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CONSULTATION OF A PSYCHOLOGIST: THE SPECIFICS OF THERAPEUTIC DISCOURSE AND ITS PERCEPTION

This article examines a unique perspective on therapeutic discourse in the situation of psychological counseling and its perception by the client. The author, in the dual role of client and discourse analyst, uses autoethnographic notes as a foundation for analyzing the specificity of therapeutic discourse in the dynamics of the 'psychologist-client' interaction. The main focus of the article is to identify characteristic features and methods used in counseling practice. Such features include redefining the client's problem that takes place during the consultation, focusing communication on the topics of parent-child relations at the psychologist's initiative, as well as 'maintaining personal boundaries' as a component of the ideology of the therapeutic discourse encountered in the counseling session. To clarify the specifics of the counseling situation, the article presents an attempt to compare counseling and friendly relations as alternatives. In addition, interdiscursive manifestations were found in the recommendations of the psychologist, which referred to the field of bodily practices and osteopathy. The autoethnographic observation made it possible to fix the perceived 'gaps' of the therapy discourse in the field of politics, when the actualization of political events in the client's life was the reason for the termination of the consultations. The author's approach in the form of diary notes allows for an examination of the counseling process both from the client's perspective and through the lens of analytical research. The text of the article presents analytical conclusions, as well as illustrative fragments of diary notes made by the author based on his own empirical experience as a client in a counseling situation.

Keywords: therapeutic discourse, counseling practice, ideology, autoethnography, interdiscursivity

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In the area of 'therapeutics,' there is a noticeable shift in research focus towards psychological counseling practices. These practices are becoming more widespread and actively integrated into the daily lives of many people. This wide adoption of these practices is driven by a therapeutic discourse that reproduces the 'psychologist-client' narrative in many areas of everyday life. Based on the principles of discourse-analytic theories, which assert that the individual's understanding of the world and identity can be shaped by discourses, it can be argued that therapeutic discourse forms and reproduces a specific ideology. This ideology focuses on the state of the individual 'Self' and emphasizes personal emotions and the mechanisms for their regulation (Barile 2015). Researchers have observed that this discourse, characterized by the application of therapeutic concepts and the language of therapeutic counseling, plays a key role in shaping cultural and social processes in an era of globalization and individualism (Aronson 2021; Barile 2015). Furthermore, therapeutic discourse is closely linked to the values of consumer society and a phenomenon known as 'emotional capitalism' (Illouz 2007; Lerner 2011). Psychological knowledge is actively integrated into the structures of capitalist institutions and exerts a significant influence on social structures and value orientations (Hodus 2015: 68). The discourse of therapy is in line with the logic of emotional capitalism, which implies that the process of modern consumption is primarily focused on the search for pleasure and emotional well-being. At the same time, therapeutic discourse works to nurture an individual Self that asks: what good can I do for myself now and what can I get for myself in this life? (Zhemchugova, Chudova 2023)

Critical discourse analysts argue that therapeutic discourse represents a modern trend of a disciplinary society, described by Foucault as structured around principles of control and normativity. The proliferation of therapeutic discourse leads to changes in approaches to achieving discipline. Rather than relying on external mechanisms of control and punishment, contemporary society increasingly places the responsibility for discipline on the individual (Fairclough 1989: 226). Therapeutic discourse thus has an impact on various aspects of modern life. It influences not only the ways in which individuals deal with personal and emotional issues, but also encompasses broader cultural and social processes. These include the attitudes to one's own emotions, the pursuit of happiness, and the recognition of personal vulnerability (Hodus 2015; Furedi 2004). Therapeutic discourse is disseminated in the media space in a variety of ways. In contemporary culture, there is a tendency for the media to become the main source and platform for the dissemination of therapeutic discourse and the concept of the 'therapeutic Self' (Woodstock 2009). The media not only reproduce the existing therapeutic discourse but also actively participate in its popularization and the creation of accessible interpretations. In particular, we can observe the expansion of the self-help, relationship, and self-development industries. Popular bloggers and pop psychologists attract the attention of the masses, gathering audiences of thousands of readers and viewers, and even filling entire stadiums (Aronson 2022: 6).

