E M O T I O N S

MAŁGORZATA GRUCHOŁA

CONCEPTUALISATION OF EMOTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Emotions are a complex pattern of physical and mental changes, encompassing physiological arousal, feelings, cognition, visible ways of expression (facial expressions and body language), as well as specific behavioural reactions appearing as a response to a situation considered important for a particular person. Although many emotions and the ways of expressing them are universal, some words used to designate them, despite referring to the same emotions, are understood differently across cultures. The dominant view in social sciences is that expressing emotions is biologically founded and culturally conditioned. It was until the 1960s that the cultural character of emotions was emphasised. Arguments supporting this came from observations made by anthropologists and travellers, showing that members of different cultures have different ways of expressing emotions. It was believed that there is no biologically determined and culturally-shared basis of emotional behaviour. The view chimed with the cultural studies—i.e., according to the hypothesis of linguistic relativity (also known as the Sapir–Whorf hypothesis), there are no extra-cultural "rules of thinking," and the structure of the human mind is determined by a speaker's language, which is a component of a given culture.[1] Culture can have an influence on:

Dr hab. MAŁGORZATA GRUCHOŁA, Associate Professor at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Institute of Journalism and Management, Department of Visual Communication and New Media; address for correspondence: Instytut Dziennikarstwa i Zarządzania KUL, Al. Racławickie 14, 20-950 Lublin, Poland; e-mail: malgorzata.gruchola@kul.pl; ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2367-0416.

1) Categorisation of emotions: some emotions are not lexicalised in certain languages, e.g. in Tahitan there is no word for sadness.

2) Prioritisation of emotions: basic emotions vary across cultures. Shame is perceived as an essential emotion in some non-Western cultures.

3) Different emotions being evoked: the same situations can evoke different emotions in different cultures.

4) Differences in the expression of non-verbal emotions: rules of the expression of emotions vary across cultures. These are norms which determine whether emotions should be expressed, and if so, which ones, when, and how.

5) The power of cultural norms: cultural norms determine how and when one should express emotions, which are not felt (the workload of emotions). In some cultures, mourners should express grief, in some others they should remain stoical.[2]

6) Values promoted within a given culture: a belief that acquisition of material goods (e.g. purchase of a house) brings happiness. In reality, what contributes to happiness is much more complex and individual.[3]

7) Geographical location. Neighbouring areas show a tendency to understand the concept/emotion in a similar way. It is an effect of the shared history and traditions.

8) Standards which determine the ways of expressing emotions. The Chinese or the Japanese are emotionally reserved, they suppress negative emotions. Many meanings are communicated non-literally, by means of allusions, with a big role attributed to the context. Culture performs a correcting function.

Steven Gordon,[4] a representative of social constructivism, made a distinction between two emotional orientations: institutional and impulsive within the framework of emotional culture. In the institutional orientation, individuals control the expression of their emotions, they express them in line with the norms accepted in a given culture. In the impulsive orientation (typical of primary emotions: fear, sadness, anger, happiness), individuals express

---

[1] "Emotion: Emotion and Culture," accessed March 30, 2020, https://www.sparknotes.com/psychology/psych101/emotion/section4.

[2] "Emotion: Emotion and Culture".

[3] June GRUBER, ed., *Positive Emotion, Integrating the Light Sides and Dark Sides* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 53–72.

[4] Steven GORDON, "The Sociology of Sentiments and Emotions," in *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*, ed. Morris Rosenberg and Jonathan H. Turner (New York: Routledge, 1981), 562–92.

emotions in a spontaneous way, violating the norms. The emotional lexicon of an individual is not particularly rich: the expression of emotions may change rapidly depending on the circumstances. The institutional orientation focuses on social emotions (vindictiveness, shame, pride, a sense of guilt, compassion). To express them one needs a richer emotional lexicon and a good command of the ways of regulating one's emotions.[5]

1. THE EMOTION OF HAPPINESS/JOY, SATISFACTION, PRIDE

Happiness is often defined as a pleasurable emotional state, which is characterised by a feeling of satisfaction, joy, well-being. The studies of happiness intensified in the 1960s. Together with the concept of well-being, it became the object of study for anthropologists, cultural experts and sociologists. Each science offers its own definitions and approaches towards happiness. Anthropology studies the cultural context of happiness, sociologists view happiness from the context of social conditions. Happiness can be expressed through a facial expression (e.g. smile), body language (a relaxed posture), voice (e.g. its pleasurable, optimistic tone).[6]

The concept of happiness offers many semantic prototypes in European languages:

– Latin: *fortuna* (happiness understood in an objective way), *beatitudo* (spiritual happiness), *felicitas* (joy);

– Greek: *euthychia* (good fate), *eudaimonia* (possessing the greatest goods), *ataraxia* (peace of mind);

– English: luck (good things that happen to you by chance), happiness (a state of mind), satisfaction (a feeling of happiness or pleasure because you have achieved something or got what you wanted);

– German: *Glück* (a state of mind), *Glückseligkeit* (bliss), *Glücksfall* (lucky chance);

– Polish: *szczęście* (lucky chance), *zadowolenie* (satisfaction), *radość* (joy).[7]

The repeating concepts are happiness understood as luck or a state of mind. In Polish *szczęście* refers both to being lucky (e.g. "mam szczęście")

---

[5] Renata GÓRALSKA, "Kultura emocjonalna. W poszukiwaniu nowych ujęć praktyki szkolnej," *Rocznik Pedagogiczny* 41 (2018): 63–79.

