



The Nature of Childhood

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When we treat children, it is natural to understand that they are not only biological beings, but also cultural and psychological. This is what this article is devoted to.

Choosing a human path of becoming and developing

The born child does not have (as the great apes had) in reserve one, two million years and many extreme situations for turning into a person. But the child is active and he has loving parents who immediately include him in the element of language and communication. In what respects is the child active? Well, on the one hand, it is natural in satisfying one's physiological desires, on the other hand, in expanding the area of experienced events, the source of which is the same parents. But the parents still form one biological and mental whole with the child; there are not yet two subjects here. Here is a mother smiling at a two-week-old or two-month-old (it does not matter) son, and miraculously, he also blurs into a smile. Modern psychologists grab their heads, and fantasies begin: the child imitates the mother, he is almost a person .

Nothing like that, L.S. Vygotsky would argue, just a child and a mother are one whole, (prama - tracing paper). And I would add: the child smiles not because he already has emotions and imitates someone, but because as a component of the whole (prama) he knows another component of this whole (the smile of the mother). Our opponent, of course, will ask the question of how we lead (manage), specify the mechanism. I will honestly answer: I do not know how, and even more so the mechanism, but I am sure that I am reasoning correctly. And therefore, now, who is interested in this (I am not very much), can search and study the mechanism .

If a child catches a smile (both his own and his mother's) - how, I also don't know, but we can assume that through vision and inner sensation - then this is one of the first events. The activity of the child, in my opinion, is that he catches the event, experiences it and enjoys it, because the world in which he is and lives expands and enriches. Very soon, it is the desire to derive pleasure by experiencing events and expanding the world that becomes the basis of orientation and the stimulus of the child's activity (perhaps this basis is what we call interest). And off we went: toys, the sounds of speech, the hands of parents, the position of their own body, and then the parents themselves and the child himself - everything becomes events of the child's life.

Well, the words that the mother (father or grandparents) pronounces with tenderness, how are they perceived? As events, but merged within the framework of prama with parents, inseparable from them. However, somewhere after a year (who knows), the child makes an ingenious discovery: he discovers first that objects and the sounds of words can constitute independent events, and then that an object can be passed through a certain sound of the word. More precisely, that the sound of the word is this object, but somewhat different from the previous one. That is, the meaning of the word appears, a sign is formed. In this case, I can even talk about the mechanism of this process. But I will do this not on the material of the word, but on the drawing.

I paint my one-and-a-half-year-old daughter the red sun and say, «Look at the sun, red, round». And I see that she does not understand anything: she does not see the sun in the red spot on

¹See Rimer, a famous article by Milsoff that discusses the phenomenon «imitations in newborns». Meltzoff, A.N., & Moore, M.K. (1977). «Imitation of Facial and Manual Gestures by Human Neonates». *Science*, vol. 198, 1977. p. Meltzoff, A.N., & Moore, M.K. (1977). [11. C. 75-78].

²“Prama” – the term of L.S. Vygotsky, designed to emphasize the unity of the child with his parents.

the paper. I wonder, well, she's got the sun in the sky, blinding, and then she's being deceived by pointing to some spot on the paper. I don't know what to do, I keep insisting, I show the red spot, and I say it's the sun. And, suddenly, after a couple of weeks (children always - suddenly, something changes, and it is not clear why), I realize that my Lena sees the sun in the drawing. And I remember, by the way, that yesterday I showed her how the sun was setting, and I also said: «Look at Lenchka, what a red and round sun, like on paper». I also recall my studies of visual perception, where I argued that a person can realize (actualize) the experience of perceiving a certain object not only on the material of this object, but also on the material of its drawing, as well as during the dream period without any visual material [6]. Then it's clear what happened. Lena knows that if dad says, look at the sun, then it must be. This attitude sooner or later determines that the experience of perceiving the sun is realized on the material of the red spot. At this point, she begins to see the sun in the red spot, but, of course, not ordinary, but, so to speak, «picturesque». Similarly, parents encourage their child to begin to see and hear in a word what it means .

This, Stern says, «the greatest discovery» expands the child's event reality by many orders of magnitude, as he learns to generate events, as well as related more and more new objects, moving in the language. True, a necessary condition for this expansion and entry into a new «language world» is the development of the technique of meaningful speaking (memorizing the meanings of objects, the ability to name them, composing words from the sounds, etc.).

