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THE METHODS OF NEGATIVE EMOTIONS MANAGING BASED ON THE TEACHERS' CONTROL GROUP RESEARCH

ABSTRACT

In our article we will try to answer the following questions: how do the teachers in the pedagogical centres and the primary schools cope with the negative emotions? What kind of techniques and strategies do the teachers use to manage their emotions in difficult situations? The theoretical background constitutes Arlie Hochschild's theory and conception of Theodore D. Kemper. We consider whether teachers' demonstration of emotions during their work (teaching process) is a method to achieve a fixed goal or rather a random behavior and whether an emotional expression is some instrumental operation or an accidental one? Can emotional work be considered by teachers? Do people who embody in the teacher's role simultaneously accept the rules of behavior, including emotional behavior? Finally, whether the emotions revealed in the teachers' work are the result of possessed power and status? As the result of conducted research, teachers employed in educational institutions revealed negative emotions more rarely towards educational reforms than the teachers working in the public schools. The basis of this regularity stems from the fact that employed staff fulfill firstly the pedagogical and later educational function in the Reformatory and Youth Detention Centres. In public institutions such as primary schools the situation is opposite. Generally, we conclude that the longer the occupational experience of the teacher, the better strategy to deal with negative emotions. Young teachers used to rely on their older colleagues experience and reflections or use a trial-and-error-method to cope with the negative emotions at work.

Key words:

negative emotions, emotions management, emotional work, teachers, reformatories, schools

1. Introduction

In our article we will try to answer the questions of how do the teachers in the pedagogical centres and the primary schools cope with negative emotions and what kind of techniques and strategies are used by the teachers to manage their emotions in difficult situations.

We learn to express our emotions in the process of socialization in the same way as the cultural models (the system of values, convictions, language, symbols), internalised by the personality system and additionally subordinated to the social control mechanisms (the means which cause the reduction of tension and aberration – institutionalization, interpersonal sanctions and gestures, ritual activities, sections of the system entitled to the use of power and pressure).

The theory of Arlie Hochschild, which points to the constituent of our feelings supervision in the contemporary work place, constitutes the theoretical basis of the article. The conception of Theodore D. Kemper, which assumes that emotions are built on the basis of social relations also determines the theoretical basis of the article. Describing these relations, Kemper restricts them to two dimensions: "power" and "status", and regards them as optimal ones by which any kind of interpersonal relations can be described and characterized.

Taking into account the above distinction, we will do our best to present the negative emotions associated with the behavior of teachers who work at the Reformatories, the Youth Detention Centres, the primary schools and the secondary schools.

Negative emotions such as anger (irritation, rage), sadness (sorrow, depression), fear (anxiety, terror), repulsion, shame and a sense of guilt will be analysed. We consider whether teachers' demonstration of emotions during their work (teaching process) is a method to achieve a fixed goal or rather a random behavior and whether an emotional expression is some instrumental operation or an accidental one? Can emotional work be considered in terms of the teachers? Do people who embody in the teacher's role simultaneously accept the rules of behavior, including emotional behavior? Finally, whether the emotions revealed in the teachers' work are the result of possessed power and possessed status?

We realize that our research range is limited. The considerations included in the article are the result of multiple quasi-participated observations directed by the authors in four reformatories and youth detention centers of the half-open type, including 2 reformatories for boys and 2 for girls (20 quasi-participated observations were conducted and 25 in-depth interviews with the staff in reformatories were conducted up to now) and also in 1 special school and in 2 primary public schools located in the Łódź voivodeship (21 quasi-participated observations and 12 unconstrained insufficiently structuralized interviews with teachers students and' parents were conducted, but the parents of special school students were ruled out from the interview)¹.

We would like to add that in terms of reformatories, there were 2 institutions in every examined establishment, the reformatory and the youth detention center. Taking no notice of organizational issues, it is worth mentioning that a reformatory can be compared to a penitentiary for adults while a youth detention center can be compared to investigation custody. The pupils stand the punishment after the court sentence is legalized while the convicted ones in the youth center for juvenile await trial and court sentence in a similar way as the convicted in custody. Both reformatory and penitentiary have the related processes. This remark is vital since the relations between pupils and the relations between pupils and the staff in the Reformatory and in the youth hostel for juvenile vary significantly, that is fundamental to our article.

To define name-calling more precisely, we decided to call the youth in the Reformatory and in the youth detention center as pupils, and also the youth in the primary school to be called pupils. We would like to emphasize the fact that upbringing has precedence over education.

The three types of schools function in the Reformatory and the youth detention centre: primary schools, junior high schools, and vocational schools. The teachers can be classified as subject teachers in primary and junior high schools and as occupation teachers in vocational schools and in workshops, within the scope of the two first types of schools. We focus on emotions that are present only with primary teachers' work by which we are able to compare the same educational level institutions. During the survey the researchers participated in: lessons and workshops conducted in schools and institutions, teachers' meetings, teachers and parents meetings under the School Board's meetings (excluding Reformatories). Moreover, there were many interviews with teachers and with parents of children going to the examined schools (excluding Reformatories) conducted. The interviews emphasize the factors crucial to the teacher's work such as difficult situations

¹ Data from Reformatories was obtained by Piotr Chomczyński, while data from the Primary Schools was collected by Beata Pawłowska.