[6] GRUBER, *Positive Emotion*, 67.

[7] Tatiana KANASZ, *Uwarunkowania szczęścia. Socjologiczna analiza wyobrażeń młodzieży akademickiej o szczęściu i udanym życiu* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademii Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 2015), 9.

and to the emotional state of being happy ("jestem szczęśliwy"). *Słownik Języka Polskiego*[8] offers three meanings of *szczęście*: 1) "good fate, when one prospers in certain endeavours, situations…; 2) a feeling of satisfaction, joy, bliss; also everything that leads to this state…; 3) good things that happen to you by chance." The first and the third meaning point towards the external, time-bound (the first is long term, the third is sudden, unexpected) conditions of "szczęście." The second meaning refers to the domain of emotions and feelings.

Maria Ossowska[9] presents four meanings of the concept of happiness: 1) fate, 2) a state of mind, 3) the sum of life experience, 4) the stereotypical sources of happiness (e.g. peace of mind, virtues, harmony). Empirical studies of happiness attempt to define it as a kind of satisfaction from life or a positive emotion, a personal or a socio-cultural value. The views on happiness have been changing over the course of time and across cultures, both from an individual and collective perspective. Happiness is a polysemous, multidimensional and subjective term.

The neurologist Antonio R. Damasio suggests that a conscious feeling of happiness is an image produced in the ego, connected with the concept of the id. Emotions are defined as "a set of reactions, many of which become externalised and visible for observers".[10] Damasio makes a distinction between primary emotions (e.g. happiness), secondary emotions (e.g. pride), and background emotions: well-being, enthusiasm, satisfaction, joy. For Damasio, pleasure is not an emotion but is connected with many shades of happiness, pride and positive background emotions.

In sociology, the term "emotion of happiness" points towards an evolutionary-neurological dimension of happiness and towards the scope of conscious and subconscious emotional states. Happiness understood as a social feeling or a sentiment is related to its socio-cultural character and conscious emotional states. Happiness understood as a social feeling is conceptualised through socialisation.

The emotion of happiness manifests itself in many ways and its intensity can vary. According to Jonathan Turner's typology,[11] happiness can be di-

---

[8] "Szczęście", in *Słownik Języka Polskiego*, ed. Mieczysław Szymczak (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PWN, 1994), 1502–3.

[9] Maria OSSOWSKA, *Motywy postępowania. Z zagadnień psychologii moralności* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Książka i Wiedza", 2002), 41–42.

[10] Damasio ANTONIO, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (London: Penguin, 2005), 50.

[11] Jonathan TURNER, "The Sociology of Emotions: Basic Theoretical Arguments," *Emotion Review* 1, no. 4 (2009): 340–54.

vided in line with the three levels of intensity: 1) low (the state of being sat-isfied, optimistic, cheerful), 2) moderate (being friendly, nice, good-natured, jolly), 3) high (being joyous, blissful, enthusiastic, delighted, exuberant, exultant). Happiness can last for a shorter or longer period of time. People can experience happiness with differing frequencies. It is described as an inter-personal emotion.[12] Happiness can be experienced when one shows kindness and warmth towards someone or receives it from someone. It is called an emotion of interaction, it facilitates cooperation among people. Being proud of one's achievements, deriving satisfaction from one's work, from relation-ships with friends, expressing gratitude, admiration of beauty and respect for the order of the universe are among emotional components of a happy life.[13] Paul Ekman[14] warns against defining happiness in terms of the categories of emotions or feelings as they are not precise enough.

Happiness may also refer to a general feeling of subjective well-being, hence go beyond the conceptual range of emotions. Consequently, two ap-proaches in the study of emotions could be presented: happiness viewed as a universal emotion or a culturally specific social feeling.[15] According to Alan Carr, happiness is defined as a positive mental state, synonymous to "subjec-tive well-being", characterised by a high level of satisfaction, positive affec-tive feelings and low levels of negative affective feelings.[16] Tatiana Kanasz[17] distinguished between the following dimensions of happiness:

– cognitive (what we know about happiness and its sources, together with the surrounding myths and stereotypes);

– emotional (what is experienced when happy);

– behavioural (how one behaves when happy, usually associated with being energetic, enthusiastic);

– temporal (how long happiness lasts; a distinction between short-term, long-term, and incidental happiness; happiness viewed in the context of the past, presence, and future);

– axiological (happiness viewed in the context of utilitarian, material, moral, spiritual, ethical values);

---

[12] Keith OATLEY and Jennifer M. JENKINS, *Understanding Emotions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

[13] DIENER and BISWAS-DIENER, *Szczęście. Odkrywanie*, 238–39.

[14] Paul EKMAN, *Emotions Revealed, Second Edition: Recognizing Faces and Feelings to Improve Communication and Emotional Life* (London: Owl Books Publishing, 2007).

