ROCZNIKI KULTUROZNAWCZE <u>Tom XIV, numer 1 – 2023</u> DOI: https://doi.org/10.18290/rkult231401.11

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# EMOTIONS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIOLOGY

## 1. DEFINITION ARRANGEMENTS

Since the 1970s, we have witnessed an increasing development of sociology of emotions.<sup>1</sup> Various academic journals have dedicated special issues to the study of emotions.<sup>2</sup> This could lead to the question of a previously observed lack of interest in emotions by sociologists and its potential reasons. When we study the history of sociological thought on emotions, we can notice two traditions. The first, having its roots in the works of August Comte

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E.g., Randall COLLINS, *Conflict Sociology* (New York: Academic Press, 1975); Theodore KEMPER, *A Social Interactional Theory of Emotions* (New York: Wiley, 1978); Thomas SCHEFF, *Catharsis in Healing, Ritualand Drama* (Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979); Norman K. DENZIN, *On Understanding Emotions* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984); Jonathan H. TURNER and Jan E. STETS, *Sociology of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Jan E. STETS and Jonathan H. TURNER, eds., *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions* (Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> E.g., "Symbolic Interaction and Emotions," *Symbolic Interaction* 8, no. 2 (1985); "Rationality and Emotions," *Rationality and Society* 5, no. 2 (1993); "Social Psychology and Sociology of Emotions," *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 16, no. 9/10 (1996); "Identity Theory and Emotions," *Advances in Group Processes* 21 (2004); "Anger in Political Life," *European Journal of Social Theory* 7, no. 2 (2004); "Emotional Climate and Security," *Journal of Social Issues* 63, no. 2 (2007); "Emotions and the Economy," *Theory and Society* 38, no. 4 (2009); "Social-Constructionist Approaches to Emotions," *Emotion Review* 4, no. 3 (2012); "Culture, Social Structure, and Emotions," *Emotion Review* 6, no. 3 (2014); "Methodological Innovations," *Emotion Review* 7, no. 1 (2015).

and Emile Durkheim, is connected with the issues of social order and the treatment of society as an organic whole. Within the concept of the duality of human nature (individual vs social; physical vs spiritual; emotional vs rational), Shilling points to a need to study both aspects of social life. The other one should be related to Max Weber and George Simmel. They concentrated on an analysis of social actions of individuals and their interactions. In such an approach emotions were attributed only to human individuals; they are of an individual character. The subject of sociological studies is both the influence of social interaction on emotions as well as social consequences of such actions.<sup>3</sup> According to Simmel, "basic" emotions are based on erotic, aggressive and religious impulses. In the process of interaction and change they turn into "secondary" social emotions of gratitude or loyalty which are necessary for maintaining social bonds and developing a personality.<sup>4</sup> Weber believed that the processes of rationalisation, so typical of the modern European societies, are linked with "the disenchanting of the world" and diminishing the role of emotional bonds, limited to private lives of individuals. He placed affective actions, especially the emotional ones, within the typology of social actions somewhere between reflex behaviour and rational social action.<sup>5</sup> Jack Barbalet expanded the circle of the sociology classics appreciating the explanatory meaning of emotions by names such as: Alex de Tocqueville, Simon Le Bon, Vilfredo Pareto, Ferdinand Tönnies, Albion Small, William G. Sumner, Charles H. Cooley. At the same time he excluded Weber from this circle, accusing him of diminishing the role of emotions in the sociological discourse.<sup>6</sup>

Generally, sociology understood as a science placing an individual in the social context, studies how social and cultural structures affect the stimulation and flow of emotions. Sociologists divide emotions into universal ones, also known as primary or basic, and secondary ones, which are produced through socialisation to a greater degree and appear in the context of basic emotions. There are disputes which regard the number of basic emotions and their character, however the researchers agree that happiness, fear, sadness

