

THESIS

“ARE YOU FEELING WHAT I’M FEELING?”: AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNICATION
AND EMOTIONAL WORK OF KOREAN SOCIAL WORKERS

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

“ARE YOU FEELING WHAT I’M FEELING?”: AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNICATION AND EMOTIONAL WORK OF KOREAN SOCIAL WORKERS

This study investigates how Korean social workers experience and communicate emotional work in their organizational experience. Using a qualitative interview approach, I explore the emotional experiences of Korean social workers. Korean social workers experience wide array of different types of emotional work, however, expresses them implicitly and indirectly due to contemplative and considerate communication tactics in order to save others’ face and avoid burdening others with their emotions. Furthermore, the emotional work experience leads Korean social workers to develop a sense of pride, responsibility, and compassion toward their clients which were not inherent from the beginning of their professional experience due to lack of autonomy when choosing their profession. Korean social workers also communicate their emotional work through in-group association, strongly relying on connections through their alma mater, others who are their age, their position, and their tenure in the organization. However, a notable challenge to the original theory of emotional work is that for Korean social workers they also experience emotional labor and emotional dissonance due to organizational constraints that generate a clash of inner feeling with what organizations expect them to present. The study provides evidence of how different cultural expectations influence emotional work experiences as well as the communication of emotion. The findings not only support the different cultural norms and constraints that influence Korean social workers’ emotional work but also contribute to further the understanding of the role of organizations in providing proper outlets for emotional work experiences.

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먼저, 2년전 나약한 저를 이곳으로 이끄시고, 모든 기회를 가능케 하셨으며

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힘들고 외로울 때 마다 저에게 많은 응원과 위로를 아끼지 않았던 소중한 친구들 박슬아, 이아름, 유진, 김은형, 조성운, 그리고 영원한 쌍둥이 충전소 정소효, 정소정에게 깊은 감사의 마음을 전합니다. 항상 웃으며 맞추고 응원해주던 시간들, 나를 자랑스러워해주며 든든한 정신적 지원을 해주던 그 순간들 결코 잊지 않겠습니다. 또한 멀리서도 저에게 따끔하지만 애정 어린 직설과 동기 부여로 함께 해주신 오 마이 이지영, 박영미 언니, 신혜리 그리고 영원한 왕언니 임봉선 이사님께 감사의 말씀을 전합니다.

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I dedicate this thesis to all social workers who help, support and enlighten the lives of many unprivileged groups in the society. Their hard work in the field truly is the invaluable treasure that makes society a better place.

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INTRODUCTION AND RATIONAL

From Aristotle to Charles Darwin, emotion has been the subject of intense study for thousands of years and researchers from multiple disciplines (e.g., psychology, sociology, and communication) have posited that emotion evolved as a means to trigger cooperation among animals in social groupings (Waldron, 2012). Although contemporary scholarship on emotion comes primarily from psychology, over the last few decades, interest in emotion has accelerated in various other disciplines such as sociology and communication (Waldron, 2012). From the contributions of these disciplines, it is now widely recognized that humans are led by non-rational factors including emotional and motivational states of mind (Waldron, 2012; TenHouten, 2013). Ultimately, contemporary perceptions have come to view emotion as one of the core elements of social behavior and as having connections to communicative behaviors (Bolls, 2010, Burleson, 2003, 2008; Metts & Wood, 2008; Planalp, 1999, Nabi, 2010).

In the last decade, organizational communication scholarship has taken a more specific focus on emotion and affect in organizational life (Miller, 2007; Lutgen-Sandik & Davenport-Sypher, 2009; Planalp, 2009; Bolls, 2010; Waldron, 2012). One of the shifts in the communication discipline since the late 1980s is the increasing attention given to nonprofit and human service organizations in which the “the instrumental pursuit of profit is replaced by goals such as the provision of health services, social welfare, and care provision” (Miller & Considine, 2009, p.406). Furthermore, as the number of organizations providing human services (e.g., health care, social services) increase, so do questions about the link between emotion and communication in organizations (Miller, 2007) which has led to the study of different types of emotions in organizations by many scholars (e.g., Hochschild, 1979, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1997; and Miller, 2002, 2007). The most recent scholarship

puts stronger emphasis on the fact that communication at work is structured by rules, reporting relationships, and role requirements that might regulate the expression of emotion (Bolls, 2010). Emotional communication has been identified as being subject to organizational constraints and scholars have considered communication as a process where employees can discover, interpret, and negotiate organizational controls. Emotional communication is often seen as the symbolic tools used in their organizational lives (Waldron, 2012). Additionally, the expression of emotion in organizations is also theorized as a force that could define employee satisfaction in the organization (Lutgen-Sandvik & Davenport-Sypher, 2009).