In our opinion, the practice of counseling, i.e. the direct interaction between a psychologist and a client, holds special significance, as it serves as the originating and generative situation for the corresponding discourse. This is important in terms of the gradual integration of psychotherapy into the worldview and behavior patterns of both individuals and groups. Analyzing the processes of counseling and how they are perceived can significantly enrich our understanding of the processes of implementation, embodiment, displacement, and distortion of discourse in practice. Autoethnographic material in the study of discourse and therapy practices

The research objective of this text is to analyze current face-to-face counseling practices in the context of 'psychologist-client' interaction from the perspective of the recipient – the person being counseled. The aim of the study is to identify specific characteristics of therapeutic discourse in the context of the consultation. In order to explore this topic, diary notes were used by the author of the article, who underwent face-to-face psychological consultations with three professionals – two psychologists and a psychiatrist – between January and March 2022. The research material consisted of small text notes and impressions made by the author after each consultation. A total of 28 such notes were collected. They were systematized according to content, which allowed the author to formulate characteristics of the therapeutic discourse typical for the consultation situation, which are described below in the article.

In this work, the autoethnographic method was used to delve deeply into the topic from a unique internal perspective, which allows analysis not through the objective lens of an observer of practices, but through a detailed self-analysis of one's own feelings, emotions, and experiences (Rogozin 2015:227). In the research, psychological counseling is seen as an important social experience that reveals new facets of interaction between the individual, who subjectively perceives the world (Adams et al. 2017: 1). Autoethnographic data allows readers to immerse themselves in the author's life world and experience it from an insider's perspective (Ibid: 3). Based on these data, the work emphasizes the importance of reflecting subjective experience in order to create an understanding of events at an intersubjective level. According to researchers, autoethnography is an effective means of achieving this goal, providing an in-depth understanding of personal and social processes (Ellis et al. 2011). Diary entries provide a subjective account of the client's personal beliefs and impressions from counseling sessions with a psychologist. One of the main advantages of the diary method is not only the deep personalization of the content, but also its concise form of presentation. The material recorded in the diaries in the form of short notes serves as a concentrated subjective extract, representing fragmentary stories that can be used to form conceptual descriptions (Rogozin 2015:250)¹.

¹ Further in the text, excerpts from the diary are presented in italics, with the date of entry indicated. Each excerpt is used for theoretical interpretation.

Autoethnographic notes provide an opportunity for generalization and hypothesis formation in the context of cultural studies. The diary author is considered an active and reflective participant in a cultural event (Adams et al. 2017), or, as in this case, a participant in the practice of counseling and therapeutic discourse. Autoethnographers aim to use personal experience to demonstrate cultural aspects, making cultural features accessible and understandable to both those within the culture and to external observers (Ellis et al. 2011). Such a dual role of the author, as both a recipient and an analyst of culture, resonates with the concept of the ambivalent position of a humanities researcher. The importance of textual notes lies in their ability to reflect this duality of the author's position and to serve as a kind of bridge between the worlds of everyday and scholarly perception, between the positions of client and analyst.

This article presents excerpts from the diary of the author, act in the role of a client¹. It should be noted that the interpretive theses presented are of a preliminary nature and require further deepening and clarification. The method of autoethnography in the proposed format allows us to make only preliminary judgments about the situation under study, since it is inevitably limited by the subjectivity of the perceiving client-the author-researcher, in particular, by the subjectivity of the selection of aspects of the situation. The possibility of a more comprehensive future study suggests the use of triangulation methods, including in-depth interviews and conversation analysis. Such an approach will allow for the combination of perspectives from cultural anthropology and discourse analysis to enrich and refine the results obtained.

Engaging the client in discourse: redefining the problem

The discourse study is primarily concerned with analyzing which nominations and word forms are used to denote a specific event, such as 'counseling,' 'therapy,' and 'help.' Furthermore, the research explores which discursive contents are actualized by the practicing psychologist and their client both within and beyond the context of this event. In our case, psychologists conducting consultations actively used the phrase 'solving the problem,' which was the focus of the client.

The author's initial report as a client was prompted by a significant decline in her son's academic performance at middle school. However, despite the client's original formulation of the reason for seeking help, the discussion during the consultations shifted in all cases to the relationship with her son, which appeared to the psychologists to be significantly more important and 'real' than the academic difficulties. This shift in focus was associated with a reevaluation of the

¹ The specificity of this method also consists in solving the ethical question of how and when to inform the participants of the situation about the study. In this study, informing the participants as well as the decision to analyze the diary notes happened post factum.

importance of academic performance in general as less significant. Such redefinition of the problem occurs in therapeutic discourse (Fairclough 1989: 225).