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Chris SHILLING, "The Two Traditions in the Sociology of Emotions," in *Emotions and Sociology*, ed. Jack Barbalet (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 10–32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Georg SIMMEL, *Socjologia* (Warsaw: PWN, 1975), 327.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Max WEBER, *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo. Zarys socjologii rozumiejącej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2002), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Jack BARBALET, *Emotion, Social Theory and Social Structure: A Macrosociological Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

and anger are all universal emotions.<sup>7</sup> It is claimed that a sociological analysis of emotions cannot be limited to the internal states of an individual but should rather acknowledge social factors in a wide temporal dimension embracing both the history of emotional relationships as well as their expected development.<sup>8</sup> As stated in the seminal work by Jonathan H. Turner and Jan E. Stets, Sociology of Emotion, for most sociologists emotions are elicited socially, i.e. an emotion that people experience is conditioned by their participation in culture and social structures. A sociological focus on emotions aims at explaining how emotions shape the flow of interaction in social structures regulated by cultural norms, values and beliefs, and how they are affected by them.<sup>9</sup> Theodore Kemper claims that "sociologists attempt to study emotions as channelled, interpreted and expressed by members of a group.... A sociological interest in emotions is complex and covers issues such as: emotional foundations of social solidarity in small and big groups; the determining of emotions through the results of social interaction; normative regulations of emotional expressions and coping with emotional deviations; socialisation of emotions through sense-giving to physiological experience; linking emotions with socially-conditioned concepts of identity and "self"; differentiating between emotional experience in accordance with the categories of social organisation, such as social class, profession, gender, race/ethnicity; emotions typical of social processes of a great scale, such as stability and change.<sup>10</sup>

When we look for greater precision in theoretical conceptualisations and cognitive schemas, it should be noted that emotions understood from a sociological perspective belong to concepts of a general character which pose a challenge to define. In the literature, instead of comprehensive definitions we can find descriptions of specific examples of emotions, identification of their origins, causes and functions. In descriptive definitions emotions are a link between the micro- and macro-level of social reality, and definitions repeat the equivalent elements such as: sentiments, affections, desires, senti-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Theodore D. KEMPER, "How Many Emotions Are There? Wedding the Social and Autonomic Components," *American Journal of Sociology* 93 (1987): 263–89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Anna CZERNER and Elżbieta NIEROBA, "Wybrane nurty teoretyczne w socjologii emocji," in *Studia z socjologii emocji. Podręcznik akademicki*, ed. Anna Czerner and Elżbieta Nieroba (Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski, 2011), 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Jonathan H. TURNER and Jan E. STETS, *Socjologia emocji* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2009), 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Theodore D. KEMPER, "Modele społeczne w wyjaśnianiu emocji," in *Psychologia emocji*, ed. Michael Lewis and Jeannette M. Heviland-Jones (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, 2005), 72–73.

ments, feelings, moods, together with their instantiations: joy, sadness, fear, pride, shame, and others.<sup>11</sup>

Among many perspectives on emotions,<sup>12</sup> attention should be paid to the one proposed by Steven Gordon, complementary to sociological explorations of emotions, acknowledging the cultural and constructivist basis of emotions. Apart from the socio-cultural context, another important context is the biological one. Gordon introduced a clear distinction between biological emotions (a psychological concept) and social emotions (a sociological concept), the latter being "a combination of physical experience, gestures and cultural signs, which are learnt through social relations", <sup>13</sup> or "a socially constructed pattern of experiencing expressive gestures and cultural meanings organised around the attitude to the social subject, mostly another person".<sup>14</sup> According to Gordon,<sup>15</sup> emotions encompass: (1) embodied experience, (2) expressive gestures, (3) social situations or relations, and (4) emotional culture of a given society. Gordon assumes that the social structure has an influence on the affective sphere and it is the social structures which shape variants and limitations of social situations, hence lie at the foundations of various emotions and behaviour. The significance of culture is particularly evident in the vocabulary describing emotions, in the beliefs on emotions, in the assumptions on what emotions should be experienced in a given situation and how they should be expressed. Gordon calls such a combination of emotional lexicons, beliefs and norms as the emotional culture of a society.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Aleksandra JASIŃSKA-KANIA, "Socjologiczne odkrywanie emocji," *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 1–2 (2006): 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Norman K. DENZIN, On Understanding Emotion (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 66; KEMPER, "How Many Emotions Are There?" 267; Keith OATLEY and Jennifer JENKINS, Understanding Emotions (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); Leslie BRODY, Gender, Emotion, and the Family (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 15; Edward J. LAWLER, "Bringing Emotions into Social Exchange Theory," Annual Review of Sociology 25 (1999): 219; Klaus R. SCHERER, "What Are Emotions? And How Can They Be Measured?" Social Science Information 44, no. 4 (2005): 697; James M. JASPER, "Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research," Annual Review of Sociology 37 (2011): 286–87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Steven L. GORDON, "The Sociology of Sentiments and Emotions," in *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*, ed. Morris Rosenberg and Ralph Turner (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 563.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> GORDON, "The Sociology of Sentiments and Emotions," 565.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Steven L. GORDON, "Social Structural Effects on Emotions," in *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*, ed. Theodore D. Kemper (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 145–79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Steven L. GORDON, "Institutional and Impulsive Orientations in Selectively Appropriating Emotions to Self," in *The Sociology of Emotions: Original Essays and Research Papers*, ed. David