[15] KANASZ, *Uwarunkowania szczęścia*, 45.

[16] Alan CARR, *Psychologia pozytywna. Nauka o szczęściu i ludzkich siłach*, trans. Zbigniew A. Królicki, Helena Sęk, and Łukasz Kaczmarek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, 2009), 66.

[17] KANASZ, *Uwarunkowania szczęścia*, 24–26.

 – objective-subjective (happiness as conditioned by external factors and as a subjective mental state);

 – social-individual (conditioned by the society and by the individual).

In his definition of happiness, Kanasz combines the individual and social dimension. Happiness becomes an individual experience, is experienced by an individual in a biographic dimension. Simultaneously, social, cultural, and historical factors play an important role here. Subjective happiness is tantamount to satisfaction from one's life as a whole and in its particular aspects. This, in turn, is related to the category of values. Similarly to happiness, satisfaction may also be of a varying degree of intensity.[18]

Defining, experiencing and expressing happiness is culture-dependent. The cultural context of emotions is based on the embedded values, norms and rules of behaviour. It embraces the issues of auto-definition and stereotypes. Some societies promote the suppression of joy, happiness. Others promote staying positive even when in an uncomfortable position. The concept of happiness is understood differently in the Western and Eastern cultures. For American people, happiness is an intense emotion, connected with optimism and energy. For the Indian and Chinese people, it is a state of peace and harmony.[19] Pride can be a predictor of happiness for Americans, while kindness and good nature is characteristic of the Japanese.[20] Western cultures promote goal-oriented, pro-active ways of managing with problems, while Eastern cultures promote experiencing the world as it is.[21] Societies differ in terms of cultural norms concerning what happiness is. They also differ in the approaches towards happiness, or unhappiness, experienced by oneself and by other people. The understanding of happiness combines emotions of a varying degree of intensity: from being satisfied to being delighted. They refer to the desirable values: friendship, love, health, passion, work, home, goals, aspirations; a high self-esteem, an ability to cope with difficult situations.[22]

---

[18] Ibid., 26.

[19] Ed DIENER and Robert BISWAS-DIENER, *Szczęście. Odkrywanie bogactwa psychicznego* (Sopot: Smak Słowa, 2010), 155.

[20] Shinobu KITAYAMA, Batja MESQUITA, and Mayumi KARASAWA, "Cultural Affordances and Emotional Experience: Socially Engaging and Disengaging Emotions in Japan and the United States," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 91, no. 5 (2006): 157.

[21] Elizabeth GILBERT, *I że cię nie opuszczę*, trans. Marta Jabłońska-Majchrzak (Poznań: Dom Wydawniczy REBIS, 2010), 66.

[22] KANASZ, *Uwarunkowania szczęścia*, 45.

Happiness can be defined as a category of emotion, satisfaction or value. Viewed from the perspective of emotions, happiness is experiencing more or less intensive joyous moments (however, being happy does not exclude experiencing negative emotions). From a sociologist's perspective, happiness is a social emotion, connected with interpersonal relations. Values of importance are acceptance, a sense of belonging, respect, trust, affinity, cooperation, while happiness is produced through relationships: friendship, love, marriage. Viewed from the cognitive perspective, love is defined as a satisfaction from life as a whole and in its particular aspects. When evaluating one's life, one compares various aspects of life to other people's position. Through socialisation one gets to know the situations of experiencing happiness and ways of expressing it. Psychologists point out that socio-demographic features affect happiness only to a small extent. What is of essence is the degree and dynamics of the experienced emotions.[23]

2. EMOTION OF SADNESS, RESENTMENT, UNCERTAINTY, DESPAIR, LONGING

Sadness is an emotion defined as a temporary emotional state, characterised by a feeling of disillusion, grief, hopelessness, a lack of interest.[24] It can come with varying degrees of intensity, beginning from slight melancholy, through depression, to despair or desperation (sad, worried, suffering, longing, agonising, unhappy, rejected, alienated, disappointed, despaired, mourning, dissatisfied, broken, hurt). Sadness can be expressed in many ways, including: suppressed mood, apathy, alienation, crying. The kind and intensity of sadness may differ depending on its primary cause and the way people cope with negative feelings. It can lead to the coping mechanisms such as isolation, negative thoughts.[25] As with all emotions, sadness performs an important role: it is a natural and standard reaction to a feeling of loss (of a person, an objective). Through sadness we communicate the need to be helped.

Physical symptoms of sadness are a sad facial expression, slow movements, apathy, isolation, taciturnity, complaining about one's fate. The con-

---

[23] Ibid., 46.

[24] Kendra CHERRY, "The 6 Types of Basic Emotions and Their Effect on Human Behavior," accessed March 27, 2020, https://www.verywellmind.com/an-overview-of-the-types-of-emotions-4163976.

