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Pride in Teachers' Everyday Work. Conditions and Contexts

Abstract   The aim of this article is to elaborate on the reasons behind feeling the emotion of pride within the professional context of actions undertaken by contemporary Polish teachers. The article attempts to answer the question of what role pride plays in teachers' career building process and their daily work. All considerations focus on the social construction of the meaning of pride, established from teachers' perspectives. Pride is here referred to as social emotion, in line with an interpretivist approach. The following reflections are based on the data collected due to: 1) multiple observations conducted by the author in the years 2008-2016 in the primary, as well as junior high schools; 2) interviews with teachers, parents, and other school staff. Pride in teachers' work arises in three main contexts: 1) pride due to prestige, 2) pride due to one's recognition (appreciation), and 3) pride as a result of diverse interactions, for example, teacher-student. The emotion at hand is, like shame, of a social origin and plays a key role when it comes to interactions, social control, as well as maintaining social order. And yet, most of the researchers would give the lead to emotions such as shame, guilt, or related stigma. Based on the collected data, this article focuses on the emotion of pride in the process of identity building by employees—teachers.

Keywords   Emotions; Pride; Power; Status; Self-Esteem; Teachers; Ethnography; Poland

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The aim of the article is to show the reasons behind feeling pride associated with professional activities undertaken by contemporary Polish teachers. I believe that frequently experienced pride leads to an increase in self-esteem and satisfaction with one's work. What, in turn, empowers an individual, as well as strengthens one's belief about their abilities, potency, and power. Thus, people start to believe that more and more things depend upon their acting, and that the actions they undertake will be successful. A self-constructed image of oneself (even a short-lived one) creates a belief in the growth of the self-status (see: Kemper 1978; 1989; 2005) and the growth of their own authority (the level of power in Theodore Kemper's concept). The article answers the question of what role does pride play in the process of building a teacher's career and in their everyday work. By focusing on the reasons behind, as well as the implications of experiencing pride, we can observe, on the one hand, how it arises, and, on the other, how important it is for the teachers.

All reflections presented here focus on the social construction of the meaning of pride—from teachers' perspectives—and are based on ethnographic research conducted in Poland.[1] It should be noted that the professional group at hand should be seen in terms of a background allowing for reflection on the emotion of pride and its impact on employees' (in general) activities. Contemporary teachers, acting and interacting in a constantly changing environment, had to develop specific mechanisms allowing them to feel contentment and job satisfaction—in order to function effectively within their professional context, and—more precisely—in the classroom. In today's Polish school, an effective motivation system for teachers practically does not exist. Thus, experienced emotions, including pride, can be seen as playing an important role in the process of motivating. Pride, as one of the most important social emotions (see: Kemper 1978; 2005; Lewis 1992; 2005; Scheff 1988; 1990; 1997; 2000; Lea and Webley 1997), significantly affects both the behavior, as well as work of teachers, contributing to satisfaction and efficiency growth.

Emotions are biologically and physiologically aroused, but mainly culturally shaped in the process of everyday interactions in one's social environment (Averill 1991; Lazarus 1991). They are socially modified in accordance with certain norms and values accepted and specific to a given culture

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[1] Information about the Polish education system can be found, among others, at: www.eurydice.org.pl/system-edukacji-w-polsce/. There are brochures in English presenting the specifics of the Polish education system from 2006 to 2018. Reports are published every two years.

At this point it should be noted that the article presents the results of research on the functioning in Poland of a three-tier education system covering elementary school, junior high school, and high school.

The education system in Poland is constantly changing. Until 1999, there was a mandatory eight-grade elementary school in Poland, in which children aged 7-14 were studying. After completing their primary education, the student was able to continue studying in a 3-year vocational school, in a 5-year technical secondary school, or in a 4-year general high school. An important reform took place in 1999, based on which a three-level system of mandatory school education was introduced (elementary school, junior high school, high school). There was a six-year primary school, which in 2014-2016 was to be started by children aged 7 or 6 (due to another reform). Then there was a 3-year junior high school, after which the student was to choose between a 3-year general high school and a 4-year technical high school. Vocational education was almost completely abolished, although some schools "survived," offering the course of 2 or 3 years of vocational training. After 18 years, the Polish education system has undergone another very significant reform. In 2017, junior high schools were liquidated, and the system again based on the assumption from before 1999. The last students left the walls of junior high schools in June 2019. Currently, there is an 8-year primary school for 7-year-olds and, next, 4- or 5-year high school (high schools and technical schools) and 3-year vocational schools.

(see: Shott 1979). Thus, emotions will be defined here as "adjustment processes that allow for adaptation and influence the course of the communication process, establishing, sustaining, changing, or interrupting the relationships between the individual and the environment, which are triggered when a person encounters external or internal stimuli that are important for their organism or personality" (Pawłowska 2013:8 [translation—BP]; see: Campos et al. 1994). Emotional reactions are understood based on accepted and recognizable cultural scripts. "The expression of that feeling is moderated by cultural prescriptions" (Wisecup, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2006:106). This "placement of a person on a social ground determines which emotions will be expressed at a specific time and place, on what grounds, and for what reason, by what means of expression and by whom" (Kemper 2005:73; also see: Kemper 1991). I believe that emotions, widely recognized as subjective states experienced by the individual, should be reconstructed in relation to social activities and processes in which the actor is involved.