(negative) and pleasant situations (positive). The emotional expression was observed during lessons. Then, directly after the lesson, the teacher's feelings were discussed with the researchers.

The qualitative research methods within the scope of selected research techniques used in the experiment created an opportunity to establish closer and longer relations with the examined people. The technique of in-depth interview enabled us to arrange the unconstrained conversation with the examined on the topics important for researchers². Furthermore, the observation as a popular technique used among the sociologists of organization³ allowed us to verify the information received from the examined teachers and to break through the declaratory data gained by the interview⁴. The live observation has influenced our belief that there are emotions associated with stress situations and also enabled us to formulate further inquiries towards the researched group. The prolonged contact both with the teachers and the juveniles resulted in the researchers assimilation with the class group and caused the researchers who were not perceived by the pupils and juveniles as objects of interests. That fact had a crucial meaning for obtaining the data.

We would like to draw attention to the fact that the basis (inspiration) for our research were also the informal conversations with the teachers and the parents, which were conducted before and after the observations and interviews.

2. Emotions – theoretical approach

The term emotion is derived from the latin word "emovere" which means "agitation", "affection", "arousal", "incitement", or "excitement"⁵ (own footnote) and is defined as aforementioned by psychologists. Emotions are the mechanisms shaped

² I. Przybyłowska, *Wywiad swobodny ze standaryzowaną listą poszukiwanych informacji i możliwości jego zastosowania w badaniach socjologicznych* [Semi-structured Interview with Standarized List of Search Information and Its Application in Social Research], "Przegląd Socjologiczny" [Sociological Review] 1978, No. 30; K. Konecki, *Studia z metodologii badań jakościowych: teoria ugruntowana* [Studies of Qualitative Methods: Grounded Theory], Warszawa 2000.

³ K. Doktór, *Przedsiębiorstwo przemysłowe. Studium socjologiczne Zakładów Przemysłu Metalowego "Cegielski*" [Industry Corporation. Sociological Study of Steel Industry Corporation "Cegielski"] Warszawa 1964; K. Konecki, *Studia z metodologii...*, op.cit; etc.

⁴ P. Chomczyński, *Wybrane problemy etyczne w badaniach. Obserwacja uczestnicząca ukryta* [Selected Ethical Problems in Sociological Research. Covert Participant Obserwation], "Przegląd Socjologii Jakościowej" [Qualitative Sociology Review] 2006, No. 1, p. 70.

⁵ A. Reber, *Dictionary of Psychology*, London 1985.

in the process of evolution through hundreds of years⁶. The human being selected had such behaviors and emotional reactions linked with them that were functional. Emotions became noticeable social mechanisms, which are the result of social interactions.

In general, emotion is "every state of agitation or mental arousal, the process of regulation activated when a human is in touch with stimulus (external or internal) which have significance for his body or personality"⁷. Emotion is also a biologically defined sense⁸; a subjective state. Sense of emotion is accompanied with somatic changes, mimic and pantomimic expression and manners⁹. Contemporary and cognitive conceptions define emotions as the processes of specific relationships between the human body and the environment¹⁰ and the article refers to such a perception of the issue.

Emotions are divided into basic and derivative ones. Paul Ekman¹¹ and his coworkers revealed that supracultural generality of expression models of some emotions acknowledged as basic exists (fear, anger, sadness, happiness, repugnance, surprise). Philip Shaker and his co-workers regarded love, happiness, surprise, anger, sadness and fear as basic emotions¹², Beverley Fehr and James A. Russell – love, fear, sadness, anger and happiness¹³, and Robert Plutchik – happiness, acceptance, repugnance, surprise, anticipation, fear, anger, sadness¹⁴. Initial emotions are "hypothetical constructs in some extent ideal states, which properties and attributes are concluded directly" (own footnote)¹⁵. They are the basis (prototype) for

⁶ J. Tooby, L. Cosmides, *The Past Explains the Present: Emotional Adaptations And the Structure of Ancestral Environment*, "Ethology and Sociobiology" 1990, No. 11.

⁷ J. Reykowski, *Emocje, motywacja, osobowość* [Emotions, Motivation, Personality], Warszawa 1992, p. 57.

⁸ A. Hochschild, *Zarządzanie emocjami. Komercjalizacja ludzkich uczuć* [The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling], Warszawa 2009, p. 238.

⁹ D. Doliński, *Mechanizmy wzbudzania emocji* [Mechanisms of Emotions Arousal] [in:] *Psychologia. Podręcznik akademicki* [Psychology. Academic Handbook], J. Strelau (ed.), Gdańsk 2004, p. 322.

¹⁰ R. Lazarus, *Emotion and Adaptation*, New York 1991.

¹¹ P. Ekman, W. Friesen, R. Simons, *Is the Startle Reaction an Emotion?*, "Journal of Personality and Social Psychology" 1985, No. 49.

¹² P. Shaver, J. Schwartz, D. Kirson, C. O'Connor, *Emotion Knowledge. Further Exploration of a Prototype Approach*, "Journal of Personality and Social Psychology" 1987, No. 52.