Referring to the works of Ralph Turner,<sup>17</sup> he distinguished between two poles within the emotional culture: institutional and impulsive. People's recognition of their real selves is reflected in actions of an institutional and volitional nature or in the experience of impulse, in spontaneous actions, which may violate the norm. Hence, the institutional significance of emotions is the experience of individuals, when they fully control their feelings and forms of expression. The impulsive significance of emotions manifests itself through spontaneous, uncontrolled expression of emotions, free of institutional norms and convention.<sup>18</sup>

## 2. SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF EMOTIONS

Sociological studies on emotions produced a series of domains and concepts serving as subjects of study and analysis. They are, among others:

- the influence of emotions over ego,

how emotions affect interaction,

- how an emotional bond and involvement is created towards social structures and cultural symbols,

 how social structures and cultural symbols limit the experiencing and expressing of emotions.

Jonathan H. Turner and Jan. E. Stets point tow seven theoretical approaches, which are characterised by diversity and eclecticism,<sup>19</sup> thanks to which the abovementioned aspects could be subject to a scientific analysis. Some of them are an extension of traditional sociological theories, others are of a novel character:

1) dramaturgical and cultural theories (Erving Goffman, Steven Gordon, Arlie Hochschild, Morris Rosenberg, Peggy Thoits, Candace Clark)—this approach compares emotional behaviour to acting on the stage in front of an audience. The script are cultural beliefs and norms regarding the emotions which could and should be experienced in a given situation;

D. Franks and Doyle E. McCarthy (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1989), 115–35; GORDON, "Social Structural Effects on Emotions," 145–79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ralph H. TURNER, "The Real Self: From Institution to Impulse," *American Journal of Sociology* 81 (1976): 989–1016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> GORDON, "Institutional and Impulsive Orientations," 115–35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> TURNER and STETS, *Sociology of Emotions*.

2) theories of ritual (Emile Durkheim, Randall Collins, Erika Summers-Effler, Sheldon Stryker, Peter J. Burke, David Heise), which assume that emotions are the central part and result of interaction ritual;

3) theories of symbolic interactionism (Georg H. Mead, Charles Chrton Cooley, Susan Shott), which attempt to address the issue of the conditions behind an authentic, emotional reaction and to study the relationship between emotions and identity;

4) theories of symbolic interactionism with elements of psychoanalysis (Sigmund Freud, Thomas Scheff, Jonathan H. Turner), where negative emotions, as painful and upsetting, activate defence mechanisms based on psychological repression, which disturb the control system responsible for maintaining the balance between the concepts of self, others, social structure and culture;

5) exchange theories (George C. Homans, Peter M. Blau, Edward J. Lawler, Steven Scher, David R. Heise), based on some common principles: social exchange can generate both positive and negative emotions; they either reinforce or weaken the reaction hence individuals tend to reproduce positive emotions and avoid negative ones;

6) structural theories (Theodore Kemper, Robert Thamm, Barry Markovsky, Edward J. Lawler, Josef Berger, Robert K. Shelly), which explore the flow of emotions centered around individuals' status and their role in various places of social structures, with the assumption that they are distributed in accordance with the position in the social hierarchy'

7) evolutionary theories (William Wenthworth, Jonathan H. Turner, Michael Hammond), which acknowledge the primary role of historical, cultural and social factors in the development of studies on emotions, and treat emotions as a force which shapes and maintains social interactions and involvement in socio-cultural formations.