For the following considerations, the concepts of feeling, perceiving, and shaping interactions based on pride were of utmost importance. The theoretical frame of the paper is based on the concepts of: Susan Shott (1979), who argues that expressing emotions is determined by cultural norms and rules, and emotional self-control is a kind of social control; Thomas Scheff (1988; 1990; 1997; 2000; 2003) and Thomas Scheff and Suzanne Retzinger (1991), where pride and shame are seen as providing social regulation of behavior without any need for external supervision; Michael Lewis (1992; 2000;

2005), who developed a model explaining self-conscious emotions from two variables—the positive or negative evaluation of one's behavior; it includes emotions of pride, feelings of guilt/grief, hubris, and shame; and Theodore Kemper (1978; 1987; 1991; 2005; 2008), where emotions are captivated in social relations in the dimensions of power and status, where pride is the result of satisfaction and growth of social status.

Pride: Definitional Considerations

Pride is a positive emotion that makes individuals attune themselves to their mutual reactions (assuming the role of the other) (see: Turner and Stets 2009:174). Pride is a signal of an intact social bond between interaction partners. It is a secondary emotion superimposed on positive emotions and is part of the "family of emotions of contentment" (Goleman 1997). The arousal of pride depends on the quality of social relations. In theory, pride most often appears together with the emotion of shame (e.g., E. Goffman, T. Scheff, S. Retzinger), or alongside shame and guilt (e.g., M. Lewis, T. Kemper, T. Scheff). The literature on pride is scattered, and, in different places, pride has been defined and described in a number of diverse ways (see: Lea and Webley 1997:325). Most commonly, pride is simply regarded as an emotion, sometimes qualified as an intellectual emotion (e.g., Averill 1991) or a secondary emotion (Plutchik 1962; 1991; Kemper 1987; 1991), and it is usually thought of as one of the positive emotions (e.g., Lawler 1992). Pride has also been described as an attitude and characterized as an expression of self-esteem and a motivation or drive.

Believing that pride is a social emotion, I leave aside considerations regarding the neurotic nature of pride[2] and those referring to true and false pride.[3]

In Thomas Scheff's concept (e.g., 1990; 1997; 2000; 2003), emotions are an element of the looking-glass-self and the basis for social control. Pride takes the central place next to embarrassment and shame. It emerges when we observe social norms. And since we strive to feel positive emotions, such as pride, people tend to "go with the flow" (as is the case of social conformity). Thus, one's aspiration to experience positive emotions may result in a high level of social stability. For that reason, pride (and shame) provides social regulation of behavior without the need for external supervision (see: Scheff 1990).

In the cognitive-attribution theory of Michael Lewis (1992; 2005), pride, together with hubris, shame, and guilt, depends on the individual's self-awareness. A person experiencing pride focuses on specific behavior, not on the whole self. They evaluate their action (behavior) in terms of a success.

For Susan Shott (1979), pride is a persistent emotion, focused on self-approval, motivating a person to experience it more. By behaving in a socially expected way, we ensure the approval of others, which, in turn, leads not only to the arousal of pride, but also of group solidarity.

Theodore Kemper (1978; 1987; 1991; 2005; 2008) assumes that any changes in social relations can be understood as mutual changes in power (authority) and status (prestige) of actors towards themselves (see: Kemper 2008:128). The pride in Kemper's concept is the effect of satisfaction emerging as a result of the increase in one's status and/or power, which, in our opinion, we deserve due to our or other people's actions (Pawłowska 2013:198). It should, however, be remembered that the way power and status, as well as, consequently, the emergence of specific relationships and emotions are perceived depends on several factors, such as culture specificity, which determines the individual level of power and status, and its definition, social position, and specificity of social organizations, which can set different patterns of emotional behavior by assigning a different status to them (see: Pawłowska 2014).

As observed by Lisa Williams and David DeSteno (2008:1007), who referred to Kemper's concept, pride can be defined as a unique positive emotion capable of stimulating efforts aimed at developing difficult skills and reaching high status (cf. Kemper 1978; 2005; Webster et al. 2003; Tracy and Robins 2004a; 2004b). Pride, as impacting on self-image, self-esteem, and self-consistency, is a mechanism that ensures one's consistency and helps to make good long-term decisions (Lea and Webley 1997:336).

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[2] Karen Horney (1950; 1982) describes a process through which individuals deal with inner conflicts by a compulsive search for glory, exaggerated expectations, and inner unity. The pride of another person has been dealt with from a psychoanalytic standpoint (Rosenblatt 1988). Wilder (1978) suggests that pride is identical to the need for self-deification and is not the same as healthy self-esteem.

[3] Stephen Lea and Paul Webley (1997:328) observe that "Proper pride is pride in genuine achievements (or genuine good qualities) that are genuinely one's own. False pride is pride in what is not an achievement, or not admirable, or does not properly belong to oneself. Proper pride is associated with the desirable property of self-esteem; false pride with vanity or conceit. Proper pride is associated with persistence, endurance, and doggedness; false pride with stubbornness, obstinacy, and pig-headedness. False pride thus follows from an inaccurate perception of one's own achievements, or of one's own responsibility for them."

The primary function of emotions is to initiate and guide goal-directed behavior (Frijda 1986; Barrett and Campos 1987; Cosmides and Tooby 2000).

