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Ideologies and practice of emotional education at school – interactional perspective

Abstract

The aim of this article is to present and analyze research results on emotional education conducted in Polish schools. In the first part, which serves as a theoretical introduction to the topic, I presented my own concept of the ideology of emotional upbringing/education. I characterized the transmission ideology, romantic, otherwise non-directive, and humanistic-progressive in terms of the status of emotions in education and the educational methods used. The main part of the text contains an analysis of qualitative interviews with teachers about their experiences in pedagogical work on the development of students' emotional competencies. The article concludes with indications of good practices, which are also justified by the assumptions of transactional analysis.

Keywords: emotions, emotional education, emotional competence, education in schools.

Introduction

According to psychologists, emotional development should be considered as a series of increasing changes, accumulating experiences, and skills designed to lead to self-control and emotional reflexivity (Zeidner, 2008, p. 84–85). As a result, we have a better understanding of social relationships (J. Dunn), our moral orientation develops (C. Gilligan) and we have a richer repertoire of emotional expression and arousing emotions (cf. Lutz, 2012). M. Zeidner describes emo-

tional development as an investment, when, based on individual predispositions through experience and independent work on ourselves, we gain more and more independence in managing emotions (2008). For further consideration, I adopt the perspective of cultural constructivism, according to which t h e g o a l o f e m o t i o n a l d e v e l o p m e n t i s t o a c h i e v e e f - f i c a c y i n e m o t i o n a l l y e v o c a t i v e s o c i a l t r a n s a c - t i o n s , i.e. t h e d e v e l o p m e n t o f e m o t i o n a l c o m p e - t e n c e .   According to S.L. Gordon, emotional development is the ability to accurately read emotional messages in role-defined contexts (1990). C. Saarni (1999) describes it as a set of abilities, knowledge, and skills that enable self-regulation and interpersonal exchange, including the recognition of one's own and others' emotions based on culturally defined indicators (e.g. body language, facial expression, language), the ability to name emotions or to explain their complexity, causes and effects. Emotional competence, which enables understanding, participation, and self-creation within a culture, develops around various forms of social activities. This understanding is useful in the analysis of pedagogical phenomena, as it implies learning through participation in culture, including the processes of education and upbringing organized in educational institutions. The emotional system, which is present indirectly in the symbolic layer of culture, is revealed in emotional exchanges. Hence interpersonal relationships and communication are essential for the socialization of emotions (cf. Przybylska, 2018). Assimilation of scripts occurs directly – based on one's own experiences, as well as observing the behavior of others in emotionally arousing situations – and indirectly through cultural messages (written texts, music, images, dance) and the stories of others (Abelson, Shrank, 2013; Hochschild, 2009).

Socialization transfer provides continuity of rules and meanings, allows understanding of behavior in a given emotionally charged situation, and comes from a specific cultural context, most importantly from the microculture of the family, which is the environment closest to the child, where he or she learns the expectations and beliefs contained in the scripts (Lutz, 2012; Zeidner, 2008). Social transfer occurs only in a situation of affiliation, so "emotions can be viewed both as a transmitter and as the transmission of socialization. The uniqueness of emotions and their crucial importance for understanding developmental processes derive precisely from this dual and broad role" (Saarni, 2005, p. 397). If we want to nurture and educate in the emotional sphere, the prerequisite is the permanence of the educational relationship, continuity of interactions, and a favorable emotional climate in the classroom, in which social training takes place naturally through participation. It is not enough to merely list these goals in the school's educational programs.

Although emotional discourse has been prominent in pedagogy for the past fifteen years or so, the pedagogical practice has dealt with issues of emotion

marginally and interveningly. The only areas where the value of experience is fully appreciated are all forms of art therapy and education through art (Krasoń, 2013), as well as therapeutic and educational programmes centred around so-cio-emotional competence. The interpretation of the category of emotional education is complicated by the sociocultural context and the diversity of educational discourses, immersed in different theoretical and axiological perspectives (Śliwerski, 2015). Referring rather loosely to the concept of L. Kohlberg and R. Mayer, I will address the conventionally abstracted three ideologies of emotional education: cultural transmission, romanticism, and humanistic-functionalism (2000). References made to selected concepts considered categorical will necessarily be selective, arbitrarily serving to justify the thesis that several categorical conditions must be met to educate emotionally, as will be discussed below. Following the accepted structure of pedagogical concepts (Rubacha, 2003), when using the category 'emotional education', I will consider educational activities and teaching that do not take place separately in practice.