The abovementioned theoretical approaches evoke a series of regularities, introducing order in research and interpretation of socially-conditioned emotions, their functions and influence on society.

## 3. CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF EMOTIONS

People are emotional beings as we experience life through emotions: I feel therefore I am. What is more, we want to learn to control emotions as the dominant tendency of the modern society is rationality, not emotionality. Paradoxically, the process of rationalisation can evoke a reverse tendency, i.e. a return to emotions and feelings. Social media, being a place of expressing emotions and sharing them with the whole world, play a special role here. They blur the line between the public and the private, the individual and the collective. It can be stated that contemporary emotional culture is characterised by an ever-growing presence of emotions in the public sphere, and a transfer of emotions from the intimate, private zone into the public, collective zone.<sup>20</sup>

Some scholars put forward a hypothesis that the emotional turn in social sciences was initiated by the September 11 attacks (the attacks were viewed as a catalyst for emotions that could not be dealt with by the social structure.<sup>21</sup> Other scholars<sup>22</sup> link them with a change in the emotional regime in Western countries: to new rules regulating emotions, new social and cultural phenomena, a creation of a new emotional atmosphere. Studies in the sociology of emotions suggest that modern societies develop a neo-sentimental culture, as an unexpected consequence of the rationalisation of all the aspects of social life, consumerism, individualism, etc.<sup>23</sup>

Contemporary sociological studies of emotions are deeply rooted in the works of classic works by Arlie Hochschild (2003, 2007), Thomas Scheff (1990, 1991, 1994, 1997), Theodore Kemper (1990), Jan Stets and Jonathan Turner (2006, 2014). It should be noted, however, that in the society determined by consumerism and innovative technologies, the representations of emotions and the rules of their expression are changeable and are often communicated electronically. This poses a theoretical and methodological challenge for those who study emotions. According to Olga Simonova, contemporary sociology of emotions should focus on a few main goals. Primarily, it ought to define the term of "emotional culture" in reference to other theories, as well as to define social functions of emotional culture, establish the reasons for the appearance of special emotional regime, review the main tendencies of emotional culture in the post-modern societies, e.g. the domi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Olga SIMONOVA, "Emotional Culture as Sociological Concept: On Emotional Turn in Understanding of Modern Society," *Culture e Studi del Sociale-CuSSoc* 4, no. 2 (2019): 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Jan PLAMPER, *The History of Emotions. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> SIMONOVA, "Emotional Culture," 147–60; Ana M. GONZÁLEZ, "In Search of a Sociological Explanation for the Emotional Turn," *Sociologia, problemas e práticas* 85 (2017): 27–45, https://doi.org/10.7458/SPP2017857606.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> SIMONOVA, "Emotional Culture," 147.

nant emotional moods, widely propagated emotions, etc. and finally describe the perspectives for studies of emotional culture.<sup>24</sup> There is no theoretical and methodological consensus in these areas. There is no unified definition of emotions, which are understood as a diversity of various phenomena, and there is no unified classification of emotions.<sup>25</sup> Eduardo Bericat makes a distinction between primary emotions, which could be universal, psychological, evolutionary, biological, neurological, and secondary emotions, being a mixture of primary emotions and are socially and culturally conditioned.<sup>26</sup> Emotions are relation-related, individuals experience them through interactions with other individuals, groups, communities or objects. Studying emotions is not easy as they are not constant but changeable and they are experienced collectively. Another challenge is the periodicity of changes in emotional culture and the identification of contemporary tendencies in the culture of emotions. Simonova claims that each culture, in its historical frame, can be characterised by different emotions and the sociological turn towards emotions underlines the need to study the representations of emotions.<sup>27</sup> A similar conclusion was reached by Barbara H. Rosenwine, who observes the formation of various "emotional communities", similar to social communities, and divides them into social ones, characterised by the norms regulating the emotional life of their members, and a textual one, based on the same ideology. One person can be a member of various social and textual communities.<sup>28</sup> The language of emotions, no matter whether on an individual or collective level, depends on wider emotional structures, and is shaped by time, norms, and values. All this has an influence on which emotions are socially significant, which ones are dangerous, which are the desired expressions, and which ones are unwelcome.<sup>29</sup> This helps to claim that the knowledge of emotions is interdisciplinary, culture-dependent, and rooted in everyday interactions.<sup>30</sup>