It should be emphasized that the observed redefinition of the problem was implicit. . The interaction with the psychologists was characterized by the dominance of the client's narrative, which was formed in response to the psychologist's motivational questions: *'Tell me how you see the situation? What concerns you? What are the difficulties?'* As a result, each consultation left the client with the impression of wanting to receive a more detailed counter-interpretation of what had been said by the psychologist. Professional interpretations tended to be woven into the formulation of questions or presented in a condensed form, as veiled recommendations, such as *'listen,' 'build bridges of trust,' 'gradually transfer responsibility.'* Overall, it was like this: *'I wanted to hear more interpretations than talk about myself'* (01.02).

Contrary to the client's initial expectations, the method of presenting the therapeutic discourse was not dogmatic or axiomatic. Instead, it was introduced as one of the possible versions, which ultimately contributed to strengthening trust in the discourse and increasing the sense of discourse's authenticity¹. In my diary, I noted that the psychologist's style was characterized by a certain caution in her statements: *'However, her [the psychologist's] style is such that all these are caveats, that it's "not quite the truth," "but, perhaps" "it's not 100%"'* (17.01).

Suspicion and resistance of the client: the respect for personal boundaries as an ideological statement

The author, as a sociologist and researcher, was discursively suspicious. This manifested itself in special attention to the characteristic features of psychotherapeutic discourse and discursive resistance, including a critical attitude towards the psychologist's statements. It was particularly interesting to capture the degree and forms of paraphrasing by the psychologist (Fairclough 1989). It should be noted that reflecting on the discourse and analyzing what was happening was not the original purpose of the client visit, but it became a kind of 'side effect,' reflecting the professional reaction of the author as a discourse researcher.

Discourse analysis is based on the assumption that fixed linguistic patterns indicate a hidden ideology embedded in the discourse (Mathison 2017: 18). In this context, ideology is understood as a set of ideas and a way of understanding the world, which is expressed in a specific vocabulary and phraseological complex that form the components of a particular discourse. The goal of discourse analysis is to reveal the ideological impact and power of discourse in various contexts, as the exercise of power in modern society is increasingly achieved through ideology, particularly through the ideological functions of language (Fairclough 1989: 2). Reflecting on this, I noted instances where my discomfort

¹ Trust in a non-dogmatic presentation of discourse may be linked to the author's academic education.

with certain terminology was significant: *'I try to express what I dislike – particularly, the word "control", including the phrase "parental control." But she still used it'* (21.02). This made me think, *'Which one of us is leading the conversation?'* (14.02). It is likely that this discomfort can be interpreted as resistance to being described in terms of the ideology of therapeutic discourse internalized, through research (and/or personal?) suspicion of any ideology.

Researchers, characterizing the content of the ideology of therapeutic discourse, highlight in particular a specific form of compulsive therapy, which is presented as assistance, focusing on the client's need to achieve a state of inner well-being and happiness. Such an approach integrates the therapeutic discourse into the context of a consumer society, where individuals are expected to experience pleasure and focus on themselves (Hodus 2015). As Olga Simonova points out, therapeutic discourse is aligned with the emotional imperatives¹ of modernity, which include a combination of 'agitation, the desire to rationally manage emotions, individual guilt, self-condemnation for failures' (Simonova 2021: 35).

'Cut about personal boundaries' (21.02). In the context of therapeutic discourse, the concept of 'personal boundaries' has been perceived as a key marker of the ideology, in which the achievement of emotional comfort is attained, inter alia, through the isolation of 'the Self' in the client's perception and behavior. Counseling thus becomes a practice in which the interpretation of relationships with others is framed in terms of *'building and maintaining personal boundaries.'* The client's discursive resistance during the consultation manifested itself in her doubts, as recorded in the diary. *'From her side, it was exactly what could and should be expected – about boundaries and transfers (it's annoying)'* (7.02). Open resistance in the form of polemics during the consultation would probably have entailed problematizing the clichés and concepts used by the psychologist, as well as the current ideology of therapeutic discourse, which would have gone beyond the usual scope of counseling practice.