Emotional education in the ideology of cultural transmission

To cultivate, to change, to shape - concepts of categorical importance for the tradition of cultural transmission (cf. Śliwerski, 2015) – also refer to the emotional sphere. According to this view, the ideal of upbringing is the same as the complete control of emotions and their subordination to the intellectual and social sphere, since the goal of upbringing is viewed as the maintenance of the continuity of culture. The cultural transmission implements adaptive rationality (Habermas, 2002), in which the goals of emotional education take minimizing and corrective forms (cf. Gurycka, 2008). Minimizing goals aims to reduce or weaken impulsiveness in order to decrease its impact on social action and behaviour. In the field of emotional rules and meanings, which is of interest to me in this article, the entry into the culture of emotions takes place naturally through experiencing, learning concepts, and "practicing" rules, to develop an attitude that accepts social reality (de Tchorzewski, 2016). The realization of the adultist vision of personality: fully controlling emotions, subject to rigid rules of experiencing and expressing them, puts the onus on the teacher/parent to control the child's emotions, i.e. to evoke and suppress certain emotions in the pupils. Shame, anger, fear, but also pride, satisfaction, or curiosity express readiness for a certain action (including inaction) and are a tool for controlling the behavior of pupils, stimulating appropriate behavior, and suppressing undesirable ones. Consistently, emotional education takes place in the paradigm of tamed emotions, historically established in European culture (Rosenwein, 2006). Education becomes a condition for civilizing emotions, socializing them, and subordinating them to the rationale of reason.

Each social space (situation, relationship, interpersonal arrangement) has its own framing rules that help to interpret the situation and match behavior to it (Gordon, 1990, 148; Hochschild, 2009, p. 123). Our emotional knowledge is tacit knowledge – children learn the meaning of emotions and emotional behavior through participation and experience. In an environment subordinated to authoritarian ideology, this participation is based on coercion, conferred authority, and status inequality (Kohlberg, Mayer, 2002). From the perspective of analysis of the educational situation, the adult (parent, teacher) knows what the child feels and should feel and how and when to show emotions. If we apply TA concepts here – the ego of the educator is dominated by the Controlling Parent: strict and emotionally cool, possibly distanced from the emotions of the student. Firm control, distance in relationships, and even emotional coldness characteristic of cold emotional attitude errors (Gurycka, 2008) are reinforced by punishment for expressing or not expressing certain emotions (e.g., expressing anger when dealing with an adult, laughing during a lesson in class, crying in public) in the relationship with parents, in the school classroom, and contact with the teacher. Thus, so obvious to the ideology of cultural transmission are: inducing fear of a difficult task, or failure, appealing to a sense of shame in front of peers, parents, and teachers, and encouraging competition or punishment for expressing emotions. Misrepresenting the child (cf. Gurycka, 2008) in the application of adaptive parenting means attributing to the child characteristics such as weakness, imperfection, and emotionality, which in this case have only negative connotations.

The belief that lack is a fundamental attribute of the child identity, who is not yet an adult (Szmidt, 2013; Śliwerski, 2015), in practice manifests itself in all forms of authoritarianism and a directive style of work (Gordon, 2014). Emotions are, in the realm of this lack, a significant component of childishness, they are such a remnant of nature that social control and pedagogical influence are supposed to replace with adaptation understood to a limited extent as suppression of emotional expressivity and guided by rational and moral rules. In educational activities, the prevailing attitude is: I (the educator) am OK, You (the student), due to the "lack" of emotional self-control – are not OK yet, You might be OK when you submit to the rigors and expectations. These assumptions contradict the principles of good school functioning when the presence of emotions such as curiosity, displeasure, calmness, or joy determines how a person behaves and learns (Żylińska, 2013). The aim of emotional education is to achieve a level of self-control that enables disciplined and subordinate functioning in spheres involving personal experience and emotional expression to collective rules (cf. Abu Lughod, 2012; Gordon, 1990).Thus, this leaves no room for self-control, self-training of emotions, and self-responsibility, which are components of emotional competence.

Emotional education in romantic ideology – non-directive education

Referring to the second, theoretical model of upbringing, attention should be paid to the *inter-esse* sphere of the subjects of upbringing entangled in mutual relations (Stewart, Joines, 2016). The source of the notions categorising upbringing as an intersubjective, wholly personal, and individual process is, among others, the romantic narrative present in the currents of New Education, humanistic pedagogy, and progressivism, as well as many other more and less influential currents that will be omitted in this study (Przybylska, 2018). What they have in common is a naturalistic view of the human being and a child-focused animation of the educational process, creating a unique 'place' for understanding and supporting the development of human emotionality.

The focus on the nature of the child changes not only the ontological status of emotions (they are recognised as natural and therefore good) but also their pragmatic status in pedagogy. They have ceased to be the periphery of pedagogical interactions, becoming an important area of the child's and the educator's behaviour, their relations, and educational activities. Therefore, from the outset, it is possible to pose the thesis that we owe the first significant turn towards emotions in upbringing to the romantic current. It can be read from the flagship slogans of the various pedagogical theories and practices included in this orientation, whose rudiment is the conviction of man's good nature of the child's innate abilities, and the value of natural experiences.