For this study, I investigate Miller's notion of emotional work which is one of the most prevalent types of emotions that professionals experience at workplaces. Emotional work is defined as work in which emotion is part of the work itself and it usually involves emotion that is authentic, meaning the feelings are genuine and are not artificially produced for profit making (Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; Miller, 2007; Waldron, 2012). Emotional work specifically applies to individuals engaged in human service occupations such as social workers, teachers, and pastors (Miller, 2007). To elaborate, the emotions employees feel are considered authentic as they do not have to fabricate their emotions in front of the clients for whom they work and provide services. Unlike other professions where emotion is sometime a part of profit-making commodity, for human service workers, emotional challenge is not artificially manufactured but rather is a "natural part of their tasks and responsibilities" (Miller, 2002, p. 629). Such real emotions are present and accumulate over time as workers perform their tasks and responsibilities (Miller, 2007; Waldron, 2012). That is due to the nature of emotional work that is likely to involve long-term relationships between the organizational member and the clients (Ford & Etienne, 1994; Gutek & Welsh, 2000). Very often, people in these professions report going into the work because they care about people,

feel a sense of compassion, and a need to help others in their work (Yanay & Shahar, 1998). Particularly in social work, emotional work may create feelings of “compassion” and, in some cases, “futility” (Waldron, 2012, p.7).

Considering the experiences of emotional work for human services professionals, an additional challenge for them is the lack of communication about emotion at workplaces. For a long time, the workplace was something of an “emotional dead zone” and “getting emotional” had been considered unprofessional in many organizational contexts (Waldron, 2012, p.4). Furthermore, emotion has been viewed as merely a “by-product of more important factors” such as wages or supervision practices (Miller, 2007, p. 225). Therefore, understanding how emotional work occurs in the human services industry and how it is connected to communication have emerged as pivotal elements to consider because individuals experiencing emotional work have been discouraged to voice their emotions (Waldron, 2012).

Organizations are not “static structures” but social entities that are sustained by ongoing discourses (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2006, p. 7). The discourses have evolved over time and now function as part of the organizational culture regarding the communication of emotion (Frost, 2003). However, oftentimes those organizational discourses are evidence that expressing or communicating emotion are not accepted forms of interaction. While the research explored above highlights the challenging state of conditions and expectations about emotions in the workplace, it also presents one major shortcoming—a lack of global application. Although the existing research provides a theoretical grounding of emotional work, it fails to provide insights on intercultural application in a global organizational context. While previous research has offered enriched perspectives on emotional work, studies were primarily conducted in the U.S. or Europe, excluding the Eastern world’s view, perception, and experiences of emotional work. For example, in Korea, the concept of emotional work

does not exist. Human services professions in Korea have shown various negative emotional experiences such as burnout, stress, and exhaustion but these have only been explored in social welfare discipline without making any link to communication. Furthermore, the discipline of communication in Korea has not explored emotional work yet. There is little to no acknowledgement or support provided for employees in human services industries such as social welfare and non-profit organizations (Park & Yoo, 2015). The cultural convention of Korea has educated and trained individuals to manage their emotional struggles privately rather than openly communicating about it (Oh, 2015). In fact, much media coverage in recent years revealed that members of the social work industry experience a high degree of emotional struggle that even resulted in 15,400 suicides per year since 2011 (Park & Yoo, 2015; Lee, 2013). Although the emotional struggle of social workers is prevalent in Korea, it has not been theoretically defined or practically acknowledged.

