THE TYPOLOGY OF LIFE TRAJECTORIES AMONG PERSONS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENT AND MOBILITY DISABILITIES

Svetlana Khazova, Tatiana Adeeva, Inna Tikhonova, Natalia Shipova Kostroma State University, Kostroma, Russia

Abstract¹

The article analyzes the sociological and psychological approaches to the understanding of the "life trajectory" phenomenon. The "life trajectory" and "way of life" notions are compared as well as categorical features which describe life trajectories were pointed out, the most important of which are: sociocultural determinism, dynamism, eventfulness, continuity, narrativity, typical nature as the evidence of the similarity between trajectories in a particular group of people within specific time and space frame. The authors have suggested a novel approach which enables to identify objective facts making up one's life trajectory and their subjective interpretation. The empirical data allowed to recognize two variations of life trajectories that were code-named the "hypersthenic" (highly positive appraisal is prevalent) and "hyposthenic" (pessimistic appraisal of life events is prevalent) ones. It led to the conclusion about both theoretical and methodological complexity to study disabled persons' life trajectories.

Keywords: life trajectories, way of life, adults with disabilities (disabled-since-childhood adults), the typology of life trajectories, hearing impairment, mobility disabilities.

Introduction

Constantly changing, dynamic living conditions of modern person are, on the one hand, stressors; on the other hand, they are factors of person's sustainable development. They set down the requirements for a person as a subject of one's life and for their ability to make a successful and effective social adaptation. It is true for disabled persons as well, especially for adults whose variants of life and their ability to build their lives efficiently despite of "life challenges" and difficult conditions due to the disability are still hardly a research object in modern psychology.

However, there are obvious contradictions between the government policy on disabled persons aimed at their integration into the society and realities of their daily lives (the peculiarities of public awareness and limited availability of cultural environment and social services). Considering life stories of persons with developmental disorders, one can observe

¹ The reported study was funded by RFBR according to the research project № 17-06-00812 – The Department of Humanities

those who demonstrate great success and adaptiveness and completely fulfil their potential even if they have psychological and physical developmental disorders. It suggests there are key conditions and factors of both personal and sociocultural nature as well as specific optimal trajectories disabled persons use to lead their lives that determine effective functioning and quality of life.

Object of the research: life trajectories of adults with hearing impairment and mobility disabilities.

Aim of the research: to study the peculiarities (typology) of life trajectories among adults with hearing impairment and mobility disabilities.

Theoretical Justification

Different terminology such as life strategy, life plan, and way of life is used in the context of the research on personality formation and development problems.

The choice of life trajectory category enables to identify some typical, continuous (непрерывные), and predictable "trajectories" among disabled persons with dramatic individual variations with the help of crucial junctures that determine the future life vector (Khazova, Tikhonova, & Adeeva, 2017). At the theoretical level, this study involves the identification of categorical features of the "*life trajectory*" notion through similar concepts, in particular, with the semantically closest construct "way of life".

The notion of life trajectory was originally sociological rather than the psychological one. Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, was among the first who used it in their works. Combining educational, professional, and social trajectories, he interprets it in a broad sense as a sequence of positions an individual (or a group) takes up during their lifetime while acting in different, constantly evolving and transforming social fields. Bourdieu observes the continuity and indivisibility of some stages. The author suggests studying one's trajectory using an autobiographical narrative and points to the importance for a person to make sense of life events and find their interrelationship and interdependence (Bourdieu, 1979; Bourdieu, 2002).

Summarizing modern sociological studies on life trajectories, it is worth mentioning some valuable ideas for our work. First, life trajectory is always set in some particular time context. Thus, while specifying this notion by means of the construct "form of life" which belongs to a particular period of life, or "chronological cross section", some authors (Kurakin, 2017) point out that the trajectory presupposes the integration of life forms in a specific sequence, their time change, "the course of life" (Horunzhij, 2016).

Second, when acknowledging the existence of individual trajectories, most sociological studies deal with the description of particular social groups' trajectories: those of students, pupils of residential institutions, former activists from youth organizations, urban and rural young people, and emigrants. This declares the opportunity to describe particular group's typical lines of "life motion" ("жизненного движения") with the help of "life trajectory" category.