The appreciation of childhood as a stage of life and the focus on the nature and needs of the child means that, by definition, feelings have the same status in an educational situation as actions and information. Every emotion, if it is real, not only can but should emerge, and the educator should respect the freedom to feel and encourage expression. From the perspective of pedagogical practice, it was the individualistic (humanistic), such as those of S. Baley, S. Szuman, E. Fromm, or A. Maslow, and progressive concepts by H. Rowid, J. Korczak, J. Dewey, M. Montessori, or A.S. Neill, that promoted the idea of fostering rather than suppressing expression – an essential feature of the so-called paedocentric animation of upbringing (cf. Śliwerski, 2015). Taking the non-directive (romantic) framework for interpreting emotional education, we assume that children are self-responsible and sufficiently mature so that they have complete freedom of action and the right to express individuality. There must be no prohibition, and the educator must follow the pupils and create the psychological conditions for their self-expression (Neill, 1994, p. 34). Punishing emotions, forcing the pupils to limit their natural expressivity and to act against the natural needs determined by curiosity, the search for joy and fulfilment does not make personal

feelings disappear; moreover, as Z. Freud asserted, they reveal themselves in neuroses. Therefore, a prerequisite for the success of child-centred education is the rejection of disciplining pupils, including the restriction of the free expression of feelings, needs, and biological impulses. The pronounced "warming" of the educational relationship and the appreciation of the child is particularly revealed in a model of full equality and reciprocity in relations with adults and the saturation of contact with respect for the person and his or her experiences. J.W. David called such an attitude the "love of human souls", M. Łopatkova advocated an absolute attitude of love and emotional bonding, T. Adorno called for interpersonal authority in upbringing as an absolute condition for achieving subjectivity and autonomy (cf. Śliwierski, 2015).

Adopting child-centred perspective in emotional upbringing, creative and optimising goals will prevail over corrective and minimising ones (Gurycka, 2008). Since emotions are good and necessary, the aim of upbringing is not to suppress, train and channel them in forms acceptable to the educator, but to express and find ways of expressing them socially (e.g. natural expressivity, through art, social activity, etc.), and ultimately to achieve inner truthfulness and congruence with oneself.

An upbringing that draws on a paedocentric focus on the needs and emotions of the child is perpetuated in cultures where individualistic patterns prevail and where liberal rules maximise individual freedom. In the process of upbringing and socialisation, ego-centred emotions such as anger, rage, or competition are stimulated, while socially engaged emotions and attitudes such as empathy, sensitivity, trust, caring, patience or devotion are secondary (Markus, Kitayama, 1990). Following children's emotions and trusting their self-responsibility, if not adapted to their age and abilities, can disrupt their subject orientation, limit their sense of agency and taking responsibility for their own behaviour.

Assuming the role of the Caring Parent who does not set intelligible and transparent rules for emotional behaviour, adult's affectation and excessive warm focus on the child maintains emotional immaturity and infantile behaviour even at a later age (Stewart, Joines, 2016, p. 36). We are increasingly using the term emotional illiteracy to describe the worrying scale of this phenomenon, the leading main cause of which lies in inappropriate parental attitudes. These include the warm mistakes: e m o t i o n a l   e x t r o v e r s i o n (telling the child what he or she feels, what he or she should feel, or solving interpersonal conflicts for them), e m o t i o n a l   o v e r p r o t e c t i o n (the parent's constant physical and psychological closeness, the parent/guardian experiencing the child's emotions, distracting from negative emotions), e x p r e s s i n g   a f f e c t a t i o n   t o w a r d s   t h e   c h i l d (constant kissing, stroking, praising, even for doing obvious things), excessive focus on everything that concerns the child and, above all, a b a n d o n i n g   r u l e s   a n d   p u s h i n g

b e h a v i o u r a l b o u n d a r i e s inadequate to the child's age and abilities (cf. Gurycka, 2008).

Acceptance of emotions is a meta-argument, but it is not the ultimate goal of emotional upbringing and education. It is the starting point for work with the educator's own emotions, the child's emotions, and the group as a whole - work that should lead to developing emotional competence and participation in an explicit emotional culture. Emotional rules, which not only constrain but also delimit the area of freedom, are a source of meanings through which situations, actions, and behaviours can be explained, and the only way to socialise them is to experience them under the "guidance" of an emotionally capable educator. In this aspect, it is necessary to carefully set behavioural boundaries and to build a relatively non-directive educational relationship in which the child experiences the feeling rules and gradually internalises them reflexively (Hochschild, 2009, p. 7). Emotions, feelings, and needs arising from the Child's status are at least partly reflexively regulated by the conscious Adult. This finding leads us to consider emotional education as a humanistic-functional (progressive) process.

Emotional education in humanist-progressive ideology

In humanist-oriented pedagogies (C. Rogers, E. Fromm, A. Brühlmeier), emotions, feelings, and experiences are not a collateral, secondary aspect of the educational relationship but evidence of its existence and proof of the closeness that is an absolute condition for education through humanist experience.

Adopting the perspective of radical humanism, we practise an optimistic pedagogy accepting the child, oriented towards full maturity through self-education (cf. Śliwerski, 2005). We develop a biophilic orientation and its distinctive characteristics, which are manifested in bodily, intellectual, and emotional-volitional processes. Desirable human qualities are warmth, joy, and optimism (Fromm, 1994, p. 21). One can venture to say that the biophile is not free 'from' emotions, but is instead free 'to' emotions – he or she experiences and reflexively 'uses' them. He or she is attentive to the feelings, acts, and expresses feelings in relationships in such a way as not to limit the expressiveness and well-being of others, does not blame himself or herself for feeling or not feeling something, and 'practices love' (Fromm, 1994). Conceptualised in this way, biophilic orientation in emotional aspects is close to emotional intelligence in the so-called mixed personality models (Goleman, 1997).