It is clear what I am getting at: it is the formation of signs (meaning words, and later other semiotic formations, for example, images or musical expressions) that leads the child from the animal state to the wide path of human life. Gradually (it takes two or three years and then continues for some all their lives), the child masters the sign systems and the whole world is transformed for him. All objects, including himself, now have names, unsigned, as Kant would say, represent for the child «things in themselves», but simply do not exist, every unfamiliar thing cries out for its name, which with the help of parents is immediately discovered. It is the parents, as a component of the prama, who provide a strict normative mastery by the child of the meanings of signs and ways of operating with them.

³One might argue that my daughter learned the meaning of the image of the sun, already relying on her tongue (knowing what the word "sun" means). But the question is, how do children learn the meanings of the very first word? I think it's about the same. Parents play a huge role here. As a component of the prama, they contribute to the fact that the child actualizes the existing mental experience on a new material - a sounding word.

Interestingly, similar questions about the beginning of something are sometimes asked by the children themselves. Korney Chukovsky in the book "From Two to Five" cites, for example, the following questions of children: "How did the first man become? After all, there was no one to give birth to him!" "Whose very first mother sucked sisyu?" [12]

Parents in the role of pagan gods and the «social body» of the child

It is worth noting that the structure of the prama changes at this second stage, starting from one and a half, two years of development and beyond. Namely, the child already distinguishes between himself and his parents, but realizes himself together with his parents, just as an archaic person, of course, was aware of himself, but together with his family and tribe. The child's relationship with his parents (and other adults, such as kindergarten teachers) is twofold: on the one hand, parents still lead and guide the child (here they are like pagan gods), on the other hand, the child is increasingly using his parents to solve those problems that he is not yet able to solve. Using their power and intelligence, the child expands his capabilities. True, it begins in the previous period. Let's say a child notices that his mother brings the toy he dropped back to the playpen. And soon the child deliberately throws the toy out of the playpen, forcing the mother to bring it again and again. In this case, he not only expands his reality, but also gradually realizes that the mother can be controlled. And by the way, he gets a lot of pleasure from it, judging by the fact that he laughs every time.

Then more: the child forces the parents (using a wide range of means: crying, scandal, whining, etc.) to fulfill their desires. At the expense of parents, he expands his capabilities and abilities, just as we expand them through technology, social institutions, communication. In other words, parents become the social body of the child and in some cases almost until their death. A natural question may arise here: does such a development of events contribute to the development of children's egoism? Naturally, it helps, especially if parents follow the lead of the child or try to quickly fulfill his desire in order to become free themselves. But does not contribute to the development of egoism if parents limit the fulfillment of the child's requests only to those that are necessary for his benefit and development. Yes, at the same time they cease to be the social body of their child, but not at all, but only in the zone of dangerous development.

But the development of the child's egoism can contribute, and even very, and the demiurgical position of the parents. Unfortunately, our parents themselves are often selfish; in this

case, they unwittingly instill selfishness in their children as well. The famous philosopher and culturologist Svetlana Neretina characterizes our era as extra-ethical, and, consequently, in one way or another egoistic. «The processes currently taking place can also be called post-Christian because we have entered the world of ethics, or rather not - or extra-ethics, if only because the twentieth century is the century when the killer became a profession» [6] p. 273.

But what is meant by selfishness? Not just piaget's self-love or self-centeredness, both of which have probably always been characteristic of man, starting with ancient culture. It's about something else. About those periods in the history of our civilization when traditional ideas about reality and habitual social norms of behavior cease to work, and a person is forced to re-establish himself in all this. At the same time, as a rule, he largely begins to rely on himself, i.e. acts egoistically, which leads, as Plato said, to «the war of all against all», to various kinds of social conflicts. For Russia, this situation is especially dramatic, because, on the one hand, socialist ideas and values have been destroyed, and on the other hand, we are accused of Western capitalist and liberal-democratic pictures of the world and ideas that are themselves experiencing a deep crisis.