Third, many authors lay emphasis upon the significance of a context, life circumstances (the social, cultural, regional, and economic ones) the group in question is under, e.g. the period of radical social changes, the replacement of political elites, the wave of emigration. This is what shapes the close similarity between life trajectories of persons who belong to these groups and creates an opportunity of their typification. For example, dealing with variants of lives among former activists from youth organizations in Poland throughout the

period of political elites' replacement in the 1990's, Novak (2003) identifies the types of life trajectories taking into consideration either the maintenance or termination of one's activity – the change or maintenance of one's value fundamentals (Novak, 2003). The study on gifted children by Dymarskaya, Novikova, Kolesnikova, & Bazina (2012) treats social factors as possible predicators of radical changes in person's life trajectories, a complex of parameters that characterize the situation the individual is in and function as the grounds for "the increase or reduction of life chances" (Dymarskaya, Novikova, Kolesnikova, & Bazina, 2012). The works by Alifanoviene, Šapelytė, & Bėčiūtė examine the opportunities, mechanisms, and predicators of the integration of children from social risk families; the strategies of social intervention are outlined (Alifanoviene, Šapelytė, & Bėčiūtė, 2016).

Fourth, life trajectory can be dealt with through the formal measures, which describe the result of one's development: to one's qualification, social status, institutionally confirmed competencies and achievements, knowledge and skills (Dymarskaya, Novikova, Kolesnikova, & Bazina, 2012; Cherednichenko, 2015; Saitgalieva & Matveeva, 2016). For example, Dobrenkov & Kravchenko (2003) point out that "real life trajectory, a line of life destiny" is measured by the amount and the level of acquired statuses.

Fifth, life trajectories are associated not only with external, formal characteristics (the demographic, family, sociocultural, economic, and other ones) but with the internal, valuemeaningful (ценностно-смысловые) ones: one's beliefs, ethical and aesthetic orientations, personal traits, tastes, time orientations, and others as well as the level of subjectivity (Horunzhij, 2016; Yarskaya-Smirnova, 2002; Kapustina & Pushkova, 2017; Kuprieieva, 2015; Zmievskaya & Kuryisheva, 2015).

Finally, most authors conclude that the most valid method to explicate life trajectories is the biographical one (Novak, 2003; Cherednichenko, 2015; Yarskaya-Smirnova, 2002).

The notion of "life trajectory" in psychology is not so widely spread. The authors who do use it usually do not specify it (Bochaver, Zhilinskaya, & Khlomov, 2016). However, life trajectory is more frequently taken together with the "way of life" notion where the former is a narrower concept that relates to one area and the latter is interpreted as a set of trajectories.

The notion of "way of life" as an indication of individual and personal life dynamism was studied by Zhane and Byuler for the first time in the ontological theory of human existence by Rubinstein (2002) and the concepts of way of life by Ananyev (2001) and Loginova (1978). Way of life is understood as "a story of individual development" (Loginova, 1978), the story of character-building as a contemporary of a particular epoch, particular historical time, as a peer of particular generation (Ananyev, 2001).

The analysis of the "way of life" notion enables to detect large quantity of diverse interpretations in modern psychology: as individual's lifetime, as an attribute of age development, as a set of life events to be analyzed.

The prominent feature of way of life is its "eventfulness" ("событийность") which manifests itself not only in the fact that it includes a sequence of events but events as "key moments", "junctures" determine person's future way of life as well (Rubinstein, 2002). In this case the events of inner life – events-impressions and events-emotions – play an important role (Rubinstein, 2002; Loginova, 1978). Finally, way of life is a way to forge one's self-identity, subjectivity (субъектность), and to develop the ability for goal-setting and creativity (жизнетворчество) (Ananyev, 2001; Rubinstein, 2002).

Thus, the notions in question have close similarity: their historical, social, cultural, and time conditionality; "eventfulness" ("событийность"), the connection with emotions,

orientations, values, goals and personal meanings (личностные смыслы); integrity, continuity (непрерывность) and sequence of stages; the existence of key moments that change person's development direction. The methods to describe and explicate are the same – biographical method, or the method of psychological autobiography, based on direct impressions and retrospective reconstruction. However, way of life seems to be always individual while life trajectory can function as a characteristic of a group in particular time and space and demonstrate the most common line of motion (линия движения) in particular circumstances

Therefore, the performed analysis enabled us to point out the categorical features of "life trajectory":

1) *Sociocultural conditionality* – life trajectory takes place in a particular sociohistorical and sociocultural space, time context, macro- and microenvironment that determine the group's in question lifestyle and influence the choice of one's life trajectory by means of this lifestyle;

2) *Dynamism* – life trajectory as a line of motion (линия движения) allows describing and putting the accent on the changes in individual's destiny;

3) *Integrity* – life trajectory consists of events but it is not discrete; it always functions as the whole and more than just a set of events and facts, it has internal logics: just as an event can shed light on the peculiarities of some trajectory, life trajectory as the whole can simplify the understanding of some event, its sense, and its place in one's life;