¹³ B. Fehr, J. Russel, *Concept of Emotion Viewed from a Prototype Perspective*, "Journal of Experimental Psychology" 1984, No. 113.

¹⁴ R. Plutchik, *The Emotions: Fact, Theories and a New Model*, New York 1962; R. Plutchik, *The Psychology and Biology of Emotion*, New York, 1994.

¹⁵ R. Plutchik, *Emotion: A Psychoevolutionary Synthesis*, New York 1980.

the others, more complexed emotional states. Every emotion can have a different range of intensity and can appear on different levels of agitation¹⁶.

Derivative emotions such as a sense of guilt, shame, hope, pride occur as combinations, mixtures, or compounds of the primary emotions in specific social situations¹⁷.

Taking into account different divisions between emotions, it is worth mentioning two groups of emotions distinguished by a sign of emotions. This division is important with reference to the content of the article. Thus, we have positive emotions, marked as favourably affective and we have negative emotions, marked as affectively pejorative. Positive emotions encourage individuals and people to build new social relations and care for the previously created relations. They have a motivational function to set up the new social structures. Negative emotions cause that relations are destroyed and neglected. They result in conflict relations building.

Every time, emotions are accompanied by four components (changes of behavior): 1) somatic reactions e.g. variation of heart-beating (sudden beating or dying); 2) tension (or flaccidity of muscles, skin redness or intensively turning pale); 3) face mimic expression (laugher, forehead wrinkle, variation of eyes expression) and body (stoop, stiffness); 4) tendency to some actions (moving away or coming forward), reflective denomination of these experiences¹⁸. Appearance of emotion activates the priority for the operation program linked with this emotion (e.g. fear releases the tendency to moving away from the source of emotions, but curiosity causes coming forward to the target). Evoked emotion is inextricably linked with the subjective individual's opinion.

As follows, we pay attention to the processes connected with revelation and the limiting of emotions. The first is a process of emotions' regulation, which means that this is an "initiative process, which shapes and supports the emotions' experience, cognitive operations and activities linked with this experience"¹⁹. The process of emotional self-control is used in the emotions' regulation. A self-control process, which means to act in accordance with social standards, cannot allow us to express experienced emotions. What is more, the programs of actions connected with experiencing emotions can be blocked, for example, abstention from the extreme-

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ T. Kemper, *How Many Emotions Are There? Wedding the Social and Autonomic Components*, "American Journal of Sociology" 1987, No. 93.

¹⁸ L. Golińska, Samokontrola emocji: mit czy rzeczywistość? [Emotional Self-control: Myth or Reality?], www.terapia.rubikon.net.pl [access: 12.11.2009].

¹⁹ D. Doliński, Mechanizmy wzbudzania..., op.cit., p. 381.

ly aggressive behaviors even if strong anger is experienced²⁰. Self-control causes that our behavior is compatible with social norms established in our community.

When evaluating the emotional "skills", we are able to assess only emotions' expression, which means "all sounds (changes in appearance of the individual, movements and sounds – the author's own footnote) made by the individual, which reveal experienced emotions"²¹. We are able to notice whether the interaction of emotion appeared in our partner's behavior by the non-verbal messages sent by this individual. We notice and call fixed emotions by the culturally or qualitatively established signs.

At the beginning, we stated that the concepts of Theodore Kemper and Arlie Hochschild are the theoretical background of our article. Below, these approaches are presented.

3. TheTheory of Theodore D. Kemper. Emotions resulting in dimension of power relations and status

Theodore Kemper is one of the contemporary pioneers of emotional sociology, who was initially developing the "socially-interactive theory of emotions" and the theory based on biological processes²². Later, he started working with Randall Collins to create a new theory grounded on power and status. T. Kemper claims that emotions are created by social relations. However, when describing these relations, Kemper limited himself to two dimensions: "power" and "status", acknowledging them as optimal and those by which we can describe and characterize all kinds of interpersonal relationships. According to his statement, the changes of power and status (prestige) of individuals have an influence on stirring up the negative and positive emotions²³.

T. Kemper perceives power as Max Weber did, as a state in the social relations, in which one social actor makes another one do something that is beyond his area of interest. These are means which are possessed by the person who has power such as threats, real use of strength, deprivation of material or symbolic goods, depravation of experiences, lie, fraud, manipulation. Power should be discussed as a pro-

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 389

²¹ Ibidem, p. 351

²² J.H. Turner, J.E. Stets, Socjologia emocji [The Sociology of Emotions], Warszawa 2009, p. 240.

 ²³ T. Kemper, *Power, Status, and Emotions* [in:] *Emotions a Social Science Reader*, M. Greco,
P. Stenner (eds.), London–New York 2008.

cess causing such a design of our current and future actions so as to feel a sense of victory. Status is understood as a state in social relations that refers to the voluntary adjustment to another person's interest and demands. The status of one actor is granted by the second one through the acts of the valued acknowledgement of the first one. Both status and power are types of process. There are the signs of acknowledgement of status such as showing care, support, fondness, rewarding, respect, friendship and love. All changes in social relations can be understood as mutual changes in power and status of the actors. Mutual relations between actors lead to variations in expression of each of them and to changes in the relation structure through the marking of activities on the individual level of power and status. Thus, Kemper postulates that if we want to comprehend the occurrence of many human emotions, we have to examine the structure and process of power and status in relations between social actors. This approach includes both negative emotions such as anger, depression, feeling of guilt, shame, anxiety and positive emotions such as happiness, care, pride, honesty, love²⁴.