An upbringing that values and stimulates emotional engagement using drama, art, movement, play, or dance, affirms the value of the experience itself and its developmental potential. The development of the child takes place in a situation of a warm emotional relationship, a sense of freedom, and the ab-

sence of threats. The Transactional Analysis approach, entering into close rela-
tionships, accepts the student's emotions according to the conviction that they
enhance the development of critical thinking and are "humanistic experiences".
Such forms of emotionally and intellectually engaged creativity oppose the ob-
jectification of education and the educational relationship. Finally, it facilitates
positive interpersonal and intrapersonal attitudes (Fromm, 1994, p. 15).

Transactional Analysis shares the humanistic belief in the positive potential
of human beings and the possibilities of their self-development. People are Ok,
People can think, and People can change; these basic assumptions of Transac-
tional Analysis (Newell, Jeffery, 2002, p. 5–7), are tantamount to adopting a hu-
manistic-functional vision of emotional education that values and develops the
diverse capacities of human beings. The outcome of emotional development
should be autonomy in managing one's emotional behaviour and self-training
(Zeidner, 2008).

An emotional education with a therapeutic approach to emotions is possible
in individual upbringing, e.g., at home, possibly in individual work with students
experiencing emotional difficulties (therapy). The progressive-critical orienta-
tion of education, which also values the role of emotions, seems to indicate the
direction of fundamental change in school education. It is a more practical strat-
egy, defining specific areas of knowledge, skills, and attitudes regarding emo-
tional competence. These are verbalization and reflective regulation of emo-
tions according to feeling rules (framing, experience, expression rules), self-
awareness, and recognition of others' emotions. It is much easier to consider
emotions in education from the perspective of ensuring students' well-being,
and developing the often euphemistically described emotional intelligence: wis-
dom, empathy, or self-control. It is more difficult to develop knowledge and crit-
ical competence because, as P. McLaren writes, one must then draw experi-
ences from the surrounding culture and problematise these experiences (2015,
272). Exercising, instilling rules, controlling behaviour, explaining, and even set-
ting an example – this is not the emotional education that should be sought.
What should be called for is teaching a 'language of possibility' that develops
the potential for transformative learning, sustaining attentiveness and mindful-
ness in taking action and justifying it (cf. Giroux, Witkowski, 2010; McLaren, 2015).

Emotional education at school is an area rarely reflected upon in the course
of teachers' work. The educator's theoretical reflection on what he or she does,
how he or she does it, and why he or she does it, results in giving an educational
character to those activities that have not had such a character so far. It is not
enough to say that emotions are important and to declare one's involvement in
the educational relationship. Only in personal contact with the educator, in
a space of intersubjective dialogue, self-discovery, self-reflection and conscious
and responsible participation in a joint educational project are possible. T. Gor-

don, in line with his belief that a child behaves as he or she feels, encouraged concern for the communication in pedagogical relations, also by talking about feelings and their consequences (2014). Feelings and how students and teachers deal with them are not a secondary element to the aims of educating, but a *sine qua non* condition for the existence of a parenting relationship. The communicative actions in a positively oriented interaction make it possible to look at the pupil, to recognise from what he or she says and what he or she does not want to say, his or her emotions, and to create a situation-transaction that promotes understanding and agreement (cf. Jagieła, Sarnat-Ciastko, 2015). This model of relationship is similar to the scheme: I am Ok – You are Ok, if even the student's actions do not fall within the limits of accepted norms, the student as a person is absolutely accepted. Possible subjects for corrective interventions can be ways of expressing emotions or ways of controlling emotions in interpersonal conflicts - the emotional pupil is always the subject who learns to name, express, and control emotions in educational interactions. Ultimately, the goal is to achieve or approach to the Adult status of ego.

Concepts of emotional education – summary

The basis of every concept of emotional education and practice in this area is the concept of a human being and his or her emotions. The concept currently implemented in the Polish school is implicitly contained in cultural texts, including those proposed at school, as well as symbols, emotional climate, and unwritten rules governing the everyday life of the school, while explicitly contained in the educational programmes of the institutions, their educational offerings, as well as in the assumptions and training programme of future teachers (Przybylska, 2018). Discussions on the essence of emotional education can be reduced to a dichotomous attitude towards the pupil and the changes that the educational action is supposed to bring about. On the one hand, it can be a focus on tasks and norms, as in the case of forms of cultural transmission that consequently lead to authoritarianism. In such education approach, the values and meanings of institutional emotional culture prevail. At the opposite end of the continuum are child-centred activities that develop emotional competence through their efforts. Another difference concerns the mode of action of the educator: in the first case, grooming, coercion, and control predominate, while in the second case, accompanying the child. The humanist-progressive ideology seems to transcend the limitation of both. It does not give up its educative influence and seeks to maintain the subjectivity of the student (Przybylska, 2014).

In the historically established adaptationist discourse, emotional competence is important

f o r   p r e s e r v i n g   o f   t h e   s o c i a l   *s t a t u s   q u o*; it is reduced by control and restrictions on freedom of expression to maintain group cohesion, often against the needs of the individual and social change. In the emancipatory discourse, education for emotional culture is meant to stimulate reflective and creative work on emotions. By freeing the person from the reproductive compulsion to reproduce patterns of emotional culture (feeling rules), education leads to transgression, while attentiveness and reflexivity allow for active and creative participation in emotional culture.