This project extends theories of emotional work into the Korean human service industry in three ways. First, through applying meta-theoretical perspective of social constructionism theory the study provides a broad conceptualization of emotion, emotion in organizations, and emotion in Korean culture as well as social welfare industry. Second, this study explores and provides new insights and strategies for dealing with emotional work. Finally, building upon extant research conducted outside Korea, this research offers cultural nuance to emotional work scholarship, particularly emphasizing the connection with communication to further enhance the understanding of how Koreans employed in social welfare organizations communicate their emotional work. Specifically, understanding how Koreans experience emotion in organizations can contribute to the scholarship of communication both in the U.S. and Korea in numerous ways: (a) it demonstrates how a Western theory of emotional work applies to Eastern culture, adding globally researched data to the discipline through understanding Korean cultural concept of *uye-ri*; (b) furthering

insights about how emotional work is communicated in Korea through in-group dependency; and (d) contributes to understand the profession of social welfare in Korea and their emotional experiences, providing new perspectives on how cultural differences can influence one's emotional and organizational experience. Furthermore, the study demonstrates shifts in theoretical groundings as the conceptualization of emotional work is complicated and challenged through a cultural applications that suggests emotional work may co-exist with emotional labor and emotional dissonance and is influenced by socially constructed meaning-making and interpretations. Ultimately, this study leads to practical findings—suggesting ways to reduce emotional struggle and offering alternatives to effectively cope with such challenges, thus promoting and ensuring stronger emotional well-being of organizational members.

In order to fulfill the proposed study goals, I studied social workers, currently employed by non-profit social welfare organizations in Korea. Their tasks and responsibilities branch out within the organizations such as inter-country adoption, the disabled center, senior citizens care center, and North Korean refugee counseling center. While, the primary goal of social welfare organizations is to serve and help underprivileged groups in society, employees confront emotional work and their communication of emotions are not actively encouraged or fostered on an organizational level.

To achieve these goals, the thesis is organized into four additional chapters. First, the forthcoming chapter provides a review of existing literatures on emotion, emotion at organizations, emotional work, and intercultural adaptation of emotion particularly focusing on the case of Korea including its historical development through the application of social constructionism theory. The next chapter details the specific methods used to answer the research questions of this study. The final two chapters share the findings of this project and offer a discussion of those findings.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study explores how members of social welfare organizations in Korea communicate their emotions in organizations. In investigating grounding theories and previous research, one of the most pivotal steps is to understand the connections and implications among emotion, organizations, and communication, as well as how Korean culture responds to these. In order to achieve this goal, I begin by defining emotion and applying social constructionism theory to further explore emotion in organizations, emotion in Korea, and the communication of emotions. Then, I focus on emotional work for social welfare industry and professionals. The study centers on emotional work and the communication of emotional work in social welfare organizations.

Emotion and Communication

Emotion is the physiological state of an organism that has clearly expressed “subjective coloring and encompasses all types of feelings and experiences of human, from deep, traumatizing suffering to exalted forms of joy and social sensations of life” (Anokhin, 1964, p.339). The term itself can be used in a wide array of contexts, but the commonly accepted conception of emotions are that they are internal and personal reactions individuals encounter on a daily basis (Parkinson, 1996). The common conceptualization of emotion has evolved into two major categorizations—psychological and cognitive perspectives—explaining the private nature of emotion in human lives (Cacioppo, Berntson & Klein, 1992; LeDoux, 1986, Buck, 1984). When considering emotions, one important distinction that needs to be made is the difference between feeling and emotion. Feeling is personal and biological while emotion is social (Shouse, 2005). Feeling is a biological sensation that has been acknowledged against previous experiences and it is private reflections based on various individual experiences and their own interpretations (Shouse, 2005). On the other hand,

emotion is the projection or display of a feeling. Unlike feelings, the display of emotion can be managed whether it is authentic or fabricated (Shouse, 2005). Furthermore, emotional experiences of individuals are likely to differ according to the circumstances under which the emotional experiences occur and the emotional experiences are examined based on various attentional demands (Fineman, 1993).

Taking place through social interactions on an individual basis, emotion is the fuel of human communication (Bolls, 2010). As emotions arise more frequently in social situations than in non-social ones, emotions are often defined as being “ways we feel about people or other people feel about us” (Andersen & Guerrero, 1998, p. 7). Emotions are expressed both nonverbally and verbally in most cases (Pennebaker, 1997). Through the verbal and nonverbal processes, emotions are further negotiated and played out through interpersonal communication (Rime, Mesquita, Philippot & Boca, 1991). Furthermore, they argue that sometimes emotions are private, dissipated externally, or provoke responses from others or mutual adjustment on their emotions (Rime, Mesquita, Philippot & Boca, 1991). Indeed, emotion and communication are intertwined. Emotions evolve not only in response to the physical environment, but also the social environment (Andersen & Guerrero, 1998). Furthermore, emotions are “elicited by communication, manifested in communication, and shared and socialized through communication” (Planalp, 1999, p. 218).