Modern egoism is characterized by the fact that many of its representatives are sure that they are the most ordinary people, not egoists, but often even altruists working for the common good. Employees of international corporations that exploit local populations have no doubt that their corporations are, of course, good for that population, since they provide jobs and bring civilization; Russian officials, who trample on the rights of their citizens and take bribes, believe that this is the only way to manage our dark population and greedy business, that all this is for the benefit of society. More than ever before, the formula is true of modernity that the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

The child masters the adult world through the game, «thinks» in schemes

No matter how we understand childhood, we must admit that it would not have taken place without adults and teachers who recognized the peculiarity of child development and went to

create special conditions for children (not to include them in adult work, which was widely practiced in the Middle Ages, to provide them with free time, to organize an acceptable environment - «kindergarten»). Thus, adult society and the world, as it were, opposed themselves to children, and the latter were able not only to partially live in their own way (play, communicate with each other), but also got into a world divided into two states - the adult world and the children's world. Since children understand that someday they will grow up, and adults direct them to their world, and since the adult world is much richer and more interesting than the children's, almost all children sooner or later want to live an adult life and get into it. Interest in adult life in children is fueled by language. The fact is that everything that is in the language, for a person, especially for children, requires its real embodiment, not necessarily material, but it is better to do just that.

This circumstance, plus the transformation of the world, which we talked about above in connection with the development of language (sign systems), as well as the transformation of prama, which allows the child to be aware of himself and his parents, have two very important consequences. First, the child gradually expands the zone of freedom, i.e. his own activity. Secondly, he begins to master the world of adults. On the one hand, the child is trying to understand this world, on the other hand, to live by its events. But since he is a child and the events of the adult world do not obey him, and parents refuse to help in the expansion of their world, the child (by the way, also with the help of an adult) creates his own world. It is a world of play, fairy tales, children's imagination and discourse. Consider, for example, children's play and imagination.

Here is a well-known game of horse since childhood. The child sits on a stick, shakes his head like a horse, «neigh», «jumps», «eats grass» and at the same time feels (imagines) himself a horse. A fundamental question: can a child imagine himself a horse if he does not grope, invent all these procedures and begin to carry them out topically? I think not, I think that it is almost impossible for an adult to imagine himself as a horse if he does not imitate some horse actions. Moreover, the child should not only remember what the horse is doing and try to do the same, but he will never imagine himself as a horse if he does not take all these actions to

⁴Especially in modern culture, where the most unusual ideas, for example, the world of mammoths or dinosaurs, are first implemented in research (knowledge), then in television films, then in the space of virtual realities (3-4 D), and the next stage is the material embodiment (for example, the possibility of cloning mammoths is already being discussed). But this story with the realization and material embodiment of semiotic meanings began in archaic culture. For example, death was understood not only as the departure of the soul from the body, but also as the creation of "houses" (graves) for the departed soul, where all the objects and weapons of the deceased were placed so that the soul could use them. As I show, the ancient Egyptian pyramids and mummies were created as the material embodiment of a complex cultural scenario, according to which the soul of the pharaoh, after his death, walked along the pyramid to heaven (after all, he is the sun god), as being in the body of the god and passing the cycle of purification-revival in the realm of death of the god Osiris was in the pyramid itself and in the mummy [8].

⁵Compare. "The new attitude in relation to the world", writes Zenkovsky, "is determined by the fact that in the child's mind the "self-made" world, the world "by itself", independent of fantasy, of the child's creativity, often harsh, requiring adaptation, appears with complete clarity. Hence the interest in reality, as it exists in itself, is the position of that intentional and planned adaptation, which we call "cognition". The new attitude takes the child out of the old naïve subjectivity – it opens this vast external world to the child's soul – and the child enters his "years of learning". It wants to "know", it wants to penetrate into all the mysteries of reality, the game takes on a new character, often becomes a means of exploring the world, and even more often separates itself into a special sphere" [5]. p. 66.

himself, does not begin to live exactly them, that is, to eat grass, to jump briskly on the damp ground, not to speak like a person, but to neigh, and so on and so forth. The result of these efforts is quite certain - the child can play, can communicate with others not only as a person, but also as a favorite horse.

Shouldn't we then assume that a necessary condition for imagination is, on the one hand, the invention of actions that create a special reality and objectivity (in this case, «horse behavior»), on the other hand, the effort to enter this reality and live in it. However, why does a child need this reality? But hadn't he seen hundreds of images of horses, hadn't he become infected with a desire to pet a horse and feed it, or better yet, ride it? And what an interesting world the horse itself has: it is fed, washed, stroked, it carries children, participates in races and so on and so forth. The child has a burning desire to communicate with the horse and be it. In addition, becoming a horse attracts other children or parents: they are interested in what this horse is called, what it eats and loves, and much more.

If we generalize, it turns out that the children's game has several functions. First, it helps to realize the desires that have arisen in connection with the development of the adult world. Secondly, it develops imagination and promotes creativity. Thirdly, it helps to communicate with others. Fourthly, this is just a very interesting world in which I would like to be longer. The analysis shows that children's play is also a schematic rehearsal of activities that may have to be carried out in the future. Interesting observations about children's play and Zenkovsky.