The imperceptibility of ideology and the re-description of the situation in terms of therapeutic discourse

The content of the ideology of therapeutic discourse, perceived as an integral worldview, is manifested in texts oriented towards counseling practices. Rillaer (2010: 66) describes how, ideally, training in therapy is usually aimed at improving a person's ability to manage themselves, emphasizing that it is ultimately the patient who decides what goals they want to achieve and how involved they will be in the learning process. Such statements incorporate a leitmotif of self-manage-

¹ Emotional imperatives imply the presence of specific norms and requirements that dictate unconditional prescriptions regarding which emotions should be experienced, and in what socio-cultural context (or specific situation) (Simonova 2021: 28). From this perspective, therapeutic discourse can be interpreted as a means of justifying and promoting such prescriptions.

ment and, at the same time, confer a hidden character to the ideology, denying its explicit existence and declaring compliance with the client's intentions.

The therapeutic discourse that dominates the consultations, as described by Foucault (2004: 98), is a process in which it delineates its domain, defines its topics, and confers the status of an object on its subjects of discussion, i.e., it identifies and names certain aspects, and also describes them. My experience attending consultations reveals that ideology also manifests itself through characteristic phrases and the recommendations they contain. For example, in the context of discussing '*relationships*' with my son, there was an emphasis on '*setting boundaries*,' '*showing him emotions*,' '*manipulating feelings*,' and so on.

It is important to note that the practice of counseling generally focuses on the therapeutic 'Self' in the psychologist's discourse. This is particularly evident in questions about feelings, echoed in the recommendation to express one's emotions verbally, for example, '*I'm very upset*,' '*I'm angry*,' '*I feel good when...*' and so on. This approach is considered a necessary technique for '*managing relationships*!' At the same time, the counseling leaves an impression of a nonviolent approach, offering the client a perspective of choice for their '*autonomous Self*' and emphasizing the importance of personal experience, which contributes to a sense of emancipation: '*I liked that [the psychologist] offered options in the conversation – they say there are two possible outcomes*' (24.01).

Centralization of the idea of 'parent-child relations'

During the consultations, the psychologist demonstrated a clear focus on parent-child relationships. This focus was partly due to the client's corresponding approach and partly, it seems, to the internal orientation of the therapeutic ideology on this topic. As the client's experience showed, '*managing relationships*' focused primarily on the child, who expected and sometimes demanded care. In this situation, both the client's child and the client's '*child Self*' acted in the role of a child. '*I had suspicion of child-centrism – the psychologist and psychiatrist always spoke from the perspective of what the child needed. It was about the image of a "cool enough" parent you could become...*' (21.02). '*All the time – children, children. Is there anything global?*' (01.02). In addition to problematizing the necessity of care in the '*cool enough*' parent mode, the psychologist also turned in the interview to the client's childhood and his '*relationship*' with his own parents. He suggested describing and '*discussing*' these relationships. Aronson (2021: 56) describes this model in which trauma plays a key role, akin to the concept of original sin in personal history. It is presented as inevitable; every individual is marked by it, and the main purpose of life is to continually and progressively overcome it.

The ideology of therapeutic discourse is thus revealed in the context of the 'parent-child' family axis, which encompasses mutual expectations, dependency, and autonomy. E. Illouz (2007) emphasizes that therapeutic discourse is

established through the description of family relationships, while at the same time being a narrative of self-identification and selfhood. This is evident in the recurrent thought expressed by the psychologist: *'The thought is a leitmotif of the psychologist: you had to take on a lot in childhood, you were not allowed to be a child'* (14.02).

Psychological counseling vs. friendship practices

The autonomy of the Self, which is at the heart of the therapeutic discourse ideology, generates an interesting effect in understanding the similarities and differences between psychological counseling practices and friendship relationships. The author's reflection on the differences between these types of interaction was prompted by the counseling sessions. In particular, I recorded in my diary the observation that after the consultations, there was a decreased inclination towards familial and friendly communication: *'Interestingly, I find myself wanting to talk to my mother less, as if there had been a sudden freezing and distancing'* (17.01)¹.