I assume that emotions outside the realm of pedagogical interactions (relational qualities) are first and foremost an essential element, ontologically inscribed in human development. Without reference to the sphere of emotional experiences and sensations and the pedagogical concern for their development, it is impossible to speak of education in general. It loses its meaning and contradicts the ideals in every discourse: romantic – care for the child, cultural transmission – introduction to the achievements of emotional culture, and constructivist – formation of emotional competencies enabling active social participation. Conceived subjectively, competence, realising the Habermasian postulate of talking and doing, manifests itself in the ability to express one's own emotional and intellectual states, to understand information (emotional, intellectual) coming from other people and to act under the knowledge of emotions and the particular context of action (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 2010, p. 34–138). Reconstructing education and emotional competence in a critical-emancipatory perspective significantly expands the fields of interpretation of knowledge, skills, and readiness to act in emotional culture. The highest standard of competence thus means not so much entering roles controlled by cultural scripts, but gradually transcending them.

Although we find in theory an anchorage for differentiated practices of emotional education, in school practice emotions are more often treated as a background, a side effect of the training processes – they are more often suppressed as distractors, indicative of students' social immaturity. In contrast, teachers' knowledge and skills in this area remain a matter of individual predisposition rather than professionalisation. In planning this research, I intend to look at strategies of interaction that target emotions and to identify whether any of the ideologies mentioned dominate the teacher's description of the school experience.

Own research – objectives, and methods

The research results presented in the text come from a project investigating the emotional culture of schools in south-western Poland. The research aimed to find out what strategies for working with emotions are used by teachers in

the schools surveyed and what systemic measures the schools implement. As a result of random and purposive selection, 33 teachers (including 3 men) participated in the interviews and agreed to be interviewed and recorded using a dictaphone. The teachers interviewed were aged between 30 and 55 years, all declared a university degree, 10 of them having completed a postgraduate degree related to their professional work. The length of service in the study group ranged from 5 to 26 years. Qualitative research was conducted in 10 municipal schools in the Silesian Voivodeship, 2 in the Lesser Poland Voivodeship, and 1 in the Sub-Carpathian Voivodeship. A problem-focused qualitative interview method was used, in which part of the questions concerned the practices of the surveyed teachers to support the development of students' emotional competence.

Own research results. The practice of working with emotions at school

In official rhetoric, emotional education is one of the priorities enshrined in schools' prevention and education programmes, but in practice, activities are often reduced to the delivery of *ad hoc* workshops, especially in situations of accumulating educational problems in the school and critical events (incidents of bullying, online violence, aggression in classrooms, use of legal highs and drugs and even suicide attempts). However, such programmes, which are essential for intervention, are of little value for the development of emotional competence if they are not embedded in a positive emotional climate in the classroom and school. Since, according to discursive and cultural understandings of emotion, students develop their emotional skills and knowledge in everyday interactions in different school spaces, teachers were asked how students' social-emotional development is supported in their school and whether they have developed good practices. The first observation, which gives context to the statements below, is also fundamental to the description of the emotional culture of the surveyed institutions. Firstly, the teachers did not use a scientific understanding of emotional competence and development and used colloquial, simplistic meanings, such as equating competence with being polite and kind to others, a disciplined and diligent student, or ultimately with an exemplary behavioural grade. Their statements on the methods of emotional education were overwhelmingly laconic and directed their attention to other actors in the school and, more broadly, in the educational system. In their statements, they drew attention to the promotion of pro-social behaviour, educational talks, and lessons conducted by the school psychologist and pedagogue, the introduction of detailed rules in the discipline procedures, the signing of contracts with pupils, i.e. de facto those activities that serve to control and assess pupils' behaviour.

The majority of interviewees (20 persons) withdrew from answering this question, and what is more, these teachers admitted that they had not heard of emotional competence and emotional intelligence before (5 persons), or they only used a colloquial and very simplified understanding, e.g., they defined emotional intelligence as self-control or personal culture (8 persons).

Except for four female teachers, all respondents declared that 'this thing', which in the research was called emotional education or otherwise support for the development of emotional competence, was important. The female teachers (French and geography in high school, physics, and Polish in primary school), who explicitly opposed any attempt – as they called it – to impose new tasks on teachers, regarded supporting pupils' emotional development and representing a high standard of emotional culture in their behaviour as a new invention of theorists and an additional, unnecessary duty. However - as a primary school mathematics teacher noted:

> Emotions are present at school. In lessons, they [students – note I.P.] show emotions less, at breaks they poke each other and express anger. That's what the duty rosters are for, so they don't kill each other. There are also a lot of good emotions, they write something to each other, and give presents.

This presence of emotions, their immanent connection to personal and social relations, implies an educative action. It is recognised by the teacher quoted above:

> You have to react to emotions, I get in between them, and sometimes when there is a lesson, to save it at least partially, I separate the students and we only talk at break time. Sometimes it's good because their emotions will subside. It's not just their business, we have to act!