Kemper²⁵ stated that numerous grades of emotions constitutes real, predictable, imaginary or remembered results of social relations. His statement was based on the conducted research and laboratorial experiments about emotions, level of power and status in social relations. They can be considered in four dimensions²⁶.

The First of them is "Power I". The increase of possessed power brings a sense of safety. Power abuse can lead to a sense of guilt caused by harming somebody and to the fear of his potential revenge. The decline of power level leads to the fear of being made to do something we do not want to do.

The second dimension is "Power of the other", in which the increase of others' power cause similar fears to the one when our power declines. The decrease of others' power levels leads to an occurrence of our sense of safety.

The third dimension is "Status I". The increase of status, we observed in our opinion, brings satisfaction, happiness, pride (if we were the causative action), gratitude (if the other person was a causative action). The increase of status higher than we expected causes happiness or shame. The decline of status arouses rage (if the other person was a perpetrator) or shame (if we were perpetrators). If such a situation is perceived as irreversible, depression may appear.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 128.

²⁵ T. Kemper, A Social Interactional Theory of Emotions, New York 1978.

 ²⁶ T. Kemper, *Modele społeczne w wyjaśnianiu emocji* [Social Models in Emotions' Explanation]
[in:] *Psychologia emocji* [Handbook of Emotions], M. Lewis, J. Haviland-Jones (eds.), Gdańsk 2005.

The last dimension is "Status of the other". The emotions depend on our perception of the definite individual. It is linked with enjoying, which shows the range in which the other gave us the status without using much power. The increase of the other's status causes satisfaction (if we like the other). If we do not like the other, the increase of his status leads to jealousy (if the other possesses something we desire) or to envy (if we are deprived of power by the other). If the status of other declines the sense of guilt or shame can appear (if we were culprits and we like the other); sadness and mercy (if the culprit was someone else and we like the other); satisfaction (we do not like the other and we are culprits); contentment felt as a result of somebody's failure (when we do not like the other and the culprits were other people).

The evoked emotions are based on earlier experience connected with interpersonal contacts and their perception in the category of power and status. Such contacts can cause optimism or pessimism and determine the level of trust or lack of trust. Linking together these states, Kemper mentions four feelings: 1) depression is a result of a combination of pessimism and lack of trust; 2) and 3) fear as a result of combination of pessimism and lack of trust and combination of optimism and lack of trust; 4) happiness and confidence as a combination of optimism and trust.

It is worth remembering that perception of power and status and as a consequence occurrence of the defined relations and emotions will be dependent on some factors:

- 1. Specific culture defines an individual level of power and status and their perception²⁷.
- 2. Social position is regarded variously at different times.
- 3. Specific social organizations can indicate different models of emotional behaviors by attributing them to various status.

²⁷ It is worth to indicate the research about workers' perception of power distance conducted by G. Hofstede, who defined the phenomenon as "the range of expectations and acceptance for unequal power distribution, which is declared by the less influential members of an institution or an organization"; G. Hofstede, *Kultury i organizacje* [*Cultures and Organizations*, New York 1997], Warszawa 2000, p. 67; Ch. Robert, T. Probst, J. Martocchio, F. Drasgow, J. Lawler, *Empowerment and Continuous Improvement in the United States, Mexico, Poland, and India: Predicting Fit on the Basis of the Dimensions of Power Distance and Individualism*, "Journal of Applied Psychology" 2000, No. 5, p. 644.

4. Conception of Arlie Russell Hochschild. Emotions supervision

Hochschild states that emotion is a biologically defined sense. "It is a means by which we discover our relation with the world. This world has a significant meaning in a human beings survival in the group relation"²⁸. The idea of Arlie Hochschild points to an element of our emotions supervision made by contemporary organizations. It partly relates to paradigm of self-actualization and an interactive one. The strong influence of the interactionistic idea is especially noticeable. It is visible in the description of expression and perception rules of emotions. Hochschild adds that the defined emotion is useful not only to adjust to social circumstances but also to change ones own emotional state. She emphasizes how do people try to feel something, which means that they try to manage their emotions. Hochschild claims that communities acquire the culture of emotions, "which includes the set of imaginations about this that people should feel in different situations. This culture contains emotional ideologies about suitable attitudes, feelings, emotional reactions in the basic areas of activities"²⁹.

In her research, Hochschild emphasizes the fact of how people actively manage their emotions to adjust their personalities to the requirement of occupations linked with customer relations. She examined occupational groups (flight attendants and debt collectors) and showed that they have to act in an emotional way to be good workers. She stated that when managing our emotions, we use many techniques that make the process of perception and expression of emotions easier. We perform: 1) body management by changing the physiological reactions attributed to the defined situation; 2) superficial activities – manipulation of our gestures leading to the perception of emotions signaled by expressed gestures; 3) profound action to arouse defined feelings which should be revealed in the perception of individual in defined situation; 4) cognitive work, by which specific person evokes thoughts associated with defined emotion (to make it appear).