Another issue is the diversity of the social and cultural systems and their interrelationship. Emotions carry cultural meanings. Emotional culture is

<sup>27</sup> SIMONOVA, "Emotional Culture," 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Eduardo BERICAT, "The Sociology of Emotions: Four Decades of Progress," *Current Sociology* 64, no. 3 (2016): 491–513, https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115588355.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Barbara H. ROSENWEIN, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> SIMONOVA, "Emotional Culture," 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Maggie C. COBB, "Casualties of Debate: A Critique of the Sociology of Emotion," *Sociology Compass* 12 (2018): 1–13, https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12643.

closely connected with social structure, it defines types of behaviour and relations. Emotions play an important role in the creation of sociocultural identity, they help to judge the situation and are necessary in the communication process. They are an object of study for sociologists as most of them are experienced in the context of social relations. What is fundamental in the sociological study of emotions is the study of a link between structure and activity: what emotional states are created by social structure and what activity leads to such states.<sup>31</sup> To understand emotions means to understand the situation and social relation which led to their emergence.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, an important aspect of the sociological studies of emotions is the documenting of emotional states in empirical studies. As the culture of emotions is replete with rationality, individualism, many social problems are internally experienced by individuals and social issues are viewed from a psychological perspective.<sup>33</sup> This leads to a situation where emotions are discussed with the use of the language of psychology, which depreciates their social significance. What is important for sociology of emotions is the study of the social nature of emotions and the emotional nature of social reality.<sup>34</sup> Referring to main paradigms of sociology, we can distinguish between two approaches: positivists explaining and expecting emotions in line with their biological, neurological, and coded character; constructivists conceptualising emotions as a cultural process and product, which shapes language and is shaped by language.<sup>35</sup> Cobb observes that sociology should not base its studies and theories on dichotomies such as nature vs culture, subjectivity vs objectivity, the body vs the mind, structure vs culture, emotion vs reason, etc.<sup>36</sup> A historical distinction between the reason and emotions performs a heuristic function: at the same time, we control emotions but also want to fully express them. Instrumental individualism co-exists with collective enthusiasm and excitement.<sup>37</sup>

The COVID-19 pandemic derailed societies from their natural rhythm of functioning and led to substantial social changes. The authors of the report *Życie codzienne w czasach pandemii* (Everyday life during the pandemic)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> SIMONOVA, "Emotional Culture," 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Eduardo BERICAT, "The Sociology of Emotions: Four Decades of Progress," *Current Sociology* 64, no. 3 (2016): 491–513, https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115588355.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> SIMONOVA, "Emotional Culture," 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> BERICAT, "The Sociology of Emotions," 496.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> COBB, "Casualties of Debate," 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> SIMONOVA, "Emotional Culture," 157.

describe the pandemic as a period of a forced reorganisation of everyday life. Firstly, we witnessed a change in the character of relationships (boosting or decreasing loneliness, separating from or getting closer to others, a lack of or an excess of contacts). Secondly, we can talk about a temporal reorganisation of everyday life, and thirdly, about an excess of information and contact with the media, which force their users to treat info- and media-spheres selectively.<sup>38</sup> Getting to understand the emotional culture of societies in the time of a crisis can help develop effective programs of public health (both domestic, international, and global) in terms of directions and recommendations, and the media ought to perform the role of channels encouraging to follow these guidelines and to react in an effective, humanitarian way when facing a health crisis. Empirical case studies conducted in the area of social emotions can help us better understand human behaviour in those difficult, challenging situations and implement effective remedial measures.