[25] CHERRY, "The 6 Types".

sequences of being sad are: anger, shame, anxiety, as well as other negative emotions: pessimism, nightmares, blaming others, hopelessness, depersonalisation, dissociation, indifference, shock.[26]

Resentment is a certain kind of sadness, combined with bitterness and anger. It may be directed towards someone or something (one can feel resentment towards doctors, teachers, priests, or you can think with resentment about: health service, education, religious practice), however, the source of resentment does not need to be mentioned (one can *cry with resentment*, you can *be filled with resentment.*[27]

One of the sources of sadness and pain is longing. According to Anna Wierzbicka,[28] the terms *to miss/missing* and *to long for/longing for* combine feelings of nostalgia, painful loss of someone or something, a desire to be united with what or who is not present. It may be such a strong feeling that one loses their energy (*pine for something/someone)*. Cliff Goddard defines it as "the pain of distance".[29]

3. EMOTION OF FEAR, ANXIETY, DISTRUST

Fear/anxiety and distrust may be perceived either as an emotional state triggered in a specific context and limited in time, or as a personality trait, independent of the time and situation (clinical anxiety).[30] Fear is a negative emotion, rooted in certain threats. It is linked with unpleasant mental states (e.g. paralysis, helplessness, inability to handle a situation), as well as with unpleasant somatic reactions (e.g. shivering, sweating, a racing heart).[31] It performs both positive and negative functions. It can be a warning against a threat, an alarm signal, which allows one to take certain actions to ensure safety. It can also mobilise one to prepare for challenges. On the negative side, it is associated with negative physical reactions of the organism, which

---

[26] "Smutek", accessed April 22, 2020, https://emocje.pro/encyklopedia-emocji-smutek.

[27] Barbara ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Wyrażanie emocji negatywnych w polonistycznej praktyce glottodydaktycznej* (Warsaw: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2019), 166.

[28] Anna WIERZBICKA, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 33.

[29] Cliff GODDARD, *Semantic Analysis: A Practical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 116.

[30] Arne ÓHMAN, "Strach i lęk z perspektywy ewolucyjnej, poznawczej i klinicznej," in LEWIS and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 718–44.

[31] Philip STRONG, "Epidemic Psychology: A Model," *Sociology of Health & Illness* 12, no. 3 (2010): 253.

can take irrational actions.[32] However, it can play an important role in the survival of the organism.

The expression of fear may encompass the following symptoms: a facial expression (dilated pupils, the chin going down), fleeing from the threat, physiological reactions (e.g. a racing heart, gasping for breath). Fear is an emotional reaction to a direct or expected threat, or even to thoughts of a threat, usually associated with anxiety. A repeated exposure to a situation of fear may lead to adaptation, which can diminish the emotion of fear and anxiety.[33]

Cultural scripts instruct people how to react to threats. Individuals interpret and internalise the rules of the scripts in accordance with their temper and circumstances. Elias notes that "the intensity, types and structures of fear and anxiety, which just smoulder or flare up, are not only dependent on an individual's 'nature'. They are determined by the history and actual structure of an individual's relationship with others."[34] Therefore, the emotion of fear is dependent on a given situation but also, simultaneously, is a product of social engineering. Fear is determined by the ego and the interaction between the ego with others as well as by cultural scripts. Instead of taking fear for granted, as an obvious emotion, we should study the significance attributed to fear and the regularities behind the way fear is experienced and expressed.[35] Sociologists studying fear have to ask questions about the potential meaning of emotional events. A distinction should be made between "collective emotional standards in the society" and subjective, individual experiences.[36] Even though an individual's emotional experience is an important aspect of fear, attempts should be made to conceptualise fear as a social phenomenon. Cultural norms, which shape the management of emotions and their expression, also have an influence on the ways fear is experienced. The intensity of fear is not directly proportional to the objective nature of a

---

[32] Józef KOZIELECKI, *Psychologia nadziei* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak, 2006); Małgorzata SZATAN, "Strach a lęk w ujęciu nauk humanistycznych," *Studia Gdańskie* 31 (2012): 325.

[33] Kasia KOZLOWSKA et al., "Fear and the Defense Cascade: Clinical Implications and Management," *Harv Rev Psychiatry* 23, no. 4 (2015): 263–87.

[34] Norbert ELIAS, *The Civilizing Process*, vol. 2, *State Formation and Civilization* (London: Blackwell, 1982), 327.

[35] Frank FUREDI, *The Culture of Fear: Risk-Taking and the Morality of Low Expectation* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1997); FUREDI, *Emotions Revealed, Second Edition: Recognizing Faces and Feelings to Improve Communication and Emotional Life* (London: Orion Publishing Group, 2007).

[36] Peter N. STEARNS and Jan LEWIS, eds., *An Emotional History of the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 7.