Pride and shame are social emotions that play a fundamental role in shaping social interactions, in the process of social control, serving to maintain social order. However, most authors focus on emotions of shame, guilt, and stigma. This article indicates the importance of the emotion of pride in the process of creating the identity of an employee (teachers). I believe that pride—as an emotion that maintains social interactions and aids to create new ones—significantly affects the building of positive interpersonal relationships, including positive relationships within the workplace context. In contrast to shame, pride is a positive emotion that builds social order (see: Shott 1979). An individual who feels shame can affect interactions by taking actions that are immoral or unethical. Such social actors may reach for manipulation, cheating, or lies (see: Ekman 1985). They may try to protect their selves by suppressing shame or bypassing it (see: Lewis 1972; Scheff 1990; 1997; 2000; 2003; Konecki 2014). Such activities are to prevent a loss of face (Goffman 1967; 2006) or serve in building of an image that one believes is consistent with the expectations others (may) have. A person feeling pride does not need to play such "games," or, at least, may be doing so with lesser frequency (see, e.g., Ekman 1985). Building one's self-esteem at a satisfactory level allows for a positive assessment of one's self; a person satisfied with one's self-image is less prone to using manipulation techniques, including self-promotion. Thus, instead of being involved in self-defense, their mental energy can be channeled to other activities, including

maintaining satisfying social bonds. In fact, it was the study of the mechanisms behind higher satisfaction and motivation to work that led me to pay closer attention to pride as an emotion conditioning cooperation and social interaction based on the mutual trust of interactional partners. I believe that the researchers devote too little attention to the emotion of pride, especially if we consider that the ability to arouse pride in individuals can contribute to the duration of social order and the increase in employees' efficiency.

Methodology and Data

All the ideas contained in this article are based on my research on emotions felt in relation to professional work, which I have carried out for a recent few years in Polish educational institutions (schools as teachers' workplace). In order to deepen the insight into the examined reality, the number of cases was reduced to three primary and two junior high schools (see: Burawoy 1998). Due to the specificity of ethnographic study, the school turned out to be a relatively closed system to which access "requires permission which, if granted, will take some time in obtaining" (Stein 2006:70). Considering the sensitivity of students' data, school principals were often reluctant to grant my access to the field. Some principals and teachers claimed that the researcher's "permanent" presence in the educational facility will disrupt the functioning of the school, thereby refusing my access to data. Instead, I was suggested to leave a questionnaire to be completed by teachers—in order to minimize the researcher's contact with a given school. Thus, the choice of schools for the study was dictated by my access to data (see:

Silverman 2007). I had to take advantage of my informal contacts and connections (Konecki 2000:171; also see: Konecki 1998), and the number of schools was limited to five.

The ethnographic research I have constructed, based on diverse case studies (see: Prus 1997; Deegan 2001; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007), was designed in line with organizational ethnography, allowing the understanding of the perspective of the organization participants and to study both little known, as well as unusual areas of better known phenomena (Kostera 2012:73; also see: Kostera 2003:12; 2011:9).

The research was based on ethnographic study using triangulation, which allows a researcher to undertake different points of view and thus—reach a distance to the analyzed data (Hammersley and Atkinson 2000). The study used data triangulation, methodological triangulation, and theoretical triangulation (see: Denzin 1978; Konecki 2000:86).

I conducted unstructured and semi-structured interviews and a series of observations of school life and work (cooperation) of teachers—with school staff, as well as students' parents. During the observations, I conducted informal conversations, so-called conversational interviews (Konecki 2000) with school principals, teachers, other school employees, and parents. I also analyzed existing materials, such as school statutes, regulations, legal regulations, school operating program, staff meeting protocols, school development plans, teachers' Level of Professional Promotion[4] documents, websites, and the like.

[4] See footnote 6 in this article.

Observation is the main research technique in ethnography. This was also the case of the study described in this article. Thusly collected data were supplemented with information gained in the course of interviews and the analysis of existing materials. It should be noted that ethnography allows for the collection of empirical data in everyday contexts in which the phenomena occur (see: Prus 1997:192; Deegan 2001; Kostera 2003:12; 2011:9; 2012:73; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

The observations of teachers' work were of participant and non-participant nature. They were carried out in 2008-2016 at primary and junior high schools from the Lodz agglomeration. If possible, I wanted to participate in all kinds of events taking place in school life, that is, classes, extracurricular activities (remedial classes, activity clubs), breaks between lessons, after-school clubs' activities, school academies, teacher-parents meetings, parents-School Board meetings (Parents' Committee), and teachers' meetings.

One of the advantages of observations is that a researcher has a chance to capture the context of certain phenomena or interactional episodes, and thus—to reconstruct the elements of the analyzed process that could have not been available if collected due to the use of other research techniques and tools (see: Adler and Adler 1987; Konecki 2000; Wojciechowska 2018). To this end, an observation journal was kept, which, as David Silverman (2007) notes, provides space for distinguishing between *emic* and *etic* analysis. A very important element of the observations I conducted were informal conversations with parents (at least before and/or after meetings with teachers, while they were waiting to pick up their

children [legal guardians and those entitled by them can wait for children on the premises of a given school]), teachers, janitorial and administrative staff (during breaks), students (e.g., during breaks and homerooms), and school principals (at least before and/or after school celebrations, meetings).

In the interviews, I attempted to draw attention to important elements of teachers' work, with particular emphasis on "easy" and "difficult," pleasant and unpleasant, positive and negative situations. In total, 93 interviews were conducted—42 interviews with active teachers, including school principals, 18 interviews with retired teachers, 19 with students' parents, and 14 with administrative staff. The average duration of one interview was 39 minutes; however, some interviews, especially those with retired teachers, were much longer (over 2 hours). Interviews with active teachers were conducted both with those working in schools where the ethnographic study was applied, as well as those teaching in other schools. It is worth noting here that after our first interview—initiated by me—some of the interviewees contacted me again—offering to be interviewed—on their request—one more time. Such instances were due to gaining the informants' trust in the course of letting them to get to know me better. Among other things, such behavior of the informants allowed for a comparison of the data obtained at different stages of the research, as well as shed some light on the specificity of the field (see: Becker and Greer 1960; Silverman 2007).