Leveraging the link between emotion and communication, understanding the *communication* of emotions is an important element to expand the conceptualization of emotions. Emotional communication or communication of emotions refers to the process of using messages to convey or influence each other’s emotional states (Planalp, 2009). Such messages can be verbal or nonverbal expressions of emotion such as smiling and saying, “I’m happy,” or can be complex and subtle while the emotional states are more “elusive” such as stating “He seemed worried later in the meeting.” (Planalp, 2009, p.491). The messages of

emotion may function to share information or to influence the emotions of others (Planalp, 2009). However, communication of emotion in social settings also presents us with negative perceptions. For example, one of the most common social settings is the organization. People tend to regard emotion as a “value-laden concept” which is often regarded as inappropriate for organizational life, often seen as disruptive, illogical, biased, and weak (Putnam & Mumby, 1993, p.36). Furthermore, they argued that in the Western culture, “rational is up and emotional is down,” emphasizing that the system of dualities view rationality as positive while emotionality has a negative connotation (p. 39). Ultimately, emotion is seen as a deviation from what is seen as “sensible or intelligent” (Lutz, 1988, p. 62).

To further expand the purpose of the study, the next section focuses on theoretical groundings through social constructionism approach. With the very fundamental identification of what emotion is, it is important to understand how such a broad conceptualization might influence different parts of society where humans interact and communicate in organizations and in different cultures.

Social Constructionism Theory and Emotion

Social constructionism theory can offer great lens for understanding how we perceive emotions and the communication of emotions, for these are social concepts that focus on individual experiences and behaviors that influence the construction of society. Social constructionism theory presents the fundamental idea that knowledge is an effect of social processes and the theory maintains that humans construct the world through social practices (Hruby, 2001; Allen, 2005). Furthermore, social constructionism rejects essentialist explanations that “certain phenomena are natural, inevitable, universal, and biologically determined” (Gergen, 1999; DeLamater & Hyde, 2001, p. 10). Lastly, social constructionism theory allows us to focus on “sociocultural context, to study routine social

practices and interactions, and to analyze language and discourse” (Allen, 2005, p.41).

Social constructionism assumes that understanding, significance, and meaning are developed in coordination with others in society (Gergen, 1999). Humans rationalize their experiences by creating the social world and the rules of how it functions as well as utilizing language as the system to construct reality (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009).

Emotion in organizations. Social constructionism theory views emotion as “property of relationships,” not possessions of individuals (Gergen, 1999, p. 137). As a result, the theory allows us to view emotions in organizations as social, relational interactions. A large portion of emotion experience in organizations is influenced by other individuals such as clients or co-workers. Relationships shape the emotional experience in organizations as when we enter workplaces, and we bring our emotion and encounter others who have their own emotional agendas (Fineman, 2003).

Social construction proposes that organizations “can, indeed should,” be regarded as emotional arenas (Fineman, 1993, p. 10). Social constructionism suggests that “reality and its expressions is a product of interacting individuals and groups who interpret cultural and subcultural cues as they strive for meaning in their daily activities” and this frame fashions organization and emotion in dynamic form (Fineman, 1993, p. 10). However, rather than asking where emotions come from, a social constructionism view contends that organizational experience unfolds over time, “interpretations and meanings also evolve which coalesce into a system of taken-for-granted rules and structures, and a sense of ‘the organization’” (Pfeffer, 1982; Fine, 1984). Therefore, members of organizations are likely to present various emotional experiences based on their relational formations as well as the culture of their organization and different situational contexts.

While emotion in organizations can be part of any organizational role, one of the contexts in which emotion and the communication of emotion becomes most salient is during

the interaction with others such as customers, clients, patients, and students (Miller, 2014). Particularly in the service industry, employees are often expected to manage their emotions for particular roles or situations and that emotion is not optional but it belongs to work experiences (e.g., counseling sessions, listening to the clients' dilemma, client home visits, etc.) (Hochschild, 1983; Fineman, 2003). As employees encounter their clients, their emotional experiences are likely to differ depending on the depth of relationships.