specific threat. Adversities and misfortunes do not lead directly to fear. Re-
actions to the circumstances are rather based on cultural norms, which in-
form people what is expected of them when they confront threat, how they
are supposed to feel and react. These informal expectations were described
by Arlie Hochschild[37] as "feeling rules". They affect people's behaviour,
they instruct them what they should be afraid of and how to express it. Ac-
cording to Anthony Giddens, "people cope with danger and associated
threats through emotional and behavioral formulas, which became a part of
everyday thoughts and behaviour."[38] The transition of anxious reactions into
fear requires the intervention of social forces, described by Frank Furedi as
"fear entrepreneurs".[39] According to David Altheide, "fear does not just hap-
pen, it is socially constructed, and then manipulated by those who seek to
benefit."[40] This claim is contrary to the idea that fear is a natural or psycho-
logical phenomenon. The way fear is experienced is constantly shaped by
cultural and historical factors, and fear is not always characterised negative-
ly. For Thomas Hobbes fear may be perceived as a reasonable reaction to
new events and big changes.[41] Words and expressions used to describe fear
are culture specific and motivated historically. These days fear is experi-
enced in a broken and shattered form. The transition from collective fear to
individual fear was aptly described by capture Nan Elin,[42] who argued that
fear experienced today is no longer "a fear of dangerous classes" but it
"came back home" and is more private-like. It is a kind of fear that requires
constant monitoring of all aspects of our lives, as even the most mundane ac-
tivities are regarded as dangerous and risky. What is personal is not only the
form of fear but also the way it is experienced. According to Zygmunt Bau-
man,[43] post-modernism took interest in fear of modernity, and John Keane
pointed towards a growing tendency to turn private fears into public ones.[44]
A characteristic feature of modern fears is that they seem to exist inde-

---

[37] Arlie R. HOCHSCHILD, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 3 (1979): 85.

[38] Anthony GIDDENS, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Cambridge: Polity 1991), 44.

[39] FUREDI, *Emotions Revealed.*

[40] David ALTHEIDE, *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 2002), 24.

[41] Corey ROBIN, *Fear: The History of a Political Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[42] Nan ELIN, *Postmodern Urbanism* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 26.

[43] Zygmunt BAUMAN, *Intimations of Postmodernity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992).

[44] John TULLOCH and Deborah LUPTON, *Risk and Everyday Life* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 38.

pendently, in an objective form as an identifiable social issue.[45] Fear, similarly to risk, is a cultural form of expressing confusion and doubt. A proper sociological understanding of fear requires further studies into how emotions are rooted in today's views of culture.

4. EMOTION OF ANGER, WRATH

There is no consensus among the theoreticians of emotions on whether anger belongs with primary emotions (e.g. Izard)[46] or it is socially constructed.[47] However, they do agree that anger performs numerous adaptive functions. It regulates and organises internal mental and physiological processes related to dominance, self-defence and controlling interpersonal and social behaviour (e.g. Lewis, Sullivan, Ramsay and Alessandri[48]). According to Keith Oatley and Jennifer M. Jenkins,[49] anger is supposed to provide us with ready-made templates of behaviour.

Even though the scripts provided by anger "are far from perfect, they are still better than passivity, randomness of action, being lost in thoughts."[50] Anger sends information about the individual's relationship with the social environment and determines her reaction to a given situation. The reaction may be adaptive to a greater or lesser extent. It is regulated in an interpersonal context, during the process of socialising. Each cultures has its "expression rules",[51] mentefacts (Donald W. Klopf), cultural scripts (Arlie Hochschild), determining when, at whom, and how to express anger in a socially accepted way. That is why problems with a proper expression of anger will rebound on one's social relations. At the same time, it should be stressed that a distinction made by Steven Gordon[52] between two emotional orientations (institutional and impulsive) allows us to note that the same

---

[45] FUREDI, *Emotions Revealed*, 137.

[46] Carroll E. IZARD, *The Psychology of Emotions* (New York: Plenum Press, 1991).

[47] Linda A. CAMRAS, "Expressive Development and Basie Emotions," *Cognition and Emotion* 6 (1992): 269–83.

[48] Merry MCVAE, Margaret W. SULLIVAN, and Michael LEWIS, "Individual Differences in Anger and Sad Expressions during Extinction: Antecedents and Consequences," *Infant Behavior and Development* 15 (1992): 443–52.

[49] OATLEY, JENKINS, *Understanding Emotions*.

[50] Elisabeth LEMERISE and Kenneth A. DODGE, "Rozwój złości i wrogich interakcji," in LEWIS and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 746.

[51] GORDON, "The Sociology of Sentiments," 562–92.

[52] Ibid., 562–80.

emotion may carry various meanings in various situations. Expression of anger and dissatisfaction during the COVID-19 pandemic equals losing self-control. From the perspective of the impulsiveness, expression of anger can signify a violation of social norms.

Anger is a strong emotion characterised by hostility, anxiety, frustration and antagonism towards others. Similarly to fear, it can play a role in the fight-or-flight response. Anger is often expressed through facial expressions (e.g. frowning), body language (posture), voice tone (e.g. shouting), physiological reactions (e.g. sweating), and aggressive behaviour (e.g. punching, throwing objects). Apart from negative functions, it can also play a constructive role (e.g. helps to explain the needs in a relationship, can motivate solution-seeking). Uncontrolled anger may turn into aggression, bullying and violence, it may hinder rational reactions. Therefore, it may have physical and psychological consequences.[53]

5. SELF-CONSCIOUS (INTERNALISED) EMOTIONS

Self-conscious emotions (e.g. guilt, shame, pride, embarrassment, jealousy, empathy, envy, intimidation, shame) develop in the later stage of human life, and their prerequisite are specific cognitive skills. They cannot be described merely by observing the movement of facial muscles; it is necessary to observe body movements. There are no clearly defined situations or factors generating this type of emotions. They are most probably related to a group of events, which can be identified by the one experiencing emotions.[54] For instance, the emotion of pride appears when someone (e.g. a doctor or a paramedic) evaluates their behaviour during the pandemic in relation to a point of reference, some norm (e.g. the number of patients) or an objective, and concludes that they have achieved success. On the other hand, a sense of guilt or shame appears when such an evaluation makes an individual believe that they were a failure.