Revealing defined emotions is linked with stifling others, not demanded ones. Emotional work enables us to perform our duties and consequently, let us trigger defined feelings in others. In this way we can sell something, gain or win. Emotional management has much in common with manipulation. Emotional work is strongest where people have to act in accordance with the emotional ideologies which are against their real feelings, and there, where social norms require showing

²⁸ A. Hochschild, Zarządzanie emocjami..., op.cit., p. 238.

²⁹ J.H. Turner, J.E. Stets, Socjologia emocji..., op.cit., p. 51.

emotions people do not feel³⁰. Emotional management means that we actively have to try to change the earlier emotional state³¹.

5. Factors (circumstances) influencing emotions' formation in teachers' work

5.1. Reformatories

While the juveniles are placed in the Juvenile Detention Centre, they are party to the legal proceedings and thus there is a risk involved that they may influence the ongoing investigations outcome (issuing the commands/giving the orders to the people from outside the premises, who may influence the ongoing investigation outcome, harassing the witnesses etc.).

To minimize this risk, their rights are more limited than the rights of juveniles in the Reformatory, who can communicate in a less restricted way after the court sentence. Moreover, the staff of the institution notice that juveniles of the Reformatory, due to their age and criminal record are more demoralized than juveniles in the Youth Detention Centre, for whom the stay is the first contact with such an institution.

It is pointless that they reside there together. These from the youth detention center, you know... They learn from juveniles, who often are the recidivists (a tutor No. 1 at the male Reformatory and Youth Detention Centre).

[...] older brother in prison, so the boy who enters the Reformatory, knows what to expect, he has the rudiments of prison slang. He knows what he can do, with whom and how (a tutor No. 2 at the male Reformatory and Youth Detention Centre).

On the other hand, juveniles in the Youth Detention Centre act more aggressively towards other juveniles and the staff because they do not fully internalize the rules in the Youth Detention Centre and finally they do not accept these rules.

Relations between the juveniles are the result of physical contact between jailed in the Reformatory and the Youth Detention Centre (these children stay there in

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 53.

³¹ A. Hochschild, Zarządzanie emocjami..., op.cit., p. 238.

one place). Reformatories and youth detention centers are entitled to different rights which sometimes are the source of conflict, but on the other side, the position, the higher rank in the hierarchy of the institution, and more privileges for the juveniles in the Reformatory become an object of desire for juveniles in the Youth Detention Centre. These factors cause that "correctional group" exert an influence on "the youth detention group". The last group becomes more often a subject of socialization, in which the roles of "significant others" are performed by more experienced fellows in the Reformatory.

It is worth paying attention to both groups. In our point of view, after conversations with the staff and the juveniles, the conflicts appear more often in the youth detention groups than those correctional ones.

The girls from the Youth Detention Centre more often argue, sometimes they fight. Such situations occur rarely in the Reformatories (a female tutor at the female Reformatory and Youth Detention Centre).

The phenomenon is caused by the fluctuation in the Youth Detention Centre. As a result, there is a slight chance that stable hierarchy appears between juveniles. Struggles between members of a group incite conflicts, that create a difficult situation for the teachers. These situations intensify negative emotions and make teachers deal with problems.

The conflicts in the Youth Detention Centre group have an influence on relations between the juveniles and the staff in comparison with the correctional group. In these groups the relations are more stable than in the sheltered group. The last one requires more staff involvement, that causes negative emotions. It is worth mentioning that the teachers' mechanisms to cope with the negative emotions described in this article are linked with work with the juveniles in the Youth Detention Centre.

5.2. Primary schools

Although education is compulsory under Polish law, nobody perceives participation in lessons as obligatory in primary schools. The pupil and his parents have the option to choose a school. The school functions for the common good of the student, and every action is consulted with the Teachers' Council and Parents' Council. Such consultations are carried out with representatives from the Student Council. It gives students the sense of community and authorship.

Taking into account only one institution (the primary school) it is difficult to talk about the inner hierarchy. The only type of diversity encountered by researchers was a class rating based on term results (an average of marks of all students in a class). However, in all examined institutions, this rating was incompatible with relations between students from different classes. It was observed that hierarchy can relate to every class and is set by students who use various criterion, e.g.: general results in learning, results in learning particular subjects, physical fitness (achievements in physical education), physical strength, financial status of student (his parents), possession of demanded objects (the brand clothes, the pencil-case equipment, the toys, a computer, a PSP, Wii, etc.). A person who has a high rank in sociometric election becomes an object of respect for whom many children struggle. More students want to play during a break with such a person and want to be in the same work group. This person is more often visited at home. It can incite conflicts between students but these conflicts are never permanent. Inner class hierarchy and the status of particular individuals have no influence on studentsteachers relations.