4) *Eventfulness (событийность)* – life trajectory is comprised of events – the normative and non-normative ones; the decisive and watershed ones; even the "fateful" and significant ones with no "powerful" impact; the real and possible ones which influenced one's future life anyway;

5) *Subjectivity* – life trajectory involves subject's selective perception of their experience. Thus, the event of life which influences one's life trajectory and future "direction" can only be the fact of one's biography that "passes through the prism of individual's personal traits and acquires not only subjective meaning but subjective distortions as well" (Tikhonova & Adeeva, 2017);

6) *Retrospectivity* – life trajectory can be described only "post factum", this is a description based on retrospective experience and one's attitude to things that have happened. This enables to pay attention to spontaneous, unpredictable events that can deeply influence the implementation or the change of one's life trajectory;

7) *Evaluability* (*оценочность*) – life trajectory always includes cognitive and emotive appraisal of subjectively meaningful events, the outcome of which is the conclusion about some "life status", satisfaction/dissatisfaction with one's life, subjective wellbeing/non-wellbeing within some period of time that can function as "a driving force which controls one's behavior" (Golovej & Danilova, 2017);

8) *Connection with one's emotions* – the accent is on the emotional significance of the events kept in individual's mind and comprising the subjective element of their life strategy and way of life (Rubinstein, 2002);

9) *Narrativity* (meaningfulness (осмысленность) according to Kurakin (2017) – life trajectory represents a personal story – "narrative" – a peculiar means to structure one's experience and life where every event has its "image" that blends facts with one's emotions and one's interpretations with evidence and expresses the personal meaning of what happened;

10) Causality (coherence (связность)) – life trajectory is not the total of separate life facts. This is a linked sequence of subjectively meaningful events that determine the

subsequent ones and, in its turn, is determined by a complex set of exogenous and endogenous conditions" (Tikhonova & Adeeva, 2017), we must admit that "junctures" of life trajectory has interconnection and are mutually clarifying each other with the part of the whole – human life" (Kurakin, 2017);

If we deal with group's life trajectories, one more categorical feature is worth mentioning*typical nature* as the evidence of particular "averaging", "generality", the similarity line of motion (линии движения) many members of a particular group have at specific time and space. In other words, their similarity "makes it possible to adequately describe these trajectories with means of some synthesizing individual, in some sense, trajectory" (Kurakin, 2017).

Participants of the research

The sample of the study consisted of 54 people who have disabilities and got the status of disabled-since-childhood persons (18 people with hearing impairment, 36 people with mobility disabilities). The age of the respondents ranges from 17 to 64 (M=37,04; SD=12,43).

Methods of the research

To conduct this study it was important to design a methodological strategy of the research that would enable to collect the information on both objective facts about the respondents' life and subjective interpretation of the life events, the assessment of their meaningfulness, and role in the life trajectory's formation. It could only be done using a clinical-psychological interview as a basis, adding the collection of one's histories (as told by persons with disabilities and by means of available alternative techniques - interviews with a medical personnel and work with medical documentation), and employing the methodology "The Life Line" as modified by Vasilenko (2016) which presupposed individual form of work with each respondent. The algorithm of the conduction involved several stages: 1. making acquaintance with a respondent, 2. the record of their disability history (as told by persons with disabilities and by means of available alternative techniques - interviews with a medical personnel and work with medical documentation), the individual life, and family ones (the respondents were initially given the topic of the conversation at this stage that was based on open-ended questions; they were asked close-ended questions if there was no respondent's enthusiasm); 3. filling in one's "life line" – work with a graphical representation of one's life trajectory where the graphics are clarified and the events are specified, their description, and appraisals; 4. specifying stage where the respondent was asked open-ended and close-ended questions if there were no descriptions of one's life phases in the graphics as well, corrections were made. The procedure of the study and its substantiation are more accurately described in the article by Tikhonova & Adeeva (2017). While working with the sample of the persons with hearing impairment, the methods were adapted taking into account the peculiarities of their speech perception. The form of the tasks (they were given in a written form) and content of the questions (lexical and grammatical simplification, the avoidance of complicated phrases) were adapted. In case of any difficulties, the visual perception of the questions was backed by sign language.

Statistical analysis

Research data were calculated using 10.0 Statistica software. The differences between the groups were defined employing Multifunctional Fisher Criterion – angular conversion Fischer (ϕ^*).

Results and Discussion

The results of clinical-psychological interview and the methodology "The Life Line" are analyzed by the parameters of the content of life events, the significance of events and the prevailing emotional assessments of events. The sample was divided into two groups at this stage where the variants of one's life trajectories in one group diverge considerably from those in another one.