In the case of self-conscious emotions, the main role is played by a set of norms and objectives, which are constructs of culture, passed from generation to generation. They require to be learnt and accepted. They imply self-

---

[53] CHERRY, "The 6 Types."

[54] Michael LEWIS, "Emocje samoświadomościowe: zażenowanie, duma, wstyd, poczucie winy," in LEWIS and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 780–81.

evaluation. The intensity of emotions depends on sensitivity to the opinions of others, whether approving or disapproving. For instance, shame is the result of self-evaluation of one's actions within the context of respected norms and objectives, and the holistic evaluation of the self. Those feeling ashamed want to vanish, hide, even be dead. It is a negative and painful state which hinders one's behaviour, thoughts, and speech. Its physical symptom is squirming as if to disappear from the sight of others. Shame is not triggered by any particular, single situation. It is generated by an individual's interpretation of a given situation. It may be public and private ("I am ashamed that I have done it"). Shame may be also related to the ethics behind one's actions. People feel ashamed when they break ethical norms.

Another emotion, i.e. a sense of guilt or grief, is an emotional state appearing when "people evaluate their behaviour as a failure but focus on particular features and actions that led to the failure. A sense of guilt is connected with remedial actions which can be taken by the one experiencing guilt."[55] Pride is the result of a positive evaluation of certain actions. Joy is a phenomenological experience triggered by successful actions, thoughts, or feelings. Analogically to a sense of guilt, "I" becomes separated from the object; in the case of pride, the organism concentrates on the actions of the subject who takes pride in certain actions. Some researchers compare this positive emotional state to achievement motivation.[56]

6. EMPATHY AND COMPASSION

In scholarly literature, the notions of "empathy" and "compassion" have been applied in many research areas and with many meanings. In aesthetics, empathy refers to an indirect participation in an emotional and participation experience[57] (e.g. empathetic experience of the pandemic). George Herbert Mead defined empathy in terms of cognitive categories as "an ability to take the role of another person and to accept alternative ways of perceiving one-

---

[55] LEWIS, "Emocje samoświadomościowe," 788.

[56] Deborah STIPEK, et. al., "Self-Evaluation in Young Children," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development* 57, no. 1 (1992): 1–84.

[57] Edward B. TITCHENER, *A Beginner's Psychology* (New York: Macmillan, 1915); Nancy EISENBERG and Janet STRAYER, "Critical Issues in the Study of Empathy," in *Empathy and its Development*, ed. Nancy Eisenberg and Janet Strayer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3–13.

self".[58] Helene Borke described empathy as a cognitive ability to understand the emotional and psychological states of other people,[59] while Rosalind F. Dymond understood it as a social insight.[60] Such an ability was included in the semantic scope of the term: "adopting a role", "adopting a perspective", while "mind reading" was called "empathetic accuracy".[61] In clinical psychology the definitions of empathy encompassed compassion, as well as an ability to put oneself in other people's shoes and a clear distinction between oneself and others.[62] Some social psychologists treat empathy as an inference-involving cognitive process,[63] while others acknowledge both its cognitive and affective components. Nancy Eisenberg and Janet Strayer define empathy as an affective reaction, resulting from the understanding and perceiving of an emotional state of other people, consistent with other people's feelings, or with what we think they might be feeling, or very similar to either of these. Therefore, empathy should be kept distinct from passing emotions.[64] Empathy requires isolating a personal and someone else's emotional state and being aware of, at least to a minimal degree, such a difference in a situational context. Another vital distinction concerns empathy and related substitute emotions. Daniel Batson[65] made a distinction between compassion and personal discomfort. Nancy Eisenberg defines compassion as "an affective reaction of experiencing sadness in a situation when another person is in distress or in a bad spot, or manifesting itself through being worried about them (however, it is not tantamount to experiencing the same emotion)."[66] Compassion is a factor of cognitive processes (e.g. by adopting someone's perspective or drawing from a piece of information encoded in the memory and vital for the emotional state of another person,[67] or "an optimal level of

---

[58] George H. MEAD, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), 27.

[59] Helene BORKE, "Interpersonal Perception of Young Children: Egocentrism or Empathy?" *Developmental Psychology* 5 (1971): 263–69.

[60] Rosalind DYMOND, "Personality and Empathy," *Journal of Consulting Psychology* 14, no. 5 (1950): 343–50.

[61] Willian ICKES, Introduction to *Empathic Accuracy*, ed. William Ickes (New York: Guilford Press, 1997), 2; EISENBERG, LEWIS, and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 849–67.

[62] EISENBERG, "Empatia i współczucie," 849–67.

[63] ICKES, Introduction, 2; EISENBERG, "Empatia i współczucie," 849.