Significantly for the identification of emotional labour rules, teachers admitted that they most often did not reflect on whether they were interacting with pupils' emotional development, and it was only the interview that provoked them to reflect and reinterpret their daily school activities in this perspective:

> I will say this for myself. I pay attention to this. Emotional education at school is important. Very important. I would like to develop as a person, not just as a teacher. I am searching, learning, and finding out on my own. There is no organised support system, and even training for teachers about talking to students, and parents, dealing with difficult situations is rare (chemistry teacher, primary school).

> I hope I am teaching them emotional culture, but now I have to think about it... I am teaching them as they are jumping down each other's throats trying to express these negative feelings. I have to explain to them that emotions must not be translated into actions and there must be no hand-to-hand. When they complain, I make them realise that they have to deal with people in different situations, they will have to accept and live among people and with different people (maths teacher, primary school).

The above statements were not representative of the surveyed group. The majority of teachers did not recognise in their daily work the activities and situations in which they naturally work with pupils' emotions, which are important for the individual and social development of pupils and the justification of the meaning of their work at school, as one Polish language teacher in a general secondary school put it:

> Through the implementation of educational hours, didactic programmes, class meetings, excursions, and voluntary activities, the school also enters into the emotional sphere of the pupils, because in addition to the didactic process, it allows them to deal with problems that are not directly related to learning, but are an important part of the pupils' lives. It teaches empathy, and compassion and develops a desire to help others. It is important with what baggage we go into the world and how prepared we are to deal with other people.

The practices listed above can be referred to the different levels of the school's educational culture. Among them, there are listed activities that directly result from the functions of the school and the teacher (contact with the educator, educational lessons, cooperation with the educator, workshops, etc.) and those non-formalised activities that are not controlled and their educational value is not assessed. Since the emotional system, present indirectly in the symbolic layer of culture, is revealed in emotional exchanges, relationships and interpersonal communication are essential for the socialisation of the rules of emotional culture. Only 5 of the surveyed teachers pointed to everyday interactions, attitudes, and behaviour of all participants in school life as a source of educational patterns and content.

The practices mentioned by the teachers include systemic solutions and those resulting from everyday school practices. Their value is that they draw on the organisational, social, and cultural potential of the school:

1) systemic solutions stemming from the school's statutes or developed at the school and introduced by a decision of the board of education:
    a) classroom mediators (1 school) who help to resolve conflicts in groups and also in the teacher-class relationship; teacher tutors (1 school) – volunteer teachers who meet with students, talk and work out together with the student how to solve problems. In addition to school difficulties, students most often seek support in interpersonal conflicts and group relations. A teacher tutor who participated in the research admitted that during these meetings, she very often helps students to develop strategies to deal with their emotions;
    b) an active pedagogue and school psychologist (5 schools), who in addition to intervention and prevention activities, implement projects, organise workshops, consultations for parents, and integration programmes for classes;

c) educational team (2 schools) – teachers, in cooperation with a psychologist and a pedagogue, as well as with the psychological-educational counselling centre, carry out extensive activities for the development of students' social-emotional competencies: workshops, meetings with parents, lectures, and workshops for teachers. In the other schools, the teachers surveyed admitted that emotional education issues are not addressed in these teams unless they are linked to learning or behavioural problems;

d) classes with the class teacher, the so-called 'educational lessons', which, on the recommendation of the head teacher (2 schools), must be devoted to working with the group and not to administrative activities. The value of educational lessons and contact with a teacher who is involved with the students was recognised by some respondents. One teacher appreciated the importance of contact with the form tutor as follows:

With the current core curriculum, the school could teach these skills, but it teaches them on a much smaller scale. There is a big role for the educator, who can influence students through educational lessons, extracurricular activities, conversations with students, or – as I do – additional excursions. I meet students, we talk, we listen to music, we watch films, and I take them on trips to important historical places (history teacher, primary school).

A high school class teacher thinks and feels the same way:

I feel unsatisfied, the contact with my class has decreased a lot and I feel bad about it because I only have three hours with them. To be a good class teacher, you need to be with your class for at least five hours a week. I tell the headmistress, "I'd rather have more hours..." How many of my biology lessons have already been spent talking! You can mobilise them more, know what's going on and react (Biology teacher, high school).

Emotional competencies can be developed in various ways during educational lessons. Firstly, the teacher can make use of methodical materials for use in classes to develop the social, emotional, and at the same time communicative competencies of the students. In addition to this, discussing with the class what is going on in the social space of the school and its surroundings, talking about interpersonal relationships, naming emotions, showing the connection between feelings, thinking, and behaviour, or showing and practising different ways of dealing with emotions are forms of emotional coaching whose value is underestimated in schools. They do not require any organisational or financial effort but 'only' an emotionally competent teacher who is aware of his or her role in the development of emotional competence in school.