The aforementioned phenomena do not influence to a large extent on negative emotions of the teachers' work. To generalize, the changes in teaching programs and lack of unitary educational policy cause the occurrence of negative emotions at teachers' work. The interviewed teachers emphasize constant changes in educational reforms. The fact that part of the interview was made during the implementation of basic programs by the ministry perhaps caused that teachers stress that situation happens very often.

The new core curriculum will be implemented in a new year, but so far there hasn't been an accepted list of textbooks. The parents request the list of textbooks for the next year, but what can I tell them? That the ministry has always been late? (a woman aged 42, teacher).

The teachers emphasize the cronyism and jealousy between co-workers.

The prize (the prize awarded by the headmaster of the institution for the best teacher in Teacher's Day) is awarded to a teacher who has good connections with the headmaster (a woman aged 35, teacher).

It's not easy to cooperate in a work environment where the majority represents women. All too often there is someone jealous of something, e.g. the holiday in Tunisia or the new clothes. There are incisive comments that turned your head/ became big-headed because your husband earns a fortune" (a woman aged 29, teacher).

The toughest situation occurred when I was promoted to an assistant headmaster and wanted my colleagues to be on duty in the corridor on a touring break. Instantly they said I became big-headed due to the promotion I got. This wasn't the truth. I only wanted the children to be safe (a woman aged 48, teacher).

The last factor of emotions' creation, which was stressed by researched teachers, were parents. The teachers mentioned the overprotective parents, interfering in their work, those who wanted to change the schedule and way of work, and such parents who did not respond to teacher's remarks about a student's inappropriate behavior. The least comments were about the student, so the teacher-student relation is not the main factor of negative emotions. They claimed that there are situations which induce anger, frustration or sadness, but stressed the momentary occurrence of these emotions. Teachers emphasized positive emotions in interviews and indicated students as the source of pleasant emotions.

I have a gorgeous class. These children are so sweet [...]. There are two scamps, but it's easy to mitigate them. The worse situation is with parents, but children cannot be accused of having such parents. [...] I rather try to help students with pedagogical problems [...] It is so nice if a student with a congratulatory card or an ordinary picture comes to you and says she did it especially for you. It has always made me sentimental (a woman aged 32, the teacher in the I-III classes).

To sum up, the source of negative emotions stressed by every teacher were the conflicts between the juveniles and sometimes between the juveniles and the staff in the Reformatory whereas teachers in public schools pointed actions of the Ministry of Education, the Headmaster of the institution, co-workers (colleagues at work, students' parents) and to a lessor extent the students themselves.

6. Authority as the negative emotions managing factor

It is necessary to notice that the means of dealing with negative emotions are inextricably linked with factors causing defined emotion. At the very beginning we have to note that possession of respect or not among students or juveniles is a result of being able to cope with the negative emotions. Respect is an "instrument" to limit the occurrence of the negative emotions. The methods of dealing with negative emotions can be connected with results which are necessary to maintain respect, or contrary, they lead to the destruction of respect or restrict its increase. The term respect refers to previously described dimensions: "power" and "status"³². We have to be reminded that changes in power and status of individual have an influence on evoking emotions. Negative emotions may trigger off widely understood discomfort. Respect is comprehended as possessing power and high status simultaneously.

Our observations and interviews enabled us to claim that a teacher builds his respect and uses methods to deal with emotions in the defined context of his imaginations about his work. These imaginations are a construction of such factors, which teacher defines as success or failure in the fixed line conditions (statute, dealing accepted in the defined institution, norms, interactions with co-workers etc.). They are compatible to the type and the specificity of an institution, specificity of working with the students and juveniles and tools available to the teacher in his work. One regularity was noticeable among teachers with short occupational experience - teachers who were too ambitious towards their work, more often experienced negative emotions, such as: disappointment, sense of guilt, rage and they had difficulties with coping with them. Those teachers who had longer occupational experience used resocialization techniques, for example: 1) being convinced of the impossibility to maintain a high level of teaching ("it isn't possible to work better in this class", "these students are weak"), 2) being convinced of the fact that difficult situation are credited to specificity of working in such institution, 3) being convinced that institutional barriers exist (impossibility to purchase suitable equipment, training aids, lack of influence on ministry decisions about the teaching program, etc.), they kept a distance in difficult situations and acted less emotionally. Teachers reported that work in the Reformatory requires making imaginations real and placing them in juxtaposition with reality. Making the imaginations real has a form of reluctance to conduct ambitious lessons and acceptance of lack of interest of the subject by students and approval of not being prepared for the lesson by students.

They are not ambitious, they only want to have grades two weeks before the end of the term. Yes, they definitely do not care about... yes, they don't care... (The teacher, Reformatory and Youth Detention Centre for the girls).

³² T. Kemper, *Power, Status...*, op.cit.

We don't have excessive aspirations towards boys here [...] there are no special requirements in school, because we have to be aware of the fact they have such a Backlog (The headmaster at the male Reformatory and Youth Detention Centre).

We were told: the new school curriculum in the middle school, the new books, the requirements, and how should we implement this, if normal schools can't do that. Because we know what kind of 'material' we will be given, I mean these boys. What do they know? They know nothing! (The teacher at the male Reformatory and Youth Detention Centre).