«Games», he writes, «are needed not only for psycho-physical maturation - they are no less (if not more!) are needed for socio-mental maturation... Games do not lead us away from reality, they, on the contrary, introduce us to it, but only soften reality, as if removing from it the deadly necessity that reigns in it. The plasticity of the object of games has an extraordinary, stimulating power: it is she who introduces the child to the world of freedom, to the world of creativity, it forever settles in the soul the consciousness of its power, its power over reality. The child transforms reality in the game - and from here the game becomes the psychic womb in which all our creative movements (aesthetic, ethical, religious) are formed and developed. But all the charm of the game, all its charm rests on the fact that creative work deals with reality all the time.

We said that at least the minimum dose of reality is mandatory for the game. The child learns early to distinguish between the sphere of the game and the sphere of reality, between the attitude to the game and the attitude to the business attitude. The game attracts precisely because in the process of the game the real and the imaginary come together and combine; this game is dear to us even in adulthood» [5] p. 55.

Let us now turn to the consideration of children's thinking and understanding. In the title of the paragraph, we put the word «thinks» in quotation marks to emphasize the difference between this activity and the thinking characteristic of an adult who receives knowledge in reasoning using concepts and categories. The child «thinks» and understands with the help of schemes. Recall, our understanding of the schemes. A scheme is a semiotic formation (narrative or graphic), which is created (invented) by an individual to solve problems (solve a problem situation); the scheme sets a new reality that allows you to understand and act in a new way. A necessary condition for the invention of circuits and work with them is signification. Schematics are different from the schematizable phenomenon.

Studies show that in the first two cultures, man mastered the world on the basis of schemes. The same can be said about the child: he masters the world and learns it through schemes. Some schemes allow him to understand what is happening, and then in principle you can act, others, how to act if you understand. Examples of both types of schemes we can see in the already cited book by K. Chukovsky. Here is the first type of schemes, they are focused more on understanding.

«The train ran over a pig and cut it in half. The disaster was seen by five-year-old summer resident Zorya Kotinskaya and shed many tears. A few days later, she came across a live pig. - The Pig Is Glued Together! Zorya shouted in delight».

Here the diagram is the expression «The pig is glued together», it allows you to understand why the pig is whole, although Zorya saw it cut. But the knowledge that parts of a broken object can be glued together is empirical, experiential, derived from observation.

My three-year-old son first became acquainted with pine cones when they were lying on the ground under trees. And only two

months later he saw them on the branches of a pine tree from the top floor of our dacha: Cones climbed a tree somehow.

The diagram - «the cones climbed the tree» explains why the cones ended up on the tree, although the boy saw them on the ground. Again, the knowledge that you can climb up the tree is experiential.

Now the schemes of the second type, explaining what to do in difficult situations.

Walking with his aunt down the street, a boy of two and a half years old stops at a bookstore. The salesman asks, «Can you read?» - I can. The boy is given a book: «Read. He, imitating his grandmother, suddenly grabs his pocket: «I forgot my glasses at home». In this case, the pattern is: «I forgot my glasses at home». And do not think that the child is lying, he creates a reality that allows you to evade reading.

«Daddy, please cut down that pine tree... She makes the wind; and if you cut it down, it will be quiet and I will go for a walk”.

The scheme is typical, including for the aborigines: «trees make the wind». On the one hand, it explains why the trees swing (they wave their tops, chasing the wind), on the other hand, it is clear what to do: you need to stop the trees.

Chukovsky explains these wonderful children’s statements and reasoning in such a way that it is a child’s fantasy conditioned by weak knowledge. That is, his explanation is based on the identification of child and adult intelligence. But if we do not make such an identification, then we need to assert something else: children build a discourse based on the experienced knowledge they have and mainly on the schemes that they immediately invent. It is the schemes that set the reality that allows you to understand and do something. At the same time, it is easy to see that in children’s discourse the correct knowledge gained by the child from experience or from adults converge, and the knowledge that he receives on the diagrams. The scheme is built in such a way that it would become clear and the child could realize himself. A scheme can be successful, working, and unsuccessful, not working. Here’s an example of the latter.