2) Day-to-day practices in school during which teachers work with pupils' emotions and pupils learn about emotional rules and develop skills:

a) obligatory daily close contact with the class teacher (4 teachers), who takes responsibility for the class and looks after the students' welfare, needs and interests:

Contrary to what is said, the school can do a lot. Many emotions are experienced here. The teacher has to pay attention to them, to help students work through them. I talk, reassure, and explain e.g. before an exam, or a test that they can be nervous and tell them how they can cope (Polish teacher, primary school).

b) relationships with emotionally competent teachers who recognise and reflectively manage their emotions and those of their students (3 teachers). Teachers acknowledged that actions are mostly interventionist and there is a lack of a developed, systemic approach to emotions in school:

Of course, I feel I have to educate at break time, in the classroom, or on a trip. When going outside the school walls, I also respond. Emotional education? Unfortunately, I feel that this duty falls on the school in these drastic cases (geography teacher, primary school).

In interpersonal relationships, different emotions come to the fore and this is also where we work so that they know how to express them. The current system prevents the systemic training of emotional intelligence. This is done on occasion, in individual lessons (history teacher, primary school).

c) multifaceted upbringing and didactic interactions (3 teachers) – teachers usually combine emotional education with the formation of social competencies and pro-social attitudes. A Polish language teacher at a lower secondary school gave an example of a film project in which pupils discuss films they have watched together, and describe the experiences of film characters and their feelings. They learn to name emotions and understand their relevance for social relations and decision-making. It is not only within humanities education that meaningful work with emotions can be undertaken. A chemistry teacher (primary school) sees considerable potential for emotional education:

Emotional education can go on in the classroom. I think I allow myself sometimes that it's not just chemistry. I bring up practical threads e.g. when we discuss the formula for carbon monoxide, we talk through how it is in practice. I deliberately create fear so that they remember. If there is a parenting issue, I don't sweep it under the carpet, we talk, I don't shout, and I don't comment. If it's a sensitive issue, I meet with the students after the lesson.

d) cooperation within the pedagogical team, sharing own ideas, and so-called "collegial visits" (3 schools). Based on her many years of experience as a Polish language teacher and teacher of creative activity classes (primary school), she is convinced that only a culture of cooperation and mutual respect is a guarantee for a good educational environment:

A common strategy is important. Collegial visits, once frequent, gave signals from the observer that something was wrong. What the teacher did with these observations was another matter, but he was informed. Sometimes teachers ask me how I do it that I have such a good relationship with the students, and deal with them. I say: 'Come and see, I'd love to come to your lessons too'. Young teachers don't want to hear about it at all. It's

> like undermining their authority... However, it's about something completely different, about sharing good practice.

Regardless of the values and goals of education contained in official documents, declared in speeches, and proclaimed on school posters and newspapers, it is in everyday interactions that students can develop emotionally. Bearing in mind that emotional education takes place in everyday life and its rituals and interactions, it is even more worrying that teachers do not reflect on their actions. They fail to recognise the everyday practices that foster emotional education, among other things, they are not aware of being emotional role models. They do not connect with their professional role how to express and name emotions, self-presentation, or self-control in difficult situations. They do not know that talking about emotions, linking them to other experiences, and situations, and explaining the consequences of emotional behaviour is education in its own right. Teachers were mostly reluctant to talk about tasks in this sphere and reduced them to interventions, conflict resolution, reassuring, and sometimes comforting students. They also did not address social-emotional development during the educational lessons. This clearly negative image of emotional education at school was overdone by 17 of the 33 teachers surveyed. Based on the analysis of the teachers' narratives as a whole, excerpts of which are presented here, it can be concluded that a transmissive model of emotional education prevails in schools. This is evidenced by the frequently used words and phrases describing the school's handling of emotions, such as conflict, difficulty, control, "you can't give in...", "you mustn't shout...", "why to waste time analysing who is to blame...", "this is not the place to cry...", "there is no time to learn because of their whims...". The majority of the teachers surveyed (20 people) do not know how, do not want to, or do not think about how progression in emotional behaviour can be stimulated: how to encourage naming emotions, linking them to a behaviour, a specific feeling e.g. physical or situation, and how to help deal with aversive and difficult feelings.

The collected descriptions of school practices do not give a shadow of an illusion – in the majority of the surveyed schools, pupils do not learn to understand and apply the rules of emotional culture, and they do not practise emotional skills – at least not in officially organised classes. The way of talking about emotions, linking them to difficult situations, lack of time and priority teaching tasks, the need to implement the core curriculum, or, finally, the lack of professional competence to act in this area clearly indicates that the school separates education and teaching. This is a dangerous procedure that reduces the effectiveness of teaching. The importance of the emotional-volitional sphere in creating the context for learning is pointed

out, among others, by D. Pankowska: "In transactional analysis, effective teaching must be linked to what is happening in the student (in the sphere of his/her feelings, motivation, attitudes), in the peer group in the classroom and mutual relations with the teacher. Creating optimal conditions for teaching is not only about the proper organisation of the educational process, but also about creating an emotional climate that would foster the development of the pupils' subjectivity" (2012, p. 25).

In their statements and comments on school reality, several of the teachers interviewed (3 female teachers and 2 male teachers) emphasised their educational attitudes, which differed from the prevailing rhetoric and school practice. I have quoted their statements most often, as they indicated a high level of awareness of the role of emotions in education and everyday school life. These were the teachers who expressed concern for pupils' well-being, noted the link between well-being and positive emotions (e.g. the role of mirror neurons) and learning, did not prohibit pupils from expressing negative emotions (anger, embarrassment, shame, fear, etc.), but encouraged them to name, work through and constructively express them. Literally, they did emotional coaching.