[64] EISENBERG and STRAYER, "Critical Issues in the Study of Empathy," 3–13.

[65] Charles D. BATSON, *The Altruism Question: Toward a Social-Psychological Answer* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1991).

[66] EISENBERG, "Empatia i współczucie," 849–67.

[67] Nancy EISENBERG ET AL., "Empathy-Related Responding and Cognition: A 'Chicken and the Egg' Dilemma," in *Handbook of Moral Behavior and Development*, ed. William Kurtines and Jacob Gewirtz (London: Lawrence Erlbaun, 1991), 63–88.

empathetic stimulation—strong enough to direct the empathy-feeling person towards another person, however, not so strong as to be of an aversive character."[68] People's tendencies to react with compassion are partially learnt, even though "adequate processes of socialising are of a complex character and may involve genetic factors."[69]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALTHEIDE, David. *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis.* New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 2002.

BATSON, Daniel C. *The Altruism Question: Toward a Social-Psychological Answer.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1991.

BAUMAN, Zygmunt. *Intimations of Postmodernity.* Abingdon: Routledge, 1992.

BORKE, Helene. "Interpersonal Perception of Young Children: Egocentrism or Empathy?" *Developmental Psychology* 5 (1971): 263–69.

CAMRAS, Linda A. "Expressive Development and Basie Emotions." *Cognition and Emotion* 6 (1992): 269–83.

CARR, Alan. *Psychologia pozytywna. Nauka o szczęściu i ludzkich siłach.* Translated by Zbigniew A. Królicki, Helena Sęk, and Łukasz Kaczmarek. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, 2009.

CHERRY, Kendra. "The 6 Types of Basic Emotions and Their Effect on Human Behavior." Accessed March 27, 2020. https://www.verywellmind.com/an-overview-of-the-types-of-emotions-4163976.

DAMASIO, Antonio. *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain.* New York: Penguin, 2005.

DIENER, Ed, and Robert BISWAS-DIENER. *Szczęście. Odkrywanie bogactwa psychicznego.* Sopot: Smak Słowa, 2010.

DYMOND, Rosalind. "Personality and Empathy." *Journal of Consulting Psychology* 14, no. 5 (1950): 343–50.

EISENBERG, Nancy. "Empatia i współczucie." In LEWIS and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 849–67.

EISENBERG, Nancy, Cindy L. SHEA, Gustavo CARLO, and George P. KNIGHT. "Empathy-Related Responding and Cognition: A 'Chicken and the Egg' Dilemma." In *Handbook of Moral Behavior and Development*, edited by William Kurtines and Jacob Gewirtz, 63–88. London: Lawrence Erlbaun, 1991.

EISENBERG, Nancy, and Janet STRAYER. "Critical Issues in the Study of Empathy." In *Empathy and its Development*, edited by Nancy Eisenberg and Janet Strayer, 3–13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

---

[68] Nancy EISENBERG, "Empatia i współczucie," in LEWIS and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 851.

[69] EISENBERG, "Empatia i współczucie," 862.

EKMAN, Paul. *Emotions Revealed, Second Edition: Recognizing Faces and Feelings to Improve Communication and Emotional Life.* London: Owl Books Publishing, 2007.

ELIAS, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process.* Vol. 2, *State Formation and Civilization.* London: Blackwell, 1982.

ELIN, Nan. *Postmodern Urbanism.* Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999. "Emotion: Emotion and Culture." Accessed March 30, 2020. https://www.sparknotes.com/psychology/psych101/emotion/section4.

FUREDI, Frank. *Emotions Revealed, Second Edition: Recognizing Faces and Feelings to Improve Communication and Emotional Life.* London: Orion Publishing Group, 2007.

FUREDI, Frank. *The Culture of Fear: Risk-Taking and the Morality of Low Expectation.* London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1997.

GIDDENS, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Cambridge: Polity, 1991.

GILBERT, Elisabeth. *I że cię nie opuszczę.* Trans. Marta Jabłońska-Majchrzak. Poznań: Rebis, 2010.

GODDARD, Cliff. *Semantic Analysis: A Practical Introduction.* Oxford University Press, 2011.

GÓRALSKA, Renata. "Kultura emocjonalna. W poszukiwaniu nowych ujęć praktyki szkolnej." *Rocznik Pedagogiczny* 41 (2018): 63–79.

GORDON, Steven. "The Sociology of Sentiments and Emotions". In *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*, edited by Morris Rosenberg and Jonathan H. Turner, 562–92. New York: Routledge, 1981.

GRUBER, June, ed. *Positive Emotion, Integrating the Light Sides and Dark Sides*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

HOCHSCHILD, Arlie R. "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure." *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 3 (1979): 551–75.

ICKES, Willian. Introduction to *Empathic Accuracy*, edited by William Ickes, 1–16. New York: Guilford Press, 1997.

IZARD, Carroll E. *The Psychology of Emotions.* New York: Plenum Press, 1991.

KANASZ, Tatiana. *Uwarunkowania szczęścia. Socjologiczna analiza wyobrażeń młodzieży akademickiej o szczęściu i udanym życiu.* Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademii Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 2015.

