotions, but they always "inspire the fantasy, help a person to awaken from the routine of everyday life, make the mind and heart work, and thus help creativity" (Martsinkovskaya, 2017). We can add that they can also be considered as triggers that activate a person's intentions, individualizing the actions of people, including many types of urban everyday life. This is exactly what transforms a person into the conscious constructer of the objective urban space into the world of life. In this context, the large chronotope of the city can be viewed as a barrier that urban everyday life builds in front of a person while realizing his intentions and practices of life in the small psychological chronotope of the city. But then it is just the internal form that reflects the degree of harmony / disharmony, heterochrony of different parts or types of the chronotope, for example, the disharmony between the large and small chronotope, city capital and the small subjective chronotope of the city. This connection shows that the internal form of the small urban chronotope partially reveals the ways of overcoming the barriers of the large urban chronotope.

Urban everyday life alienates a person from his small chronotope, partially even destroys his associations with the image of HIS city, with which he has different experiences and different motivations. On the contrary the content and even everyday life of a small chronotope reveals a person his inner intensions and thoughts. Returns to the initial experiences associated with a given time in a place in the city, opening up the newest facets of being in it.

Urban chronotope and urban identity

In psychology the concept of urban identity is included as part of a common identity, along with socio-cultural, political, ethnic, and personal. It is associated with a positive vision of oneself in the urban space, and therefore also implies activity in mastering and arranging this space. The city is also identified with the territory of residence, and therefore the urban identity is often identified with the territorial identity, emphasizing the importance of the territory of residence as an object of identification.

Special questionnaires have been developed to identify the most significant factors that shape urban and territorial identity. These questionnaires highlight various parameters of the environment – favorite places, people, environmental and economic factors, as well as a commitment to a given place or a desire to change it. At the same time, many results show the connection between the priority parameters of urban (territorial) identity with value orientations and motivation of people. In the study of M.M. Konchalovskaya and N.A. Golubeva (Golubeva, Konchalovskaya, 2013) were exposed differences in the choice of favorite places in the city among scouts and students of the conservatory. The blurred hobbies of scouts led to a scatter in the choice of favorite places and priorities of the urban landscape. In this study, the residents of the Moskovsky settlement, which was annexed to Moscow at that time, answer why they were interested in the change of place of residence. It turned out that attitudes towards changing urban identity are associated with two main parameters - values and emotional comfort. They determine the positive or negative attitude towards changing the territory and, accordingly, the sign of a new urban identity.

These materials show that at present, in a situation of cardinal changes in urban everyday life (and the everyday life of people in general) it is necessary to separate the urban identity and the individual chronotope of the city. After all, a person not only identifies himself with certain parameters, but also ranks them in terms of significance and emotional experiences, as well as spatial and temporal localization.

Proceeding from this, it seems appropriate to present the concepts of the internal form of the individual chronotope of the city. The urban identity differs significantly from the small chronotope of the city, more precisely, from the individual internal form of the urban chronotope of a particular person. Identity is associated with a person's identification with a certain place and image of the city, with its people or highlights. That is why the methods for studying urban identity contain scales – people, places, parks. The internal psychological chronotope of the city, on the contrary, is associated with the human self. It is directed INSIDE, identifying person with his existence, and not OUTSIDE, with something in the city. That is, identity reveals some personality traits for which certain places or people or events in the city are important, and thus is linked with the general sociocultural identity of a person.

The internal form of a city chronotope is associated with what a person sees in this city, and not with what really is in it. He ascribes, exteriorizes part of his experiences with the place and time of the city, the events of urban everyday life. Thus, the internal form of the chronotope explodes

the objective urban everyday life; it is connected with the inner essence of the personality, its existence. If we recall the concept of the exosphere (Martsinkovskaya, 2020), we can see the connection between the content of the internal form of the psychological chronotope of the city and the content of the exosphere, while the large chronotope of the city is associated with a barrier that surrounds this internal sphere of the personality.

Conclusion

We can state that in everyday life the individual and personal qualities are not leading. Apparently, a significant role in their connection is played by positive and negative emotional experiences, which help to self-adjust and take root in a multidimensional everyday life. Individual qualities contribute or hinder the personality to change everyday life and harmonize the internal form of the chronotope.

We can also state that from the psychological point of view, everyday life can be regarded as a kind of barrier. It saves psychological energy from unnecessary charges, maintaining the congruence of the external and internal world, that is, it plays a protective function, in which the individual and personality are closely connected with each other. Here we can say that everyday life helps to live a full life here and now, saving strength for development.

The everyday life also helps a person to isolate himself from external influences, maintaining the integrity of his identity, his being. In this context, inner form of city chronotope is also correlated with the concept of "world-project" by S.L. Rubinstein, as personal space, connecting, uniting the inner world of a person with the area of the external world with which he interacts.

It is possible to say that the surge in social activity in different geographic points is determined by the violation of congruence between small and large urban chronotope, which causes the spread of precariousness, affecting different social groups and different spheres of everyday life. Therefore, we can assume that the frustration of everyday life (digital, urban, cultural) is a forbidden entry into the personal space, into the exosphere. Therefore, it causes such a violent reaction of rejection and a desire to restore borders. But this is already a problem that requires a separate discussion.

Thus, apparently, we can say that in everyday life, the internal form of a city chronotope becomes energy, converting its potential form into kinetic. And here we can see an analogy with the internal form of art by G.G. Shpet.

It seems also that inner form of a small city chronotope can help both –

individualization of general daily life and self-realization, in which everyday life becomes a barrier that encloses the exosphere and thus prevents the penetration of alien pressure and saves energy for personal growth.

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Показывается связь повседневности с синергетическими процессами и психодинамическими качествами. Показывается роль повседневности в осознании картины мира и своего места в ней в ситуации кризиса (социального и личностного) и небольших, но постоянных изменений норм, ценностей и эталонов окружающего мира. Анализируются индивидные, индивидуальные и личностные качества, проявляющиеся в психологии повседневности. Доказывается, что повседневность с позиции психологии играет роль не только в индивидуализации быта, но и перехода его в бытие, становясь одновременно и синергетической поддержкой при индивидуализации бытия и выражением экзистенции. Описываются разные стили жизни в повседневности и анализируется их связь с индивидуальностью и личностью человека. Показывается тесная взаимосвязь индивидной, индивидуальной и личностных сфер повседневности. Показывается, что повседневность в психологии выполняет две функции барьера: поддерживая конгруэнтность внешнего и внутреннего мира и помогая человеку сохранить целостность идентичности, становясь границей экзисферы. Показывается, что фрустрация – это запрещенный вход в личностное пространство, в экзисферу. Раскрывается содержание внутренней формой хронотопа города. Показывается его связь с понятием городская идентичность и городской капитал. Уточняются различия между внутренней формой городского хронотопа, территориальной и городской идентичностью. Анализируется связь между понятиями городской и малый хронотоп, а также роль «мест времени» в активизации творческой активности человека и конструировании своего личностного пространства. Вводится понятия транзитивной и цифровой повседневности, особенно актуальной для современной молодежи. Это может теперь считаться новой формой повседневности, которая происходит в разных сетевых сообществах FB, ВКонтакте, Instagram, Twitter, Telegram. Так в повседневную жизнь входят не только новые названия, но и новые формы взаимодействия с миром, с другими, с самими собой. Подчеркивается важная связь повседневности с бытом и культурой, с эстетическими и этическими эталонами.

Ключевые слова: хронотоп города, внутренняя форма городского хронотопа, городская и территориальная идентичность, цифровая повседневность

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