The comparison of counseling and friendship practices can be analyzed not only at the subjective level, but also through statements made in therapeutic discourse. As noted by Zh. Rillaer (2010: 68), a therapist is not a guru. His role can be compared to that of a teacher who respects their student and is concerned that the student becomes independent as soon as possible. These therapeutic relationships are not based on obedience or love but aim to create a working, pleasant, and calm atmosphere. It can be assumed that the emphasis on the autonomous *'Self'* moves from discourse to practice, with the psychologist manifesting this autonomous *'Self'* in the counseling *'relationship'*. In this regard, the ideology of therapeutic discourse is embodied in the practice of counseling. I have noted the specifics of the relationship with the therapist in my diary: *'Unlike friendship, here there is no right to an afterword (without fear that you are trespassing). The irony is that they talk about personal boundaries, while actualizing them in life!'* (14.02). Also *'With a friend, the boundaries are imaginary, with a psychologist they are real'* (17.01). The counseling, perceived as different from a friendly relationship, evoked ambivalent feelings. On the one hand, the client's openness to the psychologist led to a sense of loneliness as a negative aspect of autonomy: *'...loneliness. I caught it – that there is a limit within formal time and that it is a service. I felt the service of this conversation...'* (24.01). On the other hand, the experience brought some

¹ In the context of the situation, it can be assumed that the alternative between visiting a therapist and friendly relations manifests itself as follows: time and effort that could be spent on some collective practices, on communication with family or friends, are devoted to consulting a psychologist and to therapeutic work on the Self.

self-confidence: *'Overall effect – I eventually calmed down, I gained a bit more confidence in myself. Warm tranquility – a single drop'* (3.03).

As Hodus (2015: 68) notes, the psychologization of emotional life manifests itself in the rationalization and objectification of personal life. The psychologist aims to help the client build healthy relationships, in contrast to friends or relatives who may act spontaneously and informally, especially in relation to 'personal boundaries.' Thus, in this case, the practice of counseling is discursively opposed to meetings with friends or relatives, although it is designed to diagnose and conceptualize these very relationships.

Interdiscursivity during consultation

It is significant that psychological counseling does not appear to be discursively homogeneous; fragments of other discourses, in addition to the therapeutic, were present in the recommendations of the psychologist. Initially, it seemed important to consider that the therapeutic discourse permeates a polydiscursive cultural space, saturated with its own history, which is likely to transform discursive interventions for its own purposes. Thus, it is noted that the practice of psychological counseling contains parallels with religious confession (acting in a way as its discursive continuation) (Barile 2015). Moreover, there are instances of discursive fusion between Orthodoxy and psychology in the Russian cultural context (Popovkin, Popovkina 2019). Our hypothesis was that the penetration of therapeutic discourse into Russian reality is fragmentary, and that counseling practices incorporate elements and forms of adjacent and competing discourses and practices, not only religious but also esoteric in nature. Similar conclusions are presented, in particular, in the research by I. Karas et al. (2020). The very term 'parapsychologist' is expressive, as are the practices offered in parapsychologists' consultations, which include fortune-telling, meditation, and the use of astrology and numerology. The critical assessment of discursive heterogeneity points to the blurring of the therapeutic content in discourses (Lerner 2011). According to the author's experience, such heterogeneity appears quite fragmentary. For example, the psychologist gave recommendations to *'work with the body as well,'* thereby *'making time for yourself.'* In this context, the inclusion of the healers' discourse corresponded to the ideology of the therapeutic discourse, focused on the ideas of Self-care, and rather complemented it: *'The psychologist on her own initiative gave me the coordinates of the osteopaths, as if they were related to psychologists'* (24.01).

At the current stage of research into the counseling experience, it is hypothesized that discursive heterogeneity in counseling practices increases either as a result of a crisis or as a symptom of significant cultural transformations. According to the principles of discourse analysis, the established patterns of discourse become particularly susceptible to transformation when they incorporate elements from other discourses and genres (Phillips, Jorgensen 2008: 126).