I remember a dream I had during the war near Kuibyshev, when I was about five or six years old. My mom worked day and night in an aircraft factory and only occasionally spent a few hours a month visiting me and my brother in kindergarten. But almost always she brought something delicious - cocoa in a thermos, or chocolate or something else. And so I persistently began to dream with my mother and delicious things to boot. It’s understandable how upset I was when I woke up: there was no mom, no cocoa. Finally, in order not to be deceived and upset in vain, I decided to check myself: pinch my ear, if it hurts, I do not sleep, if it does not hurt - I sleep. And that night I had another dream. Mom arrives, I pull my ear, make sure I don’t sleep, drink cocoa and then... Wake up. Then everything is clear. The power of grief firmly imprinted this dream in my memory. I remember roughly how I reasoned.

Since there was no one and nothing after sleep, I decided, it means «in a dream there is no mother, no chocolate, no me». Consequently, «I won’t feel pain if I pull my ear». as opposed to how I feel pain when I don’t sleep. These are the two schemes I built, but they turned out to be wrong, did not allow me to distinguish between dream and reality (dreaming and wakefulness). At the same time, it is clear that the built schemes were designed to realize themselves (so as not to be upset in vain). In creating them, I also use the correct empirical knowledge that «after a dream there is no one who dreamed». In this sense, children’s discourse is usually heterogeneous, i.e. consists of right and wrong (from the point of view of adults, but not the child) knowledge.

Finally, another interesting case described by N. Berdyaev in his autobiography: «Akimushka”, «he writes», once told me about an extraordinary event that happened to him when he was a boy. He was a shepherd and herded the flock. And suddenly he had the idea that there was no God. Then the sun began to fade and he sank into darkness. He felt that if there is no God, then there is nothing, there is only perfect nothingness and darkness. It was as if he was completely blind. Then, in the depths of nothingness and darkness, the light suddenly began to light up, he again believed that there was a God, «nothing» turned into a world brightly lit by the sun, everything was restored in a new light» [4] p. 189.

“Much later, already an adult, realized that I could be present in a dream, but only this is myself, which is dreaming, "dreaming", unusual, it can do what I can not do, for example, in a dream I can fly (and many times flew). In addition, I realized that when I was in a dream, I could not make sure that I was not sleeping and was just dreaming. In a dream, I am sure that I am living some kind of life, and not sleeping. Just as my daughter discovered the "drawing" sun, I discovered my "dreaming" personality.

At first, Akimushka's fantasy, articulated in the sentence «There is no God» (obviously, this was the scheme that he built, solving some problem) gave rise to a reality in which, however, there was no place for either the sun or the life of the boy himself. Then Akimushka, saving himself (resolving a catastrophic problem situation), built a scheme «There is a God», which made it possible to restore peace. But, telling this incident to Berdyaev, Akimushka put the cart in front of the horse: he thought that first the light came on, and then he believed that there was a God. Although, from our point of view, it was the scheme that set the reality in which it was possible to live. When I write that schemas set reality, we are not talking about conditional, virtual reality, but about the real, real, determining the life of a person.

The essence of preschool education and training

In this case, we will talk about the main trend associated with the creation of kindergartens and other children's institutions, where parents send their children for upbringing and the first steps of education. As you know, the initiator here was a wonderful German pedagogue Friedrich Fröbel, who formulated many ideas of scientific pedagogy [9]. If we proceed from our concept, then the first question here is this: after all, the educator is not a parent, how can he lead a child? Observations show that the way out of this situation was found, on the one hand, in the fact that parents transfer to educators (and teachers) part of their attitude of «prama», including an educator in it and convincing the child - now you need to obey, while you are in the garden, not mom and dad, but Marya Ivanovna - on the other hand, that a real teacher must earn the child's trust (authority). Authority, which follows from the work of Hannah Arendt, does not imply power and violence, and not rational arguments, but reliance on tradition and ideal content [1]. In this case, the connection to the tradition can be understood as the introduction of the child to family values and history, as well as the values and history of his country, small homeland, people (of course, in the form available to kids). Ideal content can be very different: religious plots, children's books and cartoons with serious educational content, conversations and others. To better understand what it is, allow the memories of my teacher, G.P. Shchedrovitsky.

«If parents», writes Shchedrovitsky, «do not «put» the ideal content of their professional activity in communication, if they just think, then the child fixes the content of a completely different kind - communal, ordinary ... in my life it happened - I don't know, maybe my father and mother understood it, or maybe it happened

by itself, it's hard for me to say now - that this ideal content has always existed as real and was more meaningful than real. Perhaps the fact is that there was still that culture of the old intelligentsia, where there were some, perhaps, unfixed methods of presenting this content, laying it out - either by buying certain books, or at the expense of certain orders in the house» [10] pp. 201, 204.