These variants are code-named the hypersthenic and hyposthenic ones. The hypersthenic variant of one's life trajectory consists of persons with mobility disabilities (19 people, 5 of them are women, 14 are men, the average age is 37) and hearing impairment (18 people, 12 of them are women, 6 are men, the average age is 37).

The hyposthenic variant consists of persons with mobility disabilities (17 people, 9 of them are men, 8 are women, the average age is 38,4).

The respondents from the first group emphasize their independence and other people's respect for them and seek self-sufficiency. The low percentage of the respondents (15%) speak of their childhood as a period of loneliness and mention adaptation difficulties. When describing their family situation, approximately 30% of the respondents report both parents' apparently negative attitude to them, especially that of their father. About half of the respondents mention friendly and good relationships in their families, especially those with their mother. Not only the relationships with one's parents but those with teachers and other children, and friendships as well are considered as the resourceful ones. Many respondents demonstrate positive reappraisal of one's life events related to the disabilities. Many respondents speak of their lives as a rich process and identify the area of interest, which includes nature and communication. The persons mention achievements of objective significance and can assess their contribution to these achievements. Life objectives are relatively diverse; one can observe positive reappraisal of a life situation.

The respondents' life lines in the first group are mainly positioned in the upper part of the graphics and characterized by substantial number of positively appraised events. However, each age stage has negative, tragic events ("my relatives died, my mother abandoned, my parents abandoned me") though positive life events prevail ("I got a bike, I had a cool toy car, I was given a dog, I met a girl"). The specifics of the event appraisal lie in the predominance of highly positive appraisal (+4; +5). Negative events are equally assessed as the extremely negative ("-5" relatives' death, parents' abandonment) as well as the rather negative ones ("-2" the implication in a crime). Interestingly, the average event appraisal in this group is higher than that in the second one as the respondents grow older (at each subsequent life stage). The divergences at the level of average assessments are distinctly pronounced at the stage of young (4,04 and -0,14) and middle (3,81 and 2,73) ages as well as in the assessment of one's future (3,812 and -0,375). Many positive events are associated with sports, participation and medal places in competitions of different levels, and personal life.

Let us have a closer look at some peculiarities of the respondents' life trajectories in this group.

Infancy and early age (0-3 years old). It is characterized by low eventfulness (событийная насыщенность) and low general emotion appraisal. Approximately 43% of the respondents do not remember this age and give no appraisals of the stage. 22% of the respondents make a negative appraisal (from "-1" to "-5" scores) mentioning one negative event: "nursery school", "hospital", "divorce". *Preschool age (4-7 years old).* Highly positive appraisals of one's life events are prevalent at this stage. The content of the events relates to one's family, changes in health condition, and the relationships with friends.



Picture 1. Averaged respondents' life trajectory in group 1

Junior school age (7-11 years old). Approximately 50% of the respondents mention school enrollment as the key event and give it positive appraisal. Nevertheless, some respondents (16,7%) associate this period with negative events: "I started attending school for the deaf".

Early adolescence (12-17 years old). Positively appraised events still prevail at this stage. Their content becomes more diverse; it includes reference to significant events and travels with one's parents and (or) friends; hobbies and interests that had developed by that moment can be observed. Interestingly, negative events at this age are positively appraised by the respondents even in terms of the content: "I broke a window" (+5), "I fought" (+5), "I was sent to a residential school when I was 12. There I saw so many deaf children, I felt scared" (+4). Few negative events related to the necessity to change the school and the implication of a person in a crime are mentioned.

Late adolescence (17-21 years old). The significant events of this period are related to one's school graduation, the pursuit of the studies in another educational institution, sport achievements, and changes in one's personal life.

First maturity (21-35 years old). The key events of this period are one's graduation from a higher educational institution, work, family foundation, the birth of the children, sport competitions.

Second maturity (35-55 years old). The appraisals decrease in their intensity and the number of events reduces at this age. They coincide with the previous stage in terms of the content. Divorces are mentioned. The expectation of particular positive changes in one's family is observed in three cases. The narrowing of events' content indicates a certain stereotyping

of one's life goals, the decrease in event appraisals suggests the reduction of one's subjective wellbeing level comparing to the previous periods. However, one's subjective wellbeing remains above the average.