It happens that the lack of effectiveness in educational progress is explained as the lack of contact with the parents. The teachers claim that the parents, the educators, the guardian have no influence on the pupils.

It means, when I was a form-master in the normal school, I had a meeting with parents every month and we were discussing that particular month. Here, the meeting with parents is organized once a year, after the end of the first term. Although there are many pupils there are only a few parents attending, and very often they arrive in the company of the whole family and everything (a female teacher, the male Reformatory and Youth Detention Centre).

The Majority of parents take part in the parents-teachers meetings, but there are the parents who never attend. Mainly the parents of the good students come whereas the weak and troublesome pupils' parents do not participate in the meetings. Educational problems, but in learning. Those parents are summoned many times, but they don't come (a woman aged 35, teacher).

Respect earned by the teacher becomes also a tool limiting the occurrence of difficult situations in the lesson. Esteem elaboration is the easiest for teachers in the class I-III in the primary school and difficult situations happen rarely. The pupils identify quickly with the teacher, who becomes an important person in their life in second position after the parents. Children did the teachers' tasks during observed lessons; there were some funny situations, but there were no conflicts between the children and the teachers. The only incident noticed in the II class was a conflict between children. It related to the situation in which one of the boys was kicking the chair of the girl sitting in front of him. The girl informed the teacher and was called a "sneak" by the boy. The teacher solved the problem by an explanation of the situation and turned the situation into a joke. The teacher stated that

"Certainly, he likes you", and finally the boy blushed and the girl was proud. Later, nobody mentioned this situation. Carrying the observation into the Reformatory and in classes IV-VI of the primary school, we were witnesses of inappropriate student' behavior (the spitting on the floor, performing other activities not required in the lesson, bad language towards colleagues and teacher, leaving the class before the lesson was performed, etc). during the lesson conducted by the teachers, who didn't earn respect. Such incidents were more common in the Reformatory than in the primary school.

Teachers who didn't earn respect dealt with the difficult situations individually or were looking for assistance from their colleagues, the headmaster, the educator, or the parents were summoned (the last method relates only to the primary schools). One type of reaction called by us a method based on individual action was raising its voice in the student/juvenile or a group. The more often this method was used, the less effective it was. Overusing the raised voice is perceived rather as weakness than strength in the group of juveniles. Such types of act have a short-lived effect and further development of the situation intensify occurrence of the negative emotions. The other reaction is based on individual action in using vulgar words towards defiant students (phenomenon observed only in the Reformatory and the Youth Detention Centre). The teachers think that using strong language will be more effective because the juveniles speak it themselves³³.

At times you have to use such language that is understood by him and it appeals to him. He has heard that language since childhood and he can't understand the other talk (The form-master at the male Reformatory and the Youth Detention Centre).

The use of vulgar words leads to control of the situation and gaining the conformist attitude of the juveniles, however, over use of this language can eliminate the effect of bewilderment and fear of the juveniles and becomes a constant and predictable interactive method in contact with the juveniles.

Another way to control negative emotions occurring in difficult situations, classified by us as a method based on individual action, are tests of behavior disrespect of students /juveniles who are troublesome, do not respond, focus on the other students/juveniles. These critical situations are deepened in both cases. Although the teacher in his own opinion controls emotions, the lack of adequate reaction on the current situation is perceived by the students as weakness and not having

³³ R. Makowski, Za murami poprawczaka [Behind the Walls of Reformatory], Warszawa 2009.

"character". One of the observed situations in which a juvenile behaves in a vulgar way towards his colleagues and finally teacher, but without arousing reaction is an exemplification of this phenomenon. Behaving in a self-confident way make us think that it was not his first incident. Passivity of the teacher is interpreted as weakness or silent consent by the aggressor and the others, what in both cases resulted in escalation of aggressive behavior, such as: jostle and vulgarism. The situation was interrupted by the signal for the end of the lesson.

The next means of dealing with difficult emotions occurring in a class was action focused on searching for assistance outside. This group of means includes looking for help among colleagues at work. Most often it was a conversation about a defined student in the teachers' office and about the precautions. The interviewed teachers mentioned when they had to punish behavior by grade one, refer the student to the headmaster or to the educator, or write a notice to the registry and ask the parents for a meeting.

One of the teachers with longer occupational experience (15 years) stated:

At the beginning of work (researcher's own note) I wanted to be important. I gave many one grades, but after some time I perceived it as pointless. When somebody was talking or wasn't prepared I had the impression that they talked more. I changed the tactic. Today I encourage them and try to understand their behavior. Sometimes it is the result of the situation at home (a man aged 39, teacher).

The teachers who earned respect or were in the process of building it, have other methods to deal with negative emotions, which appear rarely in their work. First of all, the teacher is able to persuade the students that his behavior is conscious and controlled. Even if negative emotions occur, they are controlled and they are a conscious interactive store for the teacher, activated by contact with the student in an intentional and adequate way. The teachers who earned respect treat the revealing of emotions as a tool to control their own behaviors and students' behaviors, on the other hand, they are regarded as "natural". It means that their reactions are perceived as compatible to emotions, which accompany them in a defined situation. The teacher who is a bit angry and tries to "play" the role of a calm person, is perceived as unnatural, contrary to the teacher who is emotionally negatively excited and uses verbal aggression. The teachers possessing respect address not the whole group but to chosen students, exactly defining the addressee. Negative emotions are revealed among specific student, what makes the message more effective, additionally the teacher proves his perceptiveness since he knows who the hero of the situation is.