There was perfect maintenance in the author's family, and this despite the fact that I practically did not see my parents: my mother worked from morning to evening, and my father was in the army; but they put together a beautiful library, and when they met, I saw the love and respect of parents for each other. Today, when family traditions and intelligentsia are being restored, but at the same time alienation is growing in the family, where children and adults live in different, non-overlapping worlds (parents work and serve children, children go about their business, taking service for granted), Shchedrovitsky's reflections on family education and laying out ideal content are more relevant than ever.

So, the educator and teacher can lead the child to the extent that their efforts are supported by the parents, and they themselves gradually gain the trust and authority of the children. Now, the second question: what does the teacher and educator actually teach, what content do they convey to children? In form and objectivity, as you know, such content can be very different depending on a particular concept and practice of preschool education and training (and there are quite a lot of them today). Nevertheless, reading Hannah Arendt's work «The Crisis in Education» allows us to hypothesize that, in fact, in preschool institutions, the educator and teacher help children master the two main forms of life. One refers to non-verbal, labor, including education, forms of life activity; it is the last children who are often observed in the adult world. The other, on the contrary, is a non-labor, so to speak, social or «political» form of life, where children learn to communicate on an equal footing with each other. (less often, with adults) for the purpose of joint action in relation to their lives. If in the labor life of the child must understand that there is one who leads, and the one who is led, that work (study) requires attention and limitation of his desires, involves the development of skills and so on, then in the context of social life he acts as an independent person, where he is opposed by other children; here you need to convince others, and at the same time you need their help, otherwise nothing new and interesting will happen. In the first area, the child becomes a subject of activity (labor and educational), in the second, the prerequisites for his formation (in the next culture) as a person are formed.

Criticizing the American experience of upbringing in the 50-60s, ignoring the first area of life and exaggerating the importance of children's freedom and identity, Arendt writes the following. «Exactly what should prepare a child for the adult world, gradual addiction to work and non-gaming activities, is excluded for the sake of the identity of the children's world ... thus, as it were, they deny that the child is a becoming person, that childhood is a temporary stage, preparation for adulthood ... But this can also mean that the demands presented by the world and the need for order in it are consciously or unconsciously rejected, all responsibility for it is denied - both the responsibility to order in it and the responsibility to obey in it» [2] pp. 273, 274, 282. And here is its characteristic of the second area of life. «Looking at things from this perspective (when it is believed that «all public affairs are controlled by power and interest»), we learn nothing about the real content of political life - about the joy and satisfaction of being in the company of equals, from joint actions and appearances in public, from being involved in the affairs of the world with the help of words and deeds, thereby acquiring and maintaining our personal identity and starting something completely new» [3] S. 389.

With regard to children, we are talking about the formation of a «children's society», when the child understands that the «other» is equal to him in his desires and actions. The child learns to act collectively, to yield and direct, to discuss undertakings that relate to his life, to realize the plan. At the same time, the teacher should imperceptibly help the child, and often he himself becomes in the position of «another», free, and not an educator or teacher. For example, the teacher discusses with the children where they will go today, how they will spend the holiday, what gifts they will make to their friends or parents. It is important that everyone can express their opinion, so that it is no less significant than other opinions, that there is a general discussion, so that then everyone implements their plans.

Arendt in his article draws attention to another important point, namely, that the position of the educator and the teacher necessarily implies a double relationship - on the one hand, protective in relation to the child's consciousness, on the other - his introduction into the changed world. Here is another quote. «Since the child does not know the world, he must be gradually introduced to this world; since it is new here, care must be taken to ensure that this new finds a place for itself according to the world as it is, and is not crushed by its age. But in any case, educators appear to the young as representatives of the world and must be

held accountable for it, even if they did not create it and even if they secretly or openly wished it to be different. This responsibility is not placed on the part of educators on someone's whim; it follows from the fact that every young generation born of adults falls into an already changed world. Anyone who does not want to take responsibility for the world should not produce children and should not take part in their upbringing.

«With our approach to parenting». Arendt concludes, «we decide whether we love the world enough to take responsibility for it and at the same time save it from death, which without renewal, without the arrival of new and young, would be unstoppable. And we also decide whether we love our children enough not to throw them out of our world, leaving them to ourselves, not to snatch from their hands a chance to do something new and unexpected for us, but instead to prepare them for their mission of renewing our common world» [2] p. 290.