KITAYAMA, Shinobu, Batja MESQUITA, and Karasawa MAYUMI. "Cultural Affordances and Emotional Experience: Socially Engaging and Disengaging Emotions in Japan and the United States." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 91, no. 5 (2006): 157–69.

KOZIELECKI, Józef. *Psychologia nadziei.* Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak, 2006.

KOZLOWSKA, Kasia, Peter WALKER, Loyola MCLEAN, and Pascal CARRIVE. "Fear and the Defense Cascade: Clinical Implications and Management." *Harv Rev Psychiatry* 23, no. 4 (2015): 263–87.

LEMERISE, Elizabeth, and Kenneth A. DODGE. "Rozwój złości i wrogich interakcji." In LEWIS and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 745–60.

LEWIS, Michael, and Jeanette M. HAVILAND-JONES, eds. *Psychologia emocji*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, 2005.

LEWIS, Michael. "Emocje samoświadomościowe: zażenowanie, duma, wstyd, poczucie winy." In LEWIS and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 781–97.

ŁUKASZEWICZ, Barbara. *Wyrażanie emocji negatywnych w polonistycznej praktyce glottody-daktycznej.* Warsaw: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2019.

McVAE, Merry, Margaret W. SULLIVAN, and Michael LEWIS. "Individual Differences in Anger and Sad Expressions during Extinction: Antecedents and Consequences." *Infant Behavior and Development* 15 (1992): 443–52.

MEAD, George H. *Mind, Self, and Society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

OATLEY, Keith, and Jennifer M. JENKINS. *Understanding Emotions.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

ÓHMAN, Arne. "Strach i lęk z perspektywy ewolucyjnej, poznawczej i klinicznej." In LEWIS and HAVILAND-JONES, *Psychologia emocji*, 718–44.

OSSOWSKA, Maria. *Motywy postępowania. Z zagadnień psychologii moralności.* Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Książka i Wiedza", 2002.

ROBIN, Corey. *Fear: The History of A Political Idea.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

"Smutek." Accessed April 22, 2020. https://emocje.pro/encyklopedia-emocji-smutek.

STEARNS, Peter N., and Jan Lewis, eds. *An Emotional History of the United States.* New York: New York University Press, 1998.

STIPEK, Deborah et. al. "Self-Evaluation in Young Children." *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development* 57, no. 1 (1992): 1–84.

STRONG, Philip. "Epidemic Psychology: A Model." *Sociology of Health & Illness* 12, no. 3 (2010): 249–60.

SZATAN, Małgorzata. "Strach a lęk w ujęciu nauk humanistycznych." *Studia Gdańskie* 31 (2012): 325–42.

"Szczęście." In *Słownik Języka Polskiego*, edited by Mieczysław Szymczak, 1502–3. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PWN, 1994.

TITCHENER, Edward B. *A Beginner's Psychology.* New York: Macmillan, 1915.

TULLOCH, John, and Deborah LUPTON. *Risk and Everyday Life.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003.

TURNER, Jonathan. "The Sociology of Emotions: Basic Theoretical Arguments." *Emotion Review* 1, no. 4 (2009): 340–54.

WIERZBICKA, Anna. *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

CONCEPTUALISATION OF EMOTIONS

Summary

The objective of this article is the conceptualisation, in line with Steven Gordon's classification, of primary emotions: happiness, fear, sadness, and anger, together with "background emotions," and social emotions: empathy, compassion (and self-conscious emotions: a sense of guilt, shame, pride) in social sciences, with the underlying assumption of biological foundations and cultural conditions of emotions (the theory of "cultural scripts" by Norbert Elias, "feeling rules" by Arlie Hochschild). Theoretical conceptualisations of emotions are presented, viewed from the perspective of anthropologists, cultural experts, sociologists, psychologists and linguists. What is offered are descriptions of manifestations of emotions, ways of their expression, physical symp-

toms, degrees of intensity, crucial areas, mental and physical consequences, as well as their functions.

Keywords: conceptualisation; "background emotions"; primary emotions; social emotions; social sciences; Steven Gordon.

KONCEPTUALIZACJA EMOCJI

Streszczenie

Celem tego artykułu była konceptualizacja – zgodnie z klasyfikacją Stevena Gordona – emocji pierwotnych: szczęścia, strachu, smutku i gniewu wraz z „emocjami tła" oraz społecznych: empatia, współczucie (i samoświadomościowych: poczucie winy, wstyd, duma) w naukach społecznych, przy założeniu biologicznych podstaw i kulturowych uwarunkowań emocji (teoria „skryptów kulturowych" Norberta Eliasa, „reguły odczuwania" autorstwa Arlie Hochschild). Przedstawione są teoretyczne konceptualizacje emocji widziane z perspektywy antropologów, kulturoznawców, socjologów, psychologów i językoznawców. Oferowane są opisy przejawów emocji, sposobów ich wyrażania, objawów fizycznych, stopni natężenia, obszarów kluczowych, konsekwencji psychicznych i fizycznych oraz ich funkcji.

Słowa kluczowe: konceptualizacja; „emocje tła"; emocje pierwotne; emocje społeczne; nauki społeczne; Steven Gordon.