Conveying this dynamic nature of emotion in organizations, other research adds intriguing insights about emotions in organizations. Research on emotions in organizations has centered on norms or display rules for expressing emotions and ways employees deviate from already set norms or roles (Sutton, 1991). Furthermore, emotions in organizations can be seen as either expressed or felt emotions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989; Waldron & Krone, 1991). Additionally, the initial work on emotion in organizations was centered on display rules for specific occupational roles (Sutton, 1991). Target, setting, and interaction patterns contribute to both the development and the enforcement of display rules (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1990).

A social constructionist approach further emphasizes the significance of interpretation which allows members of organizations to perceive their "life in organizations, how they take into account the constraints of their physical and social environment, and what events mean to them" (Fineman, 1993, p.11). The constructed culture of the organization helps create and reinforce the dominant emotions of control in the workplace, such as "guilt, fear, shame, anxiety or 'looking happy' (Waldron, 2012, p. 2). For example, one could be influenced by their boss, work group and colleagues on how and what emotions to feel, or pretend to feel, in order to keep the social protocol, to have decorum and have sense of politeness, and to portray the right kind of gender roles and organizational responsibilities (Fineman, 1984).

Ultimately, an emotionalized framework suggests that the social constitution of organizations simply cannot be without human feeling. The experience of work, and the thinking and doing that establish the politics, leadership, and culture of organizations, are directed and shaped by emotional actors and factors. Considering the fact that emotions arise on a situational, relational, and interactional bases within organizations, certain emotions are prone to be influenced by social interactions and settings of the organizations.

Emotion in Korea. Social constructionism theory suggests that emotions are heavily influenced and borrowed from our national and organizational culture, and we return them in sometimes modified form. Culture can play a central role in shaping emotional experience (Rosaldo, 1984; Lutz, 1988; Solomon, 1984). Emotions are structured by our forms of understanding and organized by our social practices that we experience and enact (Rosaldo, 1984). Emotion is also viewed as “cultural and interpersonal products of naming, justifying, and persuading by people in relationship to each other” that suggest that its meaning is social and an emergent product of social life (Lutz, 1988, p.5). The socially constructed and influenced norms and conventions trigger a national culture in which communication on emotion is mostly silenced. For example, people from more hierarchical national cultures such as Japan are likely to hide their anger and present happiness in order to maintain interpersonal harmony (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In Tahiti, the emotion of anger is highly feared and various anthropological research claims that there is very little expression of anger in this particular culture (Levy, 1973; Solomon, 1984). A similar social construction is seen in Ukta Eskimos that are said not to feel anger, not to express anger, and not even to talk about anger (Briggs, 1970).

Social constructionism argues the universality of truths, reasons, and morals are made up of cultural belief that we form and that emotions are relationship-centered concept (Gergen, 1999). Social constructionism leads organizational communication through

accentuating language while emphasizing social interaction processes (Shotter & Gergen, 1994). It is arguable whether an almost “subliminal awareness of working” would be possible without the ability to utilize language (Fineman, 1984, p.354). Furthermore, the emotional labels we use and the logics we apply can be either cultural or subcultural. In order to further the understanding of emotion, communication and emotion, I explore the history of Korea and its influence on the development and expression of emotion.

History of Korea and emotion. In the philosophical and cultural history of East Asia, Confucianism has endured as the basic social and political value system for over one thousand years (Yum, 1988). Confucianism has had such a profound impact in East Asian culture because it was adopted as the official philosophy in three nations—Yi dynasty in Korea, Tokugawa period in Japan, and many dynasties in China (Yum, 1988). Confucianism is a philosophy of human nature which considers proper human relationships as the basis of society, setting forth “four principles—*jen* (humanism), *i* (faithfulness), *li* (propriety), and *chih* (wisdom or a liberal education)” (Yum, 1988, p. 377).

Korea experienced a major transformation of its cultural philosophy from 1886 to 1920 due to Japanese colonization. As a result of this loss of sovereignty, the value orientation and self-identity of Koreans changed significantly, including their expression of emotion and civility on both individual and collective levels (Park, 2015). During the colonialization period, the conventional perception of emotion based on Confucianism was weakened, and *han* emotion—a distinctive Korean psychological attitude made up of the feelings of regret, sorrow, and frustration—became the dominant emotions (Cheon, 1993). Furthermore, in the course of resisting colonial oppression, domestic reform and enlightenment created alternative emotional attitudes, constructing a new set of collective identity—*ye* (civility), *euibun* (righteous anger), *minjok* (nation), and *dongjeong* (sympathy)—in the context of civilization and colonization (Park, 2015).