The issue of today's sociology of emotions, together with the register of emotional states as noted in empirical studies, proved to be crucial during the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic. The traditional method of empirical studies involving individual behaviour (similarly to clinical trials) had to be excluded due to the sanitary restrictions and social distancing policy, therefore a need emerged to look for other methods. One of them is to capture emotional states of users of social media platforms. The media serving as a discussion forum, a place for sharing thoughts, experiences, and actions, are a vital tool to capture emotions within a society. Those experiencing emotions can share them freely, talk about them, and the range and frequency of shared messages depends on the intensity of emotions and on the need to "open up" socially as a way of regulating one's emotional states. The available literature gives examples of empirical studies, dealing with emotions in the context of social media, conducted with the use of various methods, e.g. lexical (the dominant approach in our study) and statistical, with the automatic coding of the data. The latest studies broadened this research area through the use of advanced models of a deep learning algorithm, which could detect the bipolarity of emotional chats in the social media.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Rafał DROZDOWSKI ET AL., Życie codzienne wczasach pandemii. Raport z pierwszego etapu badań (Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Wydział Socjologii, 2020), 23–24, http://socjologia.amu.edu.pl/images/pliki/r%C3%B3%C5%BCne\_prezentacje\_etc/%C5% BBycie\_codzienne\_w\_czasach\_pandemii\_-\_Wydzia%C5%82\_Socjologii\_UAM\_-\_WWW.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Maria GIATSOGLOU ET AL., "Sentiment Analysis Leveraging Emotions and Word Embeddings," *Expert Systems with Applications* 69 (2017): 214–24, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eswa.2016. 10.043.

During the COVID-19 pandemic and social distancing, a great deal of the data available in the virtual sphere can be treated as a reflection of real human behaviour, the description and evaluation of which may be hindered. This, in turn, opens up new and interesting horizons of studies on the emotional culture of contemporary societies.

### 4. CONCLUSIONS

An overview of definitions of emotions pointed towards a variety of phenomena linked to emotions, as well as towards some challenges with their classification. Definitions of emotions are based on various conceptualisations. Sociologists, going beyond an individual's internal states, try to take social factors into account, embracing both the history of emotional relations and their expected development. Sociocultural approach, which associates the cause of emotions with a cognitive evaluation, is determined by the context or social structure. Sociocultural constructivism plays an important role here as it highlights the role of culture in the formation of emotion logics and in how the rules of the experiencing of emotions are formed. Another approach, a critical perspective on the media-based cultural studies points towards a variety of correlations between institutional order and nondetermined forms of everyday social and cultural practice. The sociocultural approach covers sociological theories related to dramaturgy and culture, theories of ritual, symbolic interactionism, social exchange, structural or evolutionary theories.

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#### EMOTIONS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIOLOGY

#### Summary

The article presents the history of development of sociological thought on emotions and demonstrates two classic traditions of their understanding: a positivistic one, describing the duality of human nature (individual and social, emotional and rational), and a neo-positivistic one, oriented towards actions and interactions between individuals (emotions are placed in individuals). A sociological typology of emotions is presented, offering a distinction between universal emotions (primary, basic, fundamental) and secondary (socially constructed). Among many social definitions of emotions, Steven Gordon's definition was used owing to its cultural and constructivist references. The second part of the article presents classic sociological theories of emotions and contemporary trends in sociological studies of emotions.

Keywords: emotions; sociological typology of emotions; classic sociological theories of emotions.

## EMOCJE W PERSPEKTYWIE SOCJOLOGICZNEJ

## Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiono historię rozwoju myśli socjologicznej na temat emocji oraz omówiono dwie klasyczne tradycje ich rozumienia: pozytywistyczną, opisującą dwoistość natury ludzkiej (indywidualnej i społecznej, emocjonalnej i racjonalnej) oraz neopozytywistyczną, zorientowaną na działania i interakcje między jednostkami (emocje są umieszczane w jednostkach). Przedstawiono socjologiczną typologię emocji, w której wyróżnia się emocje uniwersalne (pierwotne, podstawowe, fundamentalne) i wtórne (konstruowane społecznie). Wśród wielu społecznych definicji emocji wykorzystano definicję Stevena Gordona ze względu na jej kulturowe i konstruktywistyczne odniesienia. W drugiej części artykułu zaprezentowano klasyczne socjologiczne teorie emocji oraz współczesne trendy w socjologicznych badaniach emocji.

Słowa kluczowe: emocje; socjologiczna typologia emocji; klasyczne socjologiczne teorie emocji.