Taking into account the investive way in which emotional competence is formed (Zeidner, 2008), its cultural nature (Saarni, 1999), and the interpersonal modelling of emotional behaviour, several guidelines can be addressed to educators, parents, and teachers, also derived from transactional analysis (Jagieła, 2011; Pankowska, 2012). The development of emotional competence is fostered by:

1) avoiding communication blockages such as punishing, judging and moralising, typical of the I'm Ok – You're Not Ok attitude, which blocks the development of emotional awareness and leads to the suppression of emotions;

2) control of the parenting behaviour in terms of the negative states of the Critical Parent and the Caring Parent – de facto this is the avoidance of parenting errors leading to the objectification of the child/student and the identification of the child/student with an obstacle as in parenting errors such as rigorism, inhibition of activity, giving in or treating the child as weak as in substitution;

3) the use of the language of acceptance characteristic of the I am OK – You are OK life position, through which the child/student learns to name his or her own and other people's emotions, and attempts reflective self-control. The positive life position of the teacher facilitates the expression of needs and emotions characteristic of the child's state and helps in the transition to the adult state - the essence of emotional competence;

4) building close, trusting and empathetic relationships with students based on the belief that People are OK;

5) ensuring the condition of the pupil's subjectivity, understood as the goal of upbringing (subject orientation) and as a model of the educational relationship in which the child can make choices and take responsibility for his or her actions;

6) the positive emotional climate of daily interactions – use of personal classroom management style and non-directive ways of solving difficulties;

7) caring for relationships in the classroom, i.e. talking meaningfully about emotions, respecting emotional individuality, and taking into account children's and young people's needs and feelings when organising work in the classroom;

8) working with parents to improve their pedagogical culture, i.e.

   a) developing knowledge of how to deal with the child to meet his or her needs and support development in all spheres,

   b) deepening interpersonal competencies (such as taking the child's perspective, being aware of what the child is and what the child's needs are at the moment, being able to communicate to set reasonable limits for the child and resolve conflicts) and intrapersonal competencies (self-awareness including reaching the highest levels of awareness of one's own emotions, positive self-image, emotional self-control).

Valid for the realisation of the above-mentioned conditions are practical educational guidelines derived from transactional analysis (Bereźnicka, 2016; Jagieła and Sarnat-Ciastko, 2015; Pankowska, 2005), non-directive parenting by T. Gordon (2014), methods of communicating with the child by A. Mazlich and E. Faber (2013) or classroom discipline strategies based on an AT in the study by C. Edwards (2006, p. 158–187).

Summary

Undoubtedly, it is the parents who determine the development of emotional competence, and the school, child, and family support services can only attempt to support the development of their pupils through training, workshops, corrective and therapeutic measures, and educating parents. Ultimately, whenever there is a discussion about what the school could do for the pupil, the key question is how to prepare teachers for educational work, in this case with the pupil's emotions. If one accepts one of the basic assumptions of contemporary pedeutology concerning personality work in the teaching profession (cf. Kwiatkowska, 2003), the question of how to strengthen the teacher's predispositions is more legitimate. Working with one's personality imposes a 'compulsion' of a high in-

tellectual and emotional standard on the teacher. Invoking the words of Antonio Gramsci, the teacher, like every human being "[...] is engaged in some form of intellectual activity – he or she is a philosopher, an artist, a gourmand, he is a participant in a particular conception of the world, he has a moral consciousness, and so he perpetuates an image of the world or changes it, provides new models of thinking" (Jenks, 1999, p. 113). Teachers practice a specialised cognitive style and emotional ideology rooted in the everyday life and school organizational culture. They are the intellectual elite who create and represent the emotional culture of the school. What teachers say and how they say it, what emotions and how they express them, and finally how they relate to the students pupils are indicative of what ego status dominates their personality: do they work with emotions like an Adult, do they succumb to their own emotions like a Child, or do they focus excessively on inhibiting emotions like a Parent? The question of competence in working with a child's emotions is, therefore a question of what kind of person the teacher is and whether he or she is emotionally competent.

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Ideologie i praktyka edukacji emocjonalnej w szkole – perspektywa interakcyjna

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest prezentacja i analiza wyników badań na temat edukacji emocjonalnej prowadzonej w polskiej szkole. W części pierwszej, stanowiącej teoretyczne wprowadzenie do problematyki, przedstawiłam autorską koncepcję ideologii wychowania/edukacji emocjonalnej. Scharakteryzowałam ideologię transmisji, romantyczną, inaczej niedyrektywną, oraz humanistyczno-progresywną w aspekcie statusu emocji w wychowaniu oraz stosowanych metod wychowawczych. Zasadnicza część tekstu zawiera analizę wywiadów jakościowych z nauczycielami na temat ich doświadczeń w zakresie pracy pedagogicznej nad rozwojem kompetencji emocjonalnej uczniów. Artykuł kończą wskazania – dobre praktyki, które znajdują swoje uzasadnienie także w założeniach analizy transakcyjnej.

Słowa kluczowe: emocje, edukacja emocjonalna, kompetencja emocjonalna, wychowanie w szkole.