Among the four aspects of collective identity—ye, euibun, minjok, and dongjeong—the particular concept uniting inner ethics and emotions with external behavior was ye, a standardized form of decorum and politeness. Ye was the highest principle emphasized for social customs stressing that all forms of human interaction should be standardized (i.e., between the ruler and the ruled, the strong and the weak, and men and women) in order to maintain moral principles in relationships (Park, 2015; Deuchler, 2004). Additionally, ye encouraged individuals to express their feelings appropriately depending on the occasion, using the right forms of projection being cognizant of expected social decorum (e.g., lamenting and not smiling at funerals). Furthermore, the ye principle was applied not only to interpersonal but also to intergroup politics which became a set social rules in contemporary society as an important aspect of consideration in interactions and communications of Koreans (Im, 2012).

Communication tactics in Korea. Confucianism has had profound impact in Korean history that shaped many different social expectations about emotions. Particularly, the concept of ye (civility) has left significant influence on being mindful for others, and to be considerate of one's projection of emotions. The evolution of such cultural norms based on the development of Confucianism and different emotional standards shows that Koreans believe saving words is the proper way to communicate especially when expressing emotions (Lee, 2001). As one of the saving words tactics, Koreans often use circumvention and are expected to reserve their words rather than direct verbal expression of their emotions especially when their felt emotions are negative (e.g., anger, frustration, or disappointment). The circumvention or word saving are more prevalent between hierarchical relationships (teachers-students, employer-employees, parents-children, etc.) in which the subordinates are less likely to communicate their emotions (Kang, Noh, Park, & Shin, 2008). Additionally, what differentiates communication of emotions between Koreans and Western culture is the

inclination to swallow one's emotion rather than externally expressing it (Lee, 2001). For example, in the United States, "tough-talk" has received attention as a dominant style of communication (Gibson, 1966).

Next, I introduce emotional work. Furthermore, as this study will focus primarily on social welfare professionals in Korea, I apply the concept of emotional work to social workers organizations to further the discussions on emotion, organization, and culture.

Emotional Work and Social Welfare Professions

Emotional work is considered to be part of the tasks and responsibilities of jobs in human service organizations. Emotional work stemmed from emotional labor (also identified as emotion work in European research terms), which generated a body of research in sociology and psychology. Emotional labor was initially introduced by Hochschild (1983) and it refers to the expression of organizationally desired emotions as part of one's job. As a sociologist, she investigated groups of flight attendants and found out that their services cannot be fully described by physical aspects (e.g., sensorimotor demands such as serving coffee without spilling) and cognitive demands (e.g., responding promptly and safely in emergency situations; Hochschild, 1983). Rather, large portions of their job were dealing with the passengers and their emotions as they are under unique situation of being on-air, providing services in a confined space. She argued that services provided by flight attendants generated more emotion than physical suffering due to the fact that they had to put on a "surface acting" emotion which is inauthentic (Hochschild, 1983). Surface acting refers to workers having to masquerade their emotion to serve clients (e.g., smiling when irritated, trying to be polite when clients demand outrageous services, etc.; Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labor is often considered to be a problematic part of organizational experience as it marginalizes the personal and relational nature of emotions (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). Furthermore, emotional labor is the term used to typify the way roles and tasks exert overt

and covert control over emotional displays (Mumby & Putnam, 1992). Through recruitment, selection, socialization, and performance evaluations, organizations develop a social reality in which feelings become a commodity for achieving instrumental goals (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989).

Bolstered by the concept of emotional labor, the communication discipline developed emotional work (Miller, 2002). Emotional work refers to a unique combination that the work itself is emotional but the emotions are “authentic” (Waldron, 2012, p. 6). Most research regarding emotion in organizations considers emotional labor which is often described as “inauthentic” (Miller, 2009, p. 574). For a wide array of professionals, particularly those in human service occupations, emotion is an “integral part of the job,” and the emotions that they experience through their emotional work are wide-ranging (Miller & Koesten, 2008, p. 10).