Moreover, teachers possessing respect can show a sense of humor in the situations in which negative emotions occur. An accurate comic remark defuses tension and transfers the groups' attention to another area. A sense of humor is especially important working with difficult youth³⁴ and can be used as a specific tool to take charge of a group.

7. Infrastructured and institutional support as a negative emotions managing factor

The infrastructure and also institutional background in a legislative solution form at school/institution prevents the occurrence of negative emotions. Many situations, which could trigger off negative emotions such as anger, fear, shame, are eliminated by infrastructural and institutional methods. Infrastructure usually is in lawyers' serve, also teachers, and it is used to possess and keep control over students/juveniles. The interesting solution, which was mentioned earlier and influenced a decline of negative emotions situations, is monitoring with the use of cameras in classes (including the Reformatories). Monitoring was implemented in agreement and with the assistance of teachers in one of the Reformatories. It resulted in a less number of unacceptable behavioral incidents by the teacher, which were manifested among colleagues and teachers. Inappropriate behaviors are intensified in the time when teacher has limited insight into the class (e.g.: when he stands backwards and writes something on the blackboard, or when he pays attention to only one person). In the case of this Reformatory, the teacher who for example recorded an incident when he was writing on the blackboard, and was not able to indicate its actors, had only to look at the wrist-watch and note the accurate time of an incident. Later, he had to report it to the headmaster who was checking the culprit the on the video camera. Monitoring implementation resulted not only in the fall of inappropriate situations, but also a drop in the power level of the other (juveniles), what extended the teachers' sense of security, and consequently there was a noticeable increase in their power.

In educational institutions much attention is paid to the methods of the suitable management of negative emotions, which are part and parcel of working in such institutions. Methods of dealing with the negative emotions of a single teacher are an object of interest of other teachers and also the headmaster. It is necessary to be aware that a mistake made by one person in the Reformatory may have

³⁴ R. Makowski, Za murami..., op.cit.

global consequences (revolt, beating, crowd conflict). Such a type of threat causes that solidarity and the mutual exchange of information about difficult situations is stressed in educational institutions more often than in other ones. Productive communication understood as the reporting of difficult situations, which included: overt and implicit conflicts between the juveniles, manifestation of aggression, monitoring of high rank juveniles in a group hierarchy, reduces the risk of difficult situations and is perceived as a sign of professionalism.

Vigilance is important: listen, something happens here, watch this man and that one. First of all, there must be communication and exchange of information between the teachers, the instructors of workshops, the form-masters, administration and later it must be like that total cooperation must be present. When there is no cooperation, the Reformatory functions badly (The headmaster at a male Reformatory and Youth Detention Centre).

There is a selection of would-be workers in the Reformatories, who have necessary qualifications. The teachers are penetratingly watched by colleagues and superiors over the first few months, they are evaluated in terms of the skills to deal with negative emotions. The observation of the new teacher also includes juveniles' opinion about an ability to manage a group and taking control over it.

The Teachers' Council in the primary school has a right not to classify a student, and a right to expel a student who breaks the school's rules. In spite of the fact that teachers are familiar with the rules at school, none of them had met with such a situation. When talking about institutional background, the researched pointed at the possibility of paid leave to improve health (every teacher working at school can use such a leave), and ability to execute working hours in accordance with the Teachers' Law.

8. The Summary

In conclusion, there are two groups of situations causing negative situations. The first is a group of situations arising in school classes (the situations with the students). The second group are the situations resulting from interactions between the teachers and the co-workers and between the management and the parents. The last group of situations results from institutional and infrastructural conditions such as bureaucracy, equipment, helplessness resulting from regulations.

The methods of dealing with negative emotions among teachers are a derivative accepted by them a perspective which relates to the defined concept of their work nature, aims to achieve and a vision of their own role. Shame, anger, confusion, lack of perpetration are often hidden and they become a part of occupational relations. Respondents often generalize, that means that they are not aware of a particular emotion or they repress it.

The other strategy used by teachers was rationalization and justifying behavior. The researched teachers overrode the negative emotion (e.g. shame, irritation). Discomfort was justified by achieving another positive aim (the willingness to help).

As a result of conducted research, teachers employed in educational institutions revealed negative emotions more rarely towards the educational reforms than the teachers working in the public schools. The basis of this regularity stems from the fact that employed staff fulfill firstly the pedagogical and later educational function in the Reformatory and the Youth Detention Centre. In public institutions such as primary schools the situation is opposite. Primary schools have a duty to firstly educate and then fulfill a pedagogical function. Moreover, the management of the closed institution type (the Reformatory and the Youth Detention Centre) more often initiate actions performed by workers to help mutually.

Generally, we conclude that the longer the occupational experience of the teacher, the better the strategy to deal with negative emotions. Young teachers rely on their older colleagues experience and reflections or use trial-and-error-methods to cope with the negative emotions at work.

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