In the first phase of conducting interviews with active teachers and school principals I had a feel-ing that all I heard were some empty slogans. They were providing information, which, in their opinion, should be conveyed. Still, it did not, for the most part, reflect how they felt. For example, when the informants talked about the role of the teacher, I would hear, in the first part of the interview, that "school is a pedagogic and educational institution, and the task of the teacher is to prepare children, young people to function in society as best as possible." In the next statements, the educational function of the school was clearly pointed out, marginalizing the pedagogic (rearing, bringing up younger students) one. It was emphasized that the main task of the school was to prepare children to pass an exam with a good grade, allowing them to successfully finish a given stage of education. However, the school tasks were often equated with individual teacher's tasks. Thus, it can be assumed that the area at hand is negotiated within one's professional context—through participation in the school community. What is more, informants alternately used "I" and "we" (school). The school goals were also the individual goals of the employee:

My goal is, first and foremost, to prepare the student for the exam. Those three years of work in some way prepare them for the end of school. [a man, junior high school teacher, aged 48]

Teachers are not for raising and do not raise children… parents should bring them up…At school, the student is supposed to acquire knowledge. [a woman, junior high school teacher, aged 31]

I have to implement the program. This is the most important. [a man, junior high school teacher, aged 45]

After getting to know the informants, and vice versa, the interviews were more in-depth. They were conducted in places and on occasions convenient for the interviewees. Most often it was the informant or researcher's place of residence, a coffee house, teachers' lounge, or the principal's office. All interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, coded, and analyzed based on the principles of grounded theory methodology. The application of grounded theory methodology is consistent with the adaption of interpretative paradigm and allowed to capture the processual dimension of constructing and giving meanings to studied phenomena, by comparing different cases in order to select from the collected material basic concepts that constituted the basis for further comparisons (see: Konecki 2000). The following grounded theory methodology procedures were used: substantial coding, including open coding, theoretical coding, memo-writing, diagramming. Based on the constant comparative method, categories, their proprieties, and dimensions, have been reconstructed, including experiencing the emotion of pride.

The Reasons behind Experiencing Pride in Teachers' Work

During the interviews, the informants eagerly shared situations in which the emotion of pride appeared. Very often in the narrative, the feeling of pride was mentioned. However, in most of the cases, pride was deduced from the informants' statements. The interlocutors sometimes spoke about happiness, contentment, joy, and satisfaction. It is a group of emotions related to pride (see: Plutchik 1962; 1980; 1994; Ekman 1972). One can assume that each of those feelings is accom-

panied by pride. Whenever there was a narrative related to the emotion of pride, information about an increase in job satisfaction appeared. It should therefore be recognized that the feeling of pride is an emotion directly affecting the growth of motivation to act (see: Atkinson 1974; Herzberg 1976; Weiner 1985). The feeling of pride leads to the emergence of job satisfaction, what results in an increased motivation and individual's aspiration to achieve success.

Pride is a response to the individual's success, including the increase in the level of power and/or status, but is also the driving force behind the actions taken, contributing to the success of a teacher. Thusly, pride became one of the core categories of the research presented here.

In the research, the emotion of pride appeared in three main contexts. The first one—macro (structural)—is associated with pride in belonging to an organization and/or professional group. The second—mezzo (evaluation)—refers to one's achievements and measurable successes appearing in the teacher's work. It is connected with satisfying the need for recognition and respect. The third—micro (interactional)—is related to the teacher-student relationship. It refers to the level of the student's actual work, their commitment, and to the teacher's authority, understood as having power with the simultaneous high self-status.

Pride as a Result of Prestige

The first category dimension I have identified as a macro (structural) context is related to pride in

belonging to an organization and/or professional group. It also includes a positive attitude of the teacher working with children. Informants simply indicated pride or satisfaction of **working as a teacher**, and the resulting prestige. As a profession, a teacher enjoys great social respect. Since a couple of years, in the Polish ranking of prestige of occupation, this profession is on the seventh place (Cybulska 2013; Omyła-Rudzka 2019). Belonging to a given professional group (teachers) affects the increase in the self-status, which increases self-esteem and may lead to the growth of actual or idealized authority in the image of the self.

> ...when I started working, I felt really good. I remember how proud I was that I got this job. My mother was also very proud of me. She used to be a teacher, so I was growing up in the atmosphere that a teacher is the authority providing good education and carrying out this education duty. [a woman, junior high school teacher, aged 53]

The prestige of the organization is also important. Pride arises as a result of **working at school** as an educational institution in general. Teachers indicate the nature of the work, working hours, longer holidays, and their relative freedom in the way the lessons are conducted. An important factor behind the prestige of an organization is the fact of **working in a specific school**, recognized in the educational environment as "better" and placed higher in various types of school rankings:

> I'm glad that I work at this school. We are the best junior high school in Lodz. [a woman, junior high school teacher, aged 43]

The last condition included in the macro (structural) context is pride which is the result of belonging to organizations recognized as elite and operating in educational institutions. Such organizations gather a specific group of "the best" teachers. Institutional elitism can affect the perception of one's self by raising or maintaining high self-esteem of individuals. This dimension unambiguously connects with the self-evaluation and is related to successive conditions, included in the mezzo (evaluation) context.