It is hardly possible to say better and more accurately, and do not think to the reader that we are talking about very sublime and abstract things that are not directly related to the upbringing of children. Yes, Arendt's demands apply, first of all, to educators, teachers and parents, but are they not the ones who create conditions for childhood, for childhood itself on the part of an adult?

The end of childhood

First of all, let's discuss why childhood is reproduced and exists for a relatively long time. There are two main factors here: external and internal. On the one hand, as already noted, it was adults and teachers who organized childhood, recognizing the inner world, originality, and patterns of development for children. Plus the phenomenon of prama, which also creates for children quite tough conditions for life and development. Adults support this organization and conditions until they believe it's time for an independent life. As a rule, this time coincides with the beginning of school, where children begin to be required to behave independently. As a result, new conditions for the formation of the personality are formed. It is the beginning of the formation of the personality that marks the end of childhood.

On the other hand, the life and development of the child within the framework of the organization and conditions set by adults contributes to a well-defined feature of the child's being (reliance on the adult, the meaning of reality, thinking in schemes, mastering

the world of adults with the help of games and other semiotics). These features are characteristic of the entire period of childhood. However, the life of the child throughout childhood is constantly becoming more complicated (first he masters the meanings of words, then - relationships with people - adults and children - then learns to create schemes and play, expands the zone of freedom and at the same time grasps the basic «rules of the game» to which life obeys, etc.). Moving to independent behavior, the child quickly becomes convinced that the skills and abilities developed during childhood no longer work, that it is necessary to rebuild. In other words, childhood is gone.

The end of childhood is a period of personality formation, when a teenager for the first time commits real independent acts. The actions are different, not always understandable, from the point of view of our further development. I'll start with myself (the first case).

I remember vividly how my personality cut through, if only, of course, it was a personality. It was September 1st, after the summer holidays. I came into fourth grade and it was like I woke up. It was from this time that I perceived myself, looked at myself, observed myself. The sense of personality was so unusual that I remembered my condition and experiences well. It seemed to me that everything that came before that went into complete darkness. Only a few paintings were scattered in this dark past.

Something else entirely starts in the fourth grade. It is I who discover myself, it seems to me that now I remember myself continuously, although this, of course, which I realized later, was an illusion. Thinking about 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 home all the time alone (my father was in the army, and my mother disappeared at work). Books gave a form of self-awareness, and independent life at school and at home forced to rebuild. I could no longer count on the help of my mother or teacher, I had to rely on myself. Books told you how to do this - to look at yourself from the outside, to see yourself, to characterize your Self.

Actually, by this time (fifth or sixth grade) I was fully living in books. I was much more interested in artistic events than the surrounding poor post-war life. In those years, there were no TVs and players, toys almost too. We lived in a huge house of the factory «Wool-cloth» with a corridor system. At one end of the corridor

was a public kitchen where I once watched a fantastic fat rat dance for two minutes, at the other end of the corridor there were two communal toilets.

There were only two Jewish families in the house. Anti-Semitism flourished among both adults and their children. My brother and I more than once had to defend our independence with the help of fists, I remember, for example, how we stood in the yard surrounded by peers spitting at us. All this also did not stimulate the desire to live by ordinary events, as soon as the occasion 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 case did not come out, I tried to create it myself, read even at night under the blanket, including a flashlight, and carefully turned the pages so as not to wake my mother.

Naturally, with this lifestyle, I did not have time to prepare lessons. Every day I waited in fear to see if the teacher would call. But sooner or later my last name was pronounced. As a result, I started 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 it an act or not? I found several badly torn tickets behind the Elektrozavodskaya station in the urns, and, holding the ragged edge with my fingers, I passed by the control. In the subway I found a free bench and sat on it, swallowing another book. At the right time, as if nothing had happened, I would return home. This would have gone on for who knows how long if someone in the class hadn't seen me on the subway and told the class teacher. I was guilty of everything, promised to catch up with my studies and only asked not to tell my mother. She learned about this story just a few years ago from me.