Many organizational roles involve the expression of emotion—both authentic and inauthentic (Miller & Considine, 2009). The distinction between emotional labor and emotional work is based on the notion of felt emotion and its genuineness. “Control by management and the degree of authenticity” set apart emotional labor and emotional work (Miller, Considine, & Garner, 2007, p.233). For example, the study of emotional labor identified the stress coming from frontline service workers such as retail clerks, waiters, and flight attendants and determined that their displayed emotions are inauthentic which cause them to engage in surface acting that leads to emotional labor. To further elaborate, emotional labor takes place because those workers have to put on a smile despite their true feeling which essentially causes them to experience emotional labor. However, emotional work suggests that workers engaged in human service occupations (e.g., teachers, social workers, and health care workers) engage in deep acting which involves authentic feeling (Miller, 2009).

One very important aspect to consider in emotional work is the role of the caregiver and the consequences that come through performing that role in human service professionals. Miller, Stiff, and Ellis (1988) argue that investigation on “empathy and communicative responsiveness” can lead to better understanding of the role of caregiving as well as stress and burnout (p. 253). For human service employees they are expected to be caregivers and to feel sympathetic toward clients, which can generate both positive and negative effects (Hullett, McMillan, & Rogan, 2000; Karabanow, 1999; Stone, 2000; Tracy & Tracy, 1998). The interaction between employees and clients creates an emotional connection which is also a source of job satisfaction. Furthermore, many human service professionals enter such careers because they feel caring as a part of their personality (Tuominen, 2000). However, even such positive motivation and experiences have shortcomings that could influence the employees negatively. One of the risks of emotional work comes from the strong connection between client and professionals in human services (Miller et al., 2007). If performers of emotional work receive too little support they may experience emotional exhaustion and burnout (Maslach, 1982; Miller, Birkholt, Scott, & Stage, 1995; Miller, Stiff, & Ellis, 1988; Omdahl & O'Donnell, 1999; Tracy & Bean, 1992). Researchers have argued that negative organizational experiences, such as stress or burnout, in human service occupations vastly differ from frontline service roles (Brotheridge & Gradney, 2002). Simply put, the emotional stress and burnout from frontline service jobs are caused by having to fabricate their emotions to accommodate the needs of customers, while human service workers' burnout is arising from little acknowledgement of their compassion and care for the clients—authentic emotions (Meyerson, 1994).

Empathy and compassion occupy large parts of human service professionals' emotional work which may lead to stress and burnout (Kanov, Maitlis, Worline, Dutton, Frost & Lilius, 2004). Many human service professionals are “motivated” in their jobs by

empathy and the desire to “help others” (Touminen, 2000). Furthermore, other scholars (e.g., Stiff, Dillard, Comera, Kim, & Sleight, 1988) argue that empathy can either involve “feeling with (referred to as emotional contagion)” the client or “feeling for (referred to as empathic concern)” the client (Miller & Koesten, 2008). Emotional contagion and empathic concerns offer links between empathy, communication, and burnout as part of emotional work at human services professions.

Emotional contagion is defined as an affective process in which an individual observing another person experiences emotional responses parallel to that person’s actual or anticipated emotions (Coke, Batson, & McDavis, 1978). For example, when a person A is exposed to images of person B smiling or frowning, person A produces congruent changes in his or her own facial expressions and physiological and self-reported measures of emotion (McHugo, Lanzetta, Sullivan, Masters, & Englis, 1985). Emotional contagions are expected to have negative impacts on the ability to communicate with clients and have outcomes such as increased burnout, and decreased job satisfaction and occupational commitment as the workers share the same emotions as the clients (Miller & Koesten, 2008). Emotional contagions are considered to be a drawback rather than strength as an individual whose feelings are easily aroused but not necessarily easily controlled is likely to experience more difficulty when dealing with emotionally stressful circumstances (Maslach, 1982).

Another dimension of empathy is empathic concern that refers to a general concern and regard for the welfare of others (Miller et al, 1988). Empathic concern is also the stipulation that the affect is not parallel to that of the target person (Stiff, Dillard, Somera, Kim, & Sleight, 1988). Empathic concern is known to have positive effects on responsiveness in interaction and outcomes for the worker as a worker with empathic concern will have feelings for the client but will be able to deal more effectively with the clients’ problems because there is not a direct sharing of the clients’ emotions (Miller & Koesten,

2008). It can be further elaborated that those who are more concerned will be more responsive (Miller et al., 1988). Both emotional contagion and empathic concern serve as motivators for caregivers, but that they will have very different effects on the caregiver's ability to be communicatively responsive (Stiff et al., 1988). Evaluating the concepts of emotional contagion and empathic concerns, it is important to