Pride as a Result of Recognition

The second dimension is related to defining success as **measurable achievements**, awards, distinctions, and praise received by teachers in their professional work:

> I must tell you immodestly that I have been awarded the Silver and Golden Cross of Merit for my pedagogical and social work. I received several regional distinctions, whose names I cannot remember at the moment, and the prestigious Minister of Education Award. [a woman, retired teacher, aged 84]

This dimension is associated with a positive assessment of one's actions and defining them in terms of success, which is also considered as a **lack of routine in conducting classes**, studying for a postgraduate degree (for personal development and in order to be promoted), or creative approach to solving problems arising in the teacher's work:

> I am proud of my achievements. I conducted many demonstration lessons.[5] At that time, I was the best

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[5] A demonstration lesson—a kind of peer lesson conducted by a teacher and observed by teachers and principals of other

teacher in Lodz. I belonged to the elite Club of Creative Teachers. I received many awards from the Education Superintendent, and even the first-level award of the Minister of Education. Each award stimulated me to work even harder, so I wanted to sit up late at nights and prepare teaching aids. Each class was different. I never fell into a routine. I also consider it a success. [a woman, retired teacher, aged 67]

Measurable achievements and one's successes are related to **satisfying the need for recognition and respect.** Recognition, understood as striving to gain a position and respect in the eyes of others (Maslow 1964; 1990), is related to the self-status. Teachers, as any workers, wish to feel that they are doing something important, which meets the recognition of the environment, translates into a positive self-image, and increases self-esteem. Recognition is strengthened when praise is public. One of the teachers told me about a situation in which she was publicly praised, after a demonstration lesson she conducted for a group of principals, inspectors, and teachers from other schools. The praise at hand was pronounced by the principal of another educational institution. The event caused her great satisfaction and pride. The fragment of her narration presented below clearly shows that her self-esteem and motivation to work have increased:

educational institutions (other schools), as well as the representatives of the Board of Education and Pedagogy (a body supervising the work of teachers) called inspectors. Conducting a demonstration lesson is a great distinction for a teacher and is associated with great prestige. Usually, such lessons are provided by the best teachers who have great achievements in working with children and young people. Offering a teacher to conduct such a lesson involves expressing appreciation and is a source of satisfaction and pride. It should be noted that conducting a demonstration lesson does not involve any additional financial gratification.

...one of the principals said: "Oh, I would like to have the same mathematician in my school." Then I felt yyy I felt that I could be really accepted. The fact that your boss looks at you in a different way is another matter. He sees you every day, knows your mistakes, and knows your qualities. It's different. And somebody comes from the outside and sees you in action; sees you during work, only at work, and you can show yourself in such a way that another principal would like to work with a teacher like you. It was nice to me, it was nice...Then I believed that what I do, that style of teaching, is so good. And I thought—I do want to work as a teacher. Then I felt appreciated. [a woman, junior high school teacher, aged 46]

The whole event allowed her to create, strengthen, and maintain a positive image of herself within her professional context. According to Leon Festinger's (1954) theory of social comparisons, people have a need to judge others to get an accurate image of themselves. Using the objective criteria (rewards, praise), the teacher assessed her own abilities and strengths. She made a comparison to other mathematicians. She assumed that if the praising principal wanted to have a teacher like her in his school, mathematicians working in that other institution must have been worse than she was. There has also been an increase in status (prestige) in line with Kemper's concept discussed above and an increase in self-esteem referring to the concept of Lea and Webley.

Pride also appears as **the effect of interactions with colleagues and co-workers** and **as the result of the reaction to promotion.** Here, I do not mean the promotion associated with changing the post (e.g.,

promotion to be appointed a principal of an educational institution), but one's professional promotion related to achieving the next "Level of Professional Promotion."[6] Those two sources of pride are closely linked. Achieving the next level in the educational hierarchy can be seen as an expression of appreciation from others (authorities) and translates into a sense of personal satisfaction, happiness, and re-increases self-esteem.

Pride as a Result of the Teacher-Student Relationship

The third dimension discussed is the micro (interactional) context. It has been called thusly because of the nature of the activities undertaken (or not) by the teacher, the student, and (at times) the parent. In my opinion, the most interesting, and, at the same time, the most clearly indicated by the interlocutors, source of the described emotion is the arousal of pride due to **the achievements of other people (students)** the individual (teacher) had an influence on, directly or indirectly. Therefore, the feeling of pride is indirectly based on the success of others (e.g., a parent is proud of the achievements of their children). Rosenblatt (1988) sees pride in another person's achievements as a result of identifying with the other, which, in turn, can be seen as a specific defense mechanism against the destructive emotion of envy. The informants

acknowledged the success of their students as their own, and thus they felt proud about it. They did not pay too much attention to other factors that could have contributed to the students' success. Instead, they believed that their own work, their contribution to teaching was so significant that the student achieved good results in contests, competitions, and science Olympiads. The student's success is understood as **the effect of the teacher's work with the student.**

Of course, one can easily point out many other factors that could have affected the student's results. Such factors would include the student's independent work, independent acquisition and broadening of knowledge in a given field, the parents' work with the student, participation in additional enterprises such as activity clubs supervised by other teachers, or private lessons.[7] During private lessons the student acquires (deepens) knowledge, working with another teacher. It sometimes happens that it is the tutor who prepares the student to participate in the subject competition, or Olympiad:

[6] The Polish legislator defined the possibilities of teachers' promotion on a four-level scale. The career begins with 1) the intern's degree. After one year of work and after obtaining a positive exam grade, one can obtain grade 2) of a contract teacher. After the next three years and submitting the documents needed to conduct the qualifying exam, the teacher can become 3) an appointed teacher. The final stage is to obtain the degree 4) of a qualified teacher.