Around this time, I read 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 lessons or clean the room for the sake of a book. Really frightened, the ingeniously outlined by Goncharov the prospect of overgrowth and the death of a living soul clearly appeared before me. I decided to save myself, to educate my will. He started with a simple task - he tried not to say a word for two days. The next task was harder, then even harder. So I embarked on the path of war with myself. There was, no doubt, an act here. On this path he suffered more failures than victories, but still did not stop fighting for many years. Gradually, my efforts, surprisingly, began to bear fruit, and by the ninth grade I had become a completely organized young

man. By this time, the family 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 XIX, XX centuries, which was lovingly collected by the mother and father, but also by the general disorder of life at that time, which led to the fact that I lived as if without parents. I either had to disappear, as happened to many peers, or become a person capable of independent behavior and comprehension of reality. For some reason, the last thing happened. I started working on myself and continue to do so to this day.

The problem of moral education of children in a situation of transition and crisis of culture.

Modern Russian parents are products of the upbringing characteristic of the XX century, about which Zenkovsky was so worried, paying attention to its ideology and spirituality. At the same time, it was in proper upbringing that Zenkovsky saw a way out of the situation that had developed in the 20s of the last century. «Look at what is being done even now in all corners of Russia: you will find everywhere a certain number of active, animated by social ideals figures who are overburdened with work, torn from the mass of work entrusted to them. And behind them there is a whole mass of «philistines» who know only how to use the results of someone else's work, perhaps, they are not averse to criticizing it, but they will not put their finger on the finger to help. The weak development of social amateur activity is all the more striking in our country that life has now become unbearably difficult. Food, housing, financial crises are crushing us all, and despite all this, the same people still appear in the arena of social work... Here in Russia, under the previous conditions of public life, when any sincere and honest service to the public good was severely persecuted, the type of socially indifferent and socially inert person was naturally put forward by life itself and historically fixed. To these purely Russian conditions, which favored all our Oblomovs, it is necessary to add the factor that exerts its effect everywhere - namely, the influence of the economic individualism of our era.

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

Oh, how Russia lacks elementary social virtues now! How few people are able to subordinate their personal, party, class interests to the common good! A rich country full of young, unused forces, freed from all external shackles, having the full possibility of free self-determination, vaguely aware of all its infinite power, Russia is approaching catastrophe from day to day, torn from within by socially contradictory currents. May the parents and school of their children be saved from the terrible corruption that the poisoned life brings with it, and may they prepare in their children a love for the common good, the ability for social rapprochement, basic social virtues, a living desire for solidarity, genuine, and not only 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 fulfillment of the duty assumed, love attitude to their work and a sincere desire to contribute to the common good!» [5]. pp. 296, 303, 329, 343.

Unfortunately, almost all of the above can be attributed to modern Russia. And the catastrophe, indeed, covered our country in the twentieth century with a tsunami of repression and cultural savagery. But today, new problems have been added to the situation so accurately indicated by Zenkovsky. However, life does not stop and it needs to be resumed in the right direction. What can we say in the conclusion about upbringing, referring to childhood?

It is worth noting that at present there are a lot of forms and types of upbringing and education: upbringing focused on technical culture, on humanitarian, artistic, religious, esoteric, with a national bias, military, sports, etc. And I think this trend will continue in the future and, possibly, even expand. True, it is partly in contradiction with some of the tasks of childhood; for example, how often do we hear that a child began to play music or sports very early and he did not have a childhood. But I think the above stages and means characteristic of childhood will also remain. Still, the child must master the language, learn to build relationships with adults and children, develop in the direction of adolescence (i.e. be ready for transformation into a person), and it is unlikely that more effective means will be invented than a game, a fairy tale or schemes (although who knows, but even if they are invented, then, as history shows, nothing disappears forever in culture).

Sometimes you have to hear: «I had a happy childhood». What does that mean? Is it not that the parents understood the child, supported him, loved him, and at the same time correctly directed

him, which allowed him to become a full-fledged person and a moral person? Here, of course, someone can object and say: everything is true, except for the «moral person», and what this means today is completely unclear. I agree that it is incomprehensible, but I will not accept the statement that it is possible to raise a child correctly, ignoring moral and spiritual values. True, how to understand the latter, and moral education itself, if we remember that the essence of childhood relations is largely connected with prama? Is it possible to morally educate your child if for the parents themselves these values and categories are empty and mean nothing? And today, unfortunately, not so many people live by moral values and categories.

There is only one way out: to educate morally both our child and ourselves, not to assume that we always know how to behave correctly in modern complex contradictory situations, to think through them, to look for a solution. Nowadays, a parent or educator has to come to terms with the idea that they don't know how to educate properly and don't know what it «right» means. His task is to comprehend and what is the right upbringing and whether he himself was brought up correctly. And not just to state the current situation, but to work on its resolution, so that the childhood of our children is really happy.

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