Gaps in the therapeutic discourse in the thematization of the political

Researchers often describe the discourse of therapy as consistent with the neoliberal ideology of Self-autonomy (Lerner 2011). However, the political upheavals of 2022 revealed potential gaps in this discourse, particularly in terms of addressing political issues. As a result of these events, the client's attention shifted from parenting issues to experiences in the political sphere. Initially, the client experienced confusion and reluctance to discuss current experiences with the psychologist. The topic of political upheaval seemed inappropriate for discussion in the context of psychotherapeutic discourse, leading to the termination of the consultation at the client's initiative. The client's state of shock and his perception of the incommensurability of the problem of family relations and the unfolding catastrophe can be identified as a subjectively significant reason for terminating the counseling. It can also be assumed also that in the therapeutic discourse, experiences of any kind are recorded in terms that are universal for this discourse, such as 'stress,' 'resource,' 'trauma,' and are oriented towards the self-preservation of the sacral character and hero of the ideology of the therapeutic discourse, namely the Self. In the case observed, the counseling session was terminated by the client. This unwillingness to discuss what is happening with a psychologist can probably be seen as a first reaction to a sudden shock. However, referring to the conclusions of a related research topic, we can assume that the current therapeutic discourse in its Russian version is conceptually opposed to the socio-political discourse. In the therapeutic discourse, the Self becomes the central focus, whereas 'the processes and events of the external world are in this case presented and understood as secondary, background ... the result of "work on the Self" does not become some new knowledge, discussion, or some kind of activity of the subject, the "positive" result is considered to be calmness, inner comfort, non-action' (Zhemchugova, Chudova 2023: 29). Thus, this interruption of consultations can be interpreted as an attempt to step outside the boundaries of therapeutic discourse and its ideology, which had subjectively lost its significance in the light of 'inexpressible' upheavals that could not be adequately described using the terms of therapeutic discourse. However, such reaction from the client could also be explained by the specifics of the cultural context and the place of therapeutic discourse within the Russian realities of the specified period.

Conclusion

The reflections on participation in consultation practices presented in this article highlight key aspects of the therapeutic discourse in counseling practice. One such aspect is the redefinition of the client's problem, notably the shift in focus from academic performance to relationships. The analysis demonstrated how therapeutic discourse and its methods are applied in counseling to reinterpret

the initially presented problem. In this case, the problem of a child's declining academic performance was reinterpreted in the context of the parent-child relationship, which became the key aspect of discussion during the consultations.

Furthermore, during the consultations, there was a focus on rationalization and self-isolation in relationships with other people. This emphasis was conceptualized through the term '*personal boundaries*,' which was actively used in psychological counseling. The focus on this term led the author to reflect on the difference and contrast between psychological consultations and relationships with friends. The recording of impressions helped to identify the contrast between the spontaneity of friendly communication and the rationality of counseling. Personal boundaries, which form the basis of relationship management in therapeutic discourse (and the corresponding ideology), find their practical implementation in consultations with a psychologist.

Another important aspect is the re-description of the situation in terms of the therapeutic discourse. The ideology of the therapeutic discourse manifests itself in the counseling process when the psychologist uses terms and phrases characteristic of this discourse. The transformation of the client's experience into a therapeutic description was observed, particularly in the psychologist's recommendation for active emotional expression as a method of managing relationships.

In addition to the aspects previously mentioned, the analysis of consultation practices revealed the interdiscursivity of the psychologist's recommendations. The collection of autoethnographic material made it possible to identify references to practices that extend beyond traditional psychology and therapeutic discourse, particularly the visit to an osteopath. Furthermore, the therapeutic discourse was perceived by the client as incapable of adequately thematizing the political, which served as a basis for discontinuing the consultations. Political upheavals led to a shift in the client's focus and gave new relevance to topics that were reflected in the therapeutic discourse, which was primarily focused on personal relationships.

The autoethnographic materials used in this study reveal the world of experience of the author, who simultaneously acts as a client, sociologist, and discourse analyst. The diary entries, which focus on the events experienced, demonstrate the significance of emotions in the process of forming scientific hypotheses (Adams et al. 2017; Rogozin 2015). The conclusions drawn from the autoethnographic materials used are preliminary. However, it should be noted that the use of the autoethnographic approach adds novelty to this research, allowing for an in-depth examination of the counseling situation '*from the inside*,' revealing features that reflect the author's personal feelings and thoughts about what it means to be a client of a psychologist.

Each of the identified features of therapeutic discourse in the context of counseling can serve as a hypothesis for further research. A more in-depth analysis of counseling practices, based on an expanded information base, is expected to provide more comprehensive descriptions and analyses of discursive effects in

the context of counseling. A possible focus for researchers might be to study how the discursive therapeutic 'turn' manifests itself at the micro-level of a specific event, or what nuances, tactics, incidents, and modifications of discourse and therapeutic practices might be characteristic of a particular cultural context.

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