[7] Private lessons are classes offered to students by a teacher of a given student and/or their parents' choice. Most often, such lessons are provided by teachers from a school other than the one the student attends. They take place during extra-curricular hours (most often late afternoon hours or at weekends), at the tutor or the student's place of residence. Such lessons are additionally payable, settled up by the student's parents. It happens that a student attends private lessons in several subjects. The subjects of the most commonly provided tutoring are mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Additional language classes are standard. Pupils of all levels of education attend private lessons, though this phenomenon is intensified in older classes. It is particularly noticeable in secondary schools, among students of the final year. Private lessons are attended by both students with educational problems and those who are very good and achieve successes in competitions and Olympiads. In the Polish educational reality, tutoring is a fairly common and ubiquitous phenomenon.

My son is a laureate of the Olympiad in chemistry. For two years, he has been going to such a nice lady who prepared him for the Olympiad. The point was that he could choose any high school. At school, they would not have prepared him.[8] [a parent]

Despite parents' statements, who repeatedly pointed to students' independent work at home or during private lessons, the teachers directly linked their students' achievements with their work. The teachers were thus "hooking up" to their students' successes. That may be due to the fact that teachers' work is not really measurable. It is difficult to objectively assess which teacher teaches better. A grade given to a student by a teacher is also not measurable. Students without hesitation are able to indicate teachers who have very high requirements and it is a great success to get a good grade (4) at their lessons. Obviously, they can also recognize those teachers who grant excellent grades (6) without students' special effort.[9] Not always that teacher who students like more than others is also the one who imparts knowledge better. The measurable criterion is also not the results of subsequent exams, since, as indicated above, it will not always be the effect of working with one teacher only. One of the ideas of the Ministry of Education to enable the ranking of schools and the assessment of the teacher's work was to create an indicator of student knowledge growth, so-called "educational added value" (Value-Added Indicators [VAI]).[10] Children starting education at a given level (primary school, junior high school, high school, etc.) undergo a series of tests to assess their level of knowledge at the entry. Then another competence test (exam) is written by the children leaving the school. The results are compared and the VAI is obtained. The higher the indicator, the better a given school and its teachers are. And, again, one should not forget about several important intervening conditions that may affect and disturb the indicator. In addition to the above-mentioned factors (students' interests, parental work, attending private lessons), students' success is influenced by issues such as their educational environment, fashion among students for learning or not learning, and higher knowledge than other pupils at the entrance. In the latter case, the growth of knowledge may be, in fact, smaller, despite the high level of teaching and the teacher's significant contribution to the education process. That means that schools recruiting better students can get a lower level of VAI. A student who obtained the threshold of 90%-100% at preliminary tests has little possibility to achieve an even better result, and that significantly disturbs the VAI. Teachers share the view of the unfounded use of such indicators and the amount of VAI points does not affect their motivation to work:

A teacher's work is connected with experiencing various emotions—from joy, when I can teach someone

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[8] In Poland, there are regulations governing the admission of a student to secondary school. Students who are laureates or finalists of the nationwide subject Olympiad and winners of a subject contest of provincial or national range are admitted in the first place to a public upper secondary school, if they meet the condition of graduating from junior high school (certificate of completion) and submit a certificate stating the possession of the title (Act on the Education System, Polish Journal of Laws of 2015, as amended, article 20d).

[9] There is a six-grade rating scale in Poland. The best grade is excellent (6), and the worst is unsatisfactory (1).

[10] In the English-language literature, Value-Added Indicators stand for "educational added value." Readers interested in this issue are referred to the subject literature and OECD studies and reports on the state of education issued by Educational Research Institutes (see, e.g., Meyer 1997; Schagen and Hutchinson 2003; Dolata 2007; OECD 2008).

something, to frustration, when it turns out that the effort put into the education of a class or a specific person does not actually bring results. This work is primarily characterized by the fact that we must be pleased with the small success of our own students, that is huge for them, but, let's say, when it comes to brutal school statistics and, for example, VAI, yes, that is the school quality assessment system, it will be low, but the teacher is happy that their student gets 55% instead of 30% on the exam. In the scale of Poland or Lodz, that is not a great result, but, for a specific child, it is very good. Also, emotions are really related to work. [a woman, junior high school teacher, aged 44]

Having a student(s) winning contests, competitions, and Olympiads revealed a hubris referring to the entire self (Lewis 2005). At the same time, hubris was more clearly visible in relation to school as a whole institution, and not exclusively to the teacher. The principals used phrases such as "we are the best," "our school won," "the student of our school is the winner of the competition." **"Bragging about students"** is a ritual. The names of the best students appear on school websites and on boards hung on the walls of hallways or classes. Such students become not only the glory of the teacher of a given subject, but also of the homeroom teacher, and of other school teachers. "Bragging about students" is a category that refers to the reason and effect of pride. The arousal of pride and experiencing it by other teachers and the principal can be evidenced as the emotional chain (Collins 1975; 1981; 1990; 2004), emotional contagion (Haffield, Cacioppo, and Rapson 1994; Doherty 1997), and confirmation of the assumption that people cooperating with each other share emotions and moods (Bartel and Saavedra

2000). Teachers talk about the competition winners in the teachers' lounge. It can influence an increase in satisfaction with belonging to a given school community. One student (a winner) can provide pride experienced by all school workers. In such sense, emotions can be seen as a community-based product (Prus 2013:11); in this case—a school community. The emotion of pride is "spread" among the student, teacher of the subject in which the student succeeded during a competition or Olympiad, then the homeroom teacher, who may teach a different subject than the one in which the student succeeded externally, the school principal, and finally—all other school employees, which influences their pride of working in that particular school. Thus, the success of one student increases the work satisfaction, self-esteem, and may affect the arousal of pride within other, out-of-school, contexts among all of the employees of a given school.