Age life event	Ν	Examples of proving statements (notional units)
Early age		
The absence of events	43%	"I do not remember"
Family relationships	16%	"I was invited to my dear ones", "I stayed at my granny's", "cordiality, care", "I got kicked out of my home", "my parents' divorce, my brother's death"
Preschool age		
Relationships with people around	30%	"I started attending nursery school", "I played with my friends", "I strolled and played with my brother", "good relationships with the nursery workers", "we celebrated New Year in my nursery school"
Family	13,5%	"I remember my home", 'we went to the countryside with my parents", "my parents and I traveled to the Caucasus", "my toys were a bike and a car"
Changes in health condition	16%	"I fell ill", "I had a leg operation", "I started walking", "I started speaking"
Junior school age		
School life	46%	"I came to a new school", "I entered the first grade for the deaf", "a good class teacher", "the bunch of flowers for the Knowledge Day withered", "I was mischievous at school"
Relationships with friends and classmates	11%	"my friends were good", "good relationships at school", "we were friends with Nikita"
Early adolescence		
Communication	16%	"My friends were hearing, we communicated", "I was in touch with my classmates", "good relationships with the teachers", "I met a girl"
Interest development	24%	"I started doing sports", "I took three places in checker competitions", "a dance club "Karusel", "activities at All-Russia Association of the Deaf", "I fished"
Events in the family and at school	49%	"I went on an excursion in Saint-Petersburg and Volgograd", "Zarnitsa game", "I dropped in on my relatives", "my sister was born", "I was given a dog", "I changed my school", "I was implicated in a crime", "I broke a window and fought"
Late adolescence		
Studies	11%	"I finished my school", "I left to continue my studies", "I lost touch with my classmates"
Job	8%	"I worked", "I found a job", "a job at a plywood integrated plant"
Personal life	24%	"wedding", "I met a girl", "gave birth to a child", "my granddad's gift", "I was beaten up at boxing"
Sport achievements	16%	"I do sports", "champion"
Travels	8%	"travels from city to city", "a travel to Spain" "moving to Saint-Petersburg"
Mature age 1		· - •
Job, studies	43%	"I work", "I work at the plant", "I worked in the shop", "I assisted on the farm", "I undertook law studies", "I graduated from the university"

Table 1. Events and evaluative characteristics of life trajectory in particular age periods

Continued Table 1

	-				
Family, events in personal life	7	"My son was born, my daughter was born", "my own family", "I met a girl", "I moved out from my parents" "I flew in the plane for the first time", "I broke up with my girlfriend", "my relatives died"			
Sport and other	16%	"sport career", "Russian Championship", "I will be a Paralympic			
achievements		athlete", "I won a vocal competition in Vladimir"			
Mature age 2					
Job	11%	"I joined another factory", "I started working"			
Family, events in	13,5%	"anniversary", "the children were born", "New Year with the			
personal life		children", "we bought our own home", "divorce"			
Sport achievements	5%	"sport competitions"			
Plans for future	16%	"my own home and family", "wedding", "to become a father again", "have a rest"			

The most part of the respondents from the second group – the hyposthenic one – revive relatively large number of memories about their childhood and past life – the average appraisal intensity of one's life periods is always much higher than that in the first group. The content of one's childhood memories has an apparently negative undertone; one's helplessness, developmental difficulties, passivity, and adaptation problems at early age are emphasized. Most respondents experienced hopes of a cure (of different lengths) and disappointment (expressed by one's relatives as well). This indicates that the families in question have infirmity denial reactions. The respondents use positive reinterpretation very seldom and put the accent on the opportunity of personal development and attainments through sufferings and losses. Life process is poorly reflected in the respondents' minds – they mainly focus on their past and have no clear plans of their future as it was mentioned before. Their own activity and opportunity to shape the destiny are assessed as low; passive life stance and small degree of ones' subjectivity can be observed – the respondents speak of themselves as objects that are influenced by people around.



Picture 2. The averaged life trajectory of the respondents in group 2

The analysis of the appraisal figures on different life periods of the respondents from this group show that they give a rather pessimistic appraisal of their life events. They make a low appraisal of positive life events, the highest possible figures are rare but, at the same time, negative events get the lowest appraisals as well.

Infancy and early age (0-3 years old). 41% of the respondents do not remember this age and give no appraisals of this period just as in the first group. 29% of the respondents report changes in their health condition or mental development. There are no memories about one's home and relatives in comparison with the first group (according to Fisher Criterion φ =2,7982 p<0,001). However, considerable changes in one's health condition are registered (φ =3,87, p<0,000).

Preschool (4-7 years old) and junior school age (7-11 years old). Both positive and extremely negative events are reported. The content of the events is more tragic and influences one's emotional condition and future life way in comparison with the first group (φ =5,5454, p<0,000). 47% of the respondents consider their school enrolment a significant event. Nevertheless, the second lacks the description of the relationships with one's friends and teachers (φ =3,94, p<0,000), and one's family characteristics (φ =2,5568, p<0,000) in comparison with the first one. One's achievements are accentuated (φ =2,4038 p<0,007). The changes in one's health condition are still important at junior school age (φ =4,726, p<0,000).

Early adolescence (подростковый возраст) (12-17 years old). The list of events of this period includes the respondents' interest and hobbies as in the first group. However, it is much poorer in terms of its content and has a lower appraisal (average score is 1,62 while that in the first one is 3,03). In comparison with the first group, there are almost no characteristics of one's interaction and communication (φ =2,7982 p<0,001), most attention is paid to the changes in one's health condition (φ =3,791, p<0,000) and changes in one's destiny (φ =4,30, p<0,000).

Late adolescence (юношеский возраст) (17-21 years old). This period is particularly negatively evaluated by the respondents (average score=-0,14). Many respondents experienced losses or found themselves in exquisite (situations involving a great degree of extraordinarity and threat to one's life, stability, and significant relationships) situations (one's relatives death, a quarrel with them, an illegal action, a separation from one's family). In comparison with the first group, these respondents do not consider studies (φ =2,2984, p<0,000), travels (φ =1,95, p<0,026), and sport achievements (φ =2,7982, p<0,001) as significant events; more attention is focused on one's interests (φ =2,89 p<0,000).

First maturity (21-35 years old). The appraisals of this period are the most alike between both groups of the respondents with mobility disabilities (average score is 2,08 and 2,73, respectively). The group of the respondents with hearing impairment make a higher appraisal of the period (average score is 4,9 and 2,73). The events of this period for all groups concern mostly one's achievements in different fields and positive changes in one's family and personal life. The respondents from this group most often report their sport and other achievements (φ =3,94, p<0,000).

Second maturity (35-55 years old). The tendency of the previous stage is not inherited. The appraisals of Second Maturity stage are relatively low (average score=-0,375). It should be mentioned that many respondents consider it current time or near future. The respondents also mention large number of losses, which are not balanced out by positive events. The respondents attach more importance on the events of their personal life, family (φ =2,1692, p<0,015), achievements (φ =2,771, p<0,001) in comparison with the first group. One's work is not mentioned (φ =2,2984, p<0,000), no plans for future are outlined (φ =2,7982, p<0,001).

Age life event	Ν	Examples of proving statements (notional units)			
Early age					
The absence of events	41%	"I do not remember"			
Changes in health	29%	"I learned how to walk and speak"			
conditions	2970	"an operation", "I was born"			
Preschool age					
Changes in destiny	53%	"I was adopted", "my mother was sent to prison", "I went to an orphanage", "I fell ill"			
Achievements	12%	"I learned how to read", "a victory in a contest"			
Junior school age					
School life	65%	"I started attending school", "I was not sent to school", "I got expelled from my school"			
Health condition	41%	"I suffered a trauma", "I stopped walking", "I was sent to a hospital", "operations"			
Changes in destiny,		"they gave me up, I was taken from my family", "first love",			
achievements	47%	"sport achievements", "I was taken from my residential school			
		on holidays", "a dear one died"			
Early adolescence					
Health condition	28%	"I stayed in hospital", "I started walking with crutches", "my health improved", "a disease"			
Interests	28%	"I developed and interest in guitar, poems", "I learned cooking", "I started doing sports", "I did aqua aerobics"			
Changes in destiny	35%	"I made them respect me", "I came home from my residential school", "I was sent to a residential school", "a dear one died"			
Late adolescence					
Job	12%	"I started working"			
Interests	17%	"I started doing sports", "a book lovers club"			
Events of personal life	41%	"an illegal action", "a quarrel with my father", "my mother died", "a movement to another place"			
Mature age 1					
Changes in personal life and family	82%	"I made friends for the first time (of the same sex)", "I met my half (of an opposite sex), I got married", "my nephew was born", "a dear one died"			
Job, studies	29%	"I got a job", "I am studying"			
Achievements	70%	"I represented the Organization of People with Disabilities in the EU", "I learned knitting", "the third place at the sport days, prizes"			
Mature age 2					
Changes in personal life	41%	"I met my half", "a dear one died"			
Achievements	35%	"I went to a sanatorium", "I got a computer", "Master of Sports", "I was sent to a residential school"			

Table 2. Events and evaluative characteristics of life trajectory in particular age periods

As the table shows, the respondents experience dramatic life events almost in all age periods but their variability is lower than that in the first group.

Conclusions

The tendencies we identified at this stage of the study suggest the existence of two opposite variants of adults' with disabilities life trajectories. The first one with a code name "hypersthenic" has high levels of vital forces and psychological manifestations as well as

demonstrates positive reappraisal of one's life. The second variant with a trajectory of the "hyposthenic" type has a pessimistic attitude to both one's past and present, poor life eventfulness, and prevalence of the event with extremely negative appraisal. The obtained results need closer examination as well they will be supplemented and specified at next stages of the study.

The challenges we faced while studying disabled persons' life trajectories in principle are worth mentioning – the psychology of disabled adults is extremely poorly developed at both theoretical (the conceptual apparatus is underdeveloped, the absence of integrated (целостные) concepts for disabled persons' way of life) and methodological levels (a deficiency of methodological tools that are adapted to the respondents' in question abilities to perceive and analyze information).

References

- Alifanovienė, D., Šapelytė, O., & Bėčiūtė, N. (2016). Analysis of the opportunities of social inclusion of children from families at social risk in communities. *Social Welfare Interdisciplinary Approach*, 6 (1), 8-17.
- Ananev, G. (2001). *Chelovek kak predmet poznaniya [Human as an object of cognizing]*. St Petersburg: Piter
- Berntsen, D., & Rubin, C. (2004). Cultural life scripts structure recall from autobiographical memory. *Memory and Cognition*, 32 (3), 427-443.
- Bochaver, A., Zhilinskaya, A., & Hlomov, K. (2016). Perspektivy sovremennykh podrostkov v kontekste zhiznennoy trayektorii [Prospects of today's adolescents in the context of life trajectory]. Современная зарубежная психология [Modern foreign psychology], 5(1), 31-38.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). La Distinction Critique sociale du jugement. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P. (2002). Biograficheskaya illyuziya [Biographical illusion]. INTER, 1(1), 75-81.
- Cherednichenko, G. (2015). Obrazovaniye i professional'nyye trayektorii rabochey molodezhi [Education and professional trajectories of working youth]. Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya [Sociological research], 2, 101.
- Dobrenkov, V., & Kravchenko, A. (2003). Sotsiologiya: slovar' po knige [Sociology: dictionary of the book]. Retrieved from: https://nashol.com/2012062865863/sociologiya-dobrenkov-v-i-kravchenko-a-i-2001.html
- Dyimarskaya, O., Bazina, O., Kolesnikova, E., & Novikova, E. (2012). Metodologicheskiye aspekty izucheniya zhiznennykh trayektoriy odarennykh detey [Methodological aspects of studying life trajectories of gifted children]. In *Materialy VI nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii "Sovremennaya sotsiologiya sovremennaya Rossiya" [Materials of the VI scientific-practical conference "Modern sociology modern Russia"]* (pp. 336-346). Moscow, NRU HSE.
- Golovey, L., & Danilova, Y. (2017). Sootnosheniye zhiznennykh sobytiy, uverennosti v sebe i udovletvorennosti zhizn'yu sredi podrostkov v raznykh situatsiyakh razvitiya [The ratio of life events, self-confidence and life satisfaction in adolescents in different situations of development]. *Peterburgskiy psikhologicheskiy zhurnal [Petersburg psychological journal], 20,* 15-42.
- Horunzhiy, S. (2016). Zhiznenaja trayektoriya zhizni kak kontseptsiya i problema: podkhod sinergeticheskoy antropologii [Life trajectory as a concept and problem: the approach of synergistic anthropology]. In *Materialy antropologicheskogo seminara Instituta obrazovaniya HIU BShE [Materials of Anthropological seminar of the Institute of education. NRU HSE]*. Retrieved from: http://synergia-isa.org/sites/default/files/horuzhy_traektorii.pdf
- Kapustina, A., & Pushkova, E. (2017). Narativnyj podkhod v izucheniji znachimykh zhiznennykh situatsiy i smyslozhiznennykh oriyentatsiy lichnosti [Narrative approach in the study of significant life situations and life orientations of the individual]. *Peterburgskiy psikhologicheskiy zhurnal* [Petersburg psychological journal], 320, 89-123.
- Khazova, S., Tikhonova, I., & Adeeva, T. (2017). Zhiznennyje trayektorii vzroslykh lits s ogranichennymi vozmozhnostyami zdarov'yje: teoriya i praktika issledovaniy [Life Trajectories of Adults

with Disabilities: Theory and Research Practice]. *Peterburgskiy psikhologicheskiy zhurnal* [*Petersburg psychological journal*], 21, 25-44.

- Kuprieieva, O. (2015). Psychological characteristics of self-realization of students with disabilities. Social Welfare Interdisciplinary Approach, 5 (2), 64-74.
- Kurakin, D. (2017). Траектория, форма жизни и единство жизненного пути: к уточнению понятия траектории в поведенческих науках [Trajectory, form of life and unity of life path: to clarify the concept of trajectory in the behavioral sciences]. Retrieved from: https://www.hse.ru/ data/2015/04/01/1096719190
- Loginova, N. (1978). *Развитие личности и ее жизненный путь [Personal development and life path]*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Novak, Y. (2003). Жизненные траектории бывших активистов молодежных организаций в условиях смены элит и коренных перемен: автореф. дис. канд. психол. наук [Life trajectories of former youth organization activists in terms of the change of elites and radical change: Cand. Sci. (Psychol.)]. Retrieved from: https:// www.dissercat.com/
- Rubinshteyn, S. (2002). Основы общей психологии [Fundamentals of General Psychology]. St Petersburg: Piter.
- Saitgalieva, G., & Matveeva, L. (2016). Формирование социальной среды для реализации жизненной траектории людей с инвалидностью в современном обществе [Formation of social environment for the implementation of the life trajectory of people with disabilities in modern society]. Здоровье и образование в XXI веке [Health and education in the twenty-first century], 3 (18), 140-143.
- Tikhonova, I., & Adeeva, T. (2017). Исследование жизненных траекторий лиц с ограниченными возможностями здоровья: методологический дискурс и типология [Study of life trajectories of persons with disabilities: methodological discourse and typology]. Вестник КГУ. Серия: Педагогика. Психология. Социокинетика [Vestnik of Kostroma State University. Series: Pedagogy. Psychology. Sociokinetics], 3 (23), 210-217.
- Vasilenko, T. (2016). Практикум по психологии жизненных ситуаций [Workshop on the psychology of life situations]. St Petersburg: OOO "Firma "Stiks".
- Yarskaya-Smirnova, E. (2002) Социальные изменения и мобилизация ресурсов: жизненные истории российских инвалидов [Social changes and resource mobilization: life stories of Russian disabled people]. *INTER*, 1(1), 39-50.
- Zmievskaya, A., & Kuryisheva, O. (2015). Временные аспекты дестандартизации жизненного пути личности в семейной сфере [Temporary aspects of violation of the standard of living of the individual in the family sphere]. Вестник КГУ им. Н.А. Некрасова. Серия: Педагогика. Психология. Социокинетика [Vestnik of Kostroma State University N. Nekrasov. Series: Pedagogy. Psychology. Sociokinetics], 21 (4), 81-85.

THE TYPOLOGY OF LIFE TRAJECTORIES AMONG PERSONS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENT AND MOBILITY DISABILITIES

Summary

Svetlana Khazova, Tatiana Adeeva, Inna Tikhonova, Natalia Shipova, Kostroma State University, Kostroma, Russia

This article provides the analysis of sociological and psychological approaches to the perception of the "life trajectory" phenomenon, the specificity of life trajectories of persons with disabilities is presented.

Object of the research: life trajectories of adults with hearing impairment and mobility disabilities.

Aim of the research: to study the peculiarities (typology) of life trajectories among adults with hearing impairment and mobility disabilities.

The method used in our work combines a clinical-psychological interview with a collection of one's histories and enables to obtain information on both objective facts about the respondents' life and subjective interpretation of the life events, their appraisals, and a role the events play in the life trajectory's formation. The results are presented in graphics.

The sample was divided into two groups at this stage where the variants of one's life trajectories in one group diverge considerably from those in another one.

These variants are code-named the hypersthenic and hyposthenic ones. The respondents' life lines in the first group characterized by substantial amount of positively appraised events. However, each age stage has negative, tragic events though positive life events prevail. The specifics of the event appraisal lie in the predominance of highly positive appraisal. Interestingly, the average event appraisal in this group is higher than that in the second one as the respondents grow older (at each subsequent life stage). The divergences at the level of average assessments is distinctly pronounced at the stage of young and middle ages as well as in the assessment of one's future. Many positive events are associated with sports, participation and medal places in competitions of different levels, and personal life.

The most part of the respondents from the second group – the hyposthenic one – revive a relatively large number of memories about their childhood and past life – the average appraisal intensity of one's life periods is always much higher than that in the first group. The content of one's childhood memories has an apparently negative undertone; one's helplessness, developmental difficulties, passivity, and adaptation problems at early age are emphasized. The respondents use positive reinterpretation very seldom and put the accent on the opportunity of personal development and attainments through sufferings and losses. Their own activity and opportunity to shape the destiny are assessed as low; passive life stance and small degree of ones' subjectivity can be observed – the respondents speak of themselves as objects that are influenced by people around.

The challenges we faced while studying disabled persons' life trajectories in principle are worth mentioning – the psychology of disabled adults is extremely poorly developed at both theoretical (the conceptual apparatus is underdeveloped, the absence of integrated concepts for disabled persons' way of life) and methodological levels (a deficiency of methodological tools that are adapted to the respondents' in question abilities to perceive and analyze information).

Corresponding author's email: hazova_svetlana@mail.ru