Many people have a tendency to take all the credit, although they had little impact on a given issue. Such behavior allows them to maintain their self-esteem and influences the quality of social interactions. The success of others, in which we—at least partially—participated, enjoys and builds a positive effect. That is a positive phenomenon within the interactional context. It allows us to feel positive emotions in numerous situations and—simply—makes us happy. Our self-esteem increases, which, again, translates into the quality of social relations. In the analysis, I referred to such a behavior (way of acting) as "hooking up" to others' success. One's desire to experience positive emotions, especially the one of pride, is so high that individuals are looking for an opportunity to feel it at all costs. Not having

their own success (measurable or experienced), they simply "hook up" to those who succeed. They use a positive emotion of another person to arouse it in oneself. That is not always a positive phenomenon, since individuals "hooking up" to success may not arouse sufficient motivation for actions that would translate into their individual successes.

In their narrations, teachers referred to pride being experienced because of **arousing their students' interest** in the subject taught and their small or spectacular successes in the field at hand (ability to interest in a given subject):

> I never had to raise my voice, my students were quiet, and I got them engaged in the lessons. Although it sounds immodest [audible pride in the voice], I attracted their interest in the subject, which is evidenced by the fact that over a dozen of them graduated from the Polish Philology Department of the University. [a woman, retired teacher, aged 84]

In addition to one's desire to maintain the self-schemata, we are dealing here with internal attribution and reflection on the causes. The teacher interprets the silence during the lesson in terms of students' interest in the subject and a high appreciation of her professional work. Still, it is difficult to assess the reasons behind their behavior based on the above excerpt.

The quotation also refers to the next condition that can evoke the emotion of pride. It is **authority.** The teacher builds one's authority and implies particular ways of dealing with emotions in a specific context of their ideas about one's work. Those images constitute a constellation of the factors which the teacher defines as a success or failure impacting within certain boundary conditions (regulations, practices adapted in a given institution, standards, interaction with colleagues, etc.). They, in turn, correspond with the specificity of a given institution, the specificity of working with students, and the tools available to teachers as part of their professional activity (e.g., manuals, textbooks, handbooks, exercises, multimedia, examples, cases, one's voice, way of conducting lessons, etc.). The authority enjoyed by a given teacher also becomes a tool limiting the occurrence of difficult situations during the class. It may be relatively easier for teachers of grades 1-3 of primary school to establish their authority, since their students are likely to quickly identify with the teacher. Based on the analysis of teachers' narrations, it can be stated that enjoying authority translates into more frequent emergence of positive emotions such as satisfaction and pride. Most of the teachers emphasizing their joy of work, job satisfaction of working with students, and pride in their own, as well as students' achievements had the authority of both students and other teachers.

In addition to pride of students' successes within the micro (interactional) context, we also find pride of **the choice of students to continue further education in accordance with the subject taught by a given teacher:**

> Winning the top positions by students participating in Russian language competitions was a success. I am proud that several of my students graduated from the Russian Philology Department. One student even studied in Russia in St. Petersburg. That's nice. [a woman, retired teacher, aged 77]

It is difficult to objectively assess whether the choice of the field of study by the students was dictated by the real interest in the subject awakened by the teacher, or suggested by parents, friends, or a matter of chance. However, the interpretation of the success adapted by the teacher indicates her willingness to maintain the self-schemata and is associated with the increase in status (prestige), which translates into an experience of pride. A similar characteristic can be found in the next quotation. Here, apart from the above-mentioned factors, there is visible pride resulting from **sustaining contact with school and a given teacher by a graduate student:**

> We are happy with every little success. I have many students in my work who studied at the same faculty as I did. Yes, I think that there are a few such people, there are people who deal with the theater, film, and journalism. I think it is a kind of success for me too, because they come to me and talk about it. It is really nice for a teacher, and I think that even if there is only one such student, we can be proud of who has pleasant memories connected with the school and a given subject, it is a gem that gives a teacher such wings, wings, and is a kind of satisfaction, yes. Not a diploma, not a principal's or president's award, but just the effects that flow from children are important. Graduates who frequently visit us in schools are also a kind of such, such wings, that it is worth working, that it is worth devoting oneself to children, and sometimes it is worth engaging in their family matters. [a woman, junior high school teacher, aged 45]

Teachers try to appreciate the achievements of their students and it is a relatively measurable indicator of their effectiveness. Current and former students unknowingly contribute to the increase in the teachers' satisfaction of their job. They are a measure of the teachers' success. It may positively influence the emergence and duration of social interactions. However, it should be noted that the pride of one person may cause jealousy in another person, which, in turn, can negatively affect the type and form of an interaction. Paradoxically, jealousy of other people can trigger the emergence of the emotion of pride:

> The most positive thing is that graduates who graduated from the school many years ago sometimes come to see us. They come, they wait for this open day, when they can come, a lot of them always come, and I think this is such a very big positive thing in a teacher's environment, where colleagues sometimes look at the visitors with envy that so many people come to one person, and much less to others. Maybe it is also funny, but, unfortunately, jealousy occurs in the teaching environment due to the fact that previous students like some teachers more than others, and some teachers are more remembered and some less remembered. And this jealousy is sometimes nice. I feel that I am good…If I were not, they would not envy me [laugh]. [a woman, junior high school teacher, aged 45]

The last discussed factors influencing the emergence of pride in the teacher-student relationship are: **gratitude from students, positive attitude to work, and parents' satisfaction.** Gratitude is connected with showing teachers gestures of sympathy by students, although this category is characteristic mainly of teachers working in junior classes (classes 1-3), in which children aged 6-10 study:

It is so pleasant when a schoolgirl approaches with a card or an ordinary drawing and says: "I have done it for you." I am always deeply touched by their behavior. [a woman, primary school teacher of grades 1-3, aged 32]

In the quotes below, teachers not only point out gratitude as an action that affects the appearance of pride, but also indicate the importance of gratitude for their positive attitude to work.

The children's gratitude, their joy, and the fact that I know that they like me, that they cling to me, and that I can teach them something give me satisfaction. Yes, it is so grateful to work like this...as I said, most of those effects can be seen at the end of the year, when those children are, in fact, hugging me, do not want to leave. I am glad that I have chosen this profession. [a woman, primary school teacher of grades 1-3, aged 43]

The positive attitude to work is very important and translates to job satisfaction. It is the attitude to work that determines the appearance of pride in all of the contexts discussed above. That attitude influences the assessment of one's work, the assessment of the work of others, the evaluation of organization, profession, and the quality of interactions with colleagues, students, and their parents:

This is a grateful job. You can see the achievement of your goals. You can observe the translation of your work into the students' achievements. I can enjoy a child's success as my own. I am proud of my students. [a woman, primary school teacher, aged 37]

I can simply see that there are smiling kids, happy parents, I'm also happy with the results of my work. I think

that it is the advantage of this work. That joy of mine, of kids, and parents. I want to work then. [a woman, primary school teacher of grades 1-3, aged 44]

In the context of the present research, it can be pointed out that the feeling of pride increases one's motivation to act and work:

Each award stimulated me to work even harder, so I wanted to sit up late at nights and prepare teaching aids. [a woman, retired teacher, aged 67]

Therefore, employers should attempt to initiate situations—interactional episodes—allowing their employees to experience the feeling of pride for the emotion of pride can be a driving force for the emergence of successive positive emotions and can lead to an increase in the self-esteem of the individual.

Conclusion

Pride is an emotion that appears in response to the success achieved. It should be remembered that the definition of success is individual and a given employee, based on their internal definition, decides whether a given activity will be assessed in terms of success or not (see: Adams 1963). Such individual definition is crucial to the arousal of the feeling of pride. The emergence of a specific definition of success in the self-schemata can be compared to verbalization in the two-factor theory of emotion (Schachter and Singer 1962). Pride appears when something is done or something intentional is achieved. The informants pointed to the feeling of pride, smile, or joy emerging at the moment of achieving the intended goal.

They talked about their behavior in such a situation and a tendency to brag about their success and their achievements, although some teachers mentioned that they do not like to talk about it. When I asked them why, they claimed that they "feel uncomfortable," embarrassed when they are praised. Rather, they referred to their inner satisfaction and pride that are not explicitly revealed in interactions.

As we have seen, pride appears in response to a number of factors (conditions) and related interactional and situational contexts. Pride in the teachers' work may be a result of assessing the organization and profession as prestigious. It appears as a response to the individual's belonging to a given organization and professional group. It is also visible in the context of assessing measurable achievements and successes of a teacher. Receiving prizes, praise, distinctions, diplomas, promotions, et cetera, is considered an objective criterion for positive social evaluation and is associated with social recognition and respect. It all affects the form and quality of interactions with colleagues and other people, not only those involved in the education process. A teacher embracing tangible effects of one's work receives a higher social position, which is granted by a group of experts and is therefore accepted (although it can only be an apparent action) by co-workers and other interactants.

Pride arises in interactions, and in teachers' work, it mainly arouses in relation to the teacher-student relationship, as well as one's relationships with co-workers. The micro (interactional) context is conditioned by the mezzo (evaluation) context, including the receipt of recognition and the individual definition of success.

As a result of the research, I can conclude that pride in the work of a teacher appears in three main contexts: 1) pride due to prestige, 2) pride due to recognition (appreciation), and 3) pride as a result of diverse, for example, teacher-student interactions. All the meanings of pride were provided by the teachers.

As has been pointed out, pride contributes (through shaping self-esteem) to an increase in the self-status and/or an increase in the sense of a certain level of power at one's disposal. Referring to Kemper's (1978) theory, we can assume that pride is not a sole result of satisfaction deriving from an increase in one's status, but is a primary emotion arising in connection with a change referring to the level of power and status. Such an assessment of our action(s) in terms of success translates into a genuine increase in the sense of power and/or status.

In conclusion, in the article, I attempted to elucidate that the emotion of pride is one of the most important social emotions. By exerting a significant impact on the individual's self-esteem and assessment of the undertaken actions, it is a motivating factor determining one's faith in success. The practical implication for employers may be to undertake such actions that would enable their employees to feel pride, as the appearance of this emotion can contribute to an increase in work efficiency and employee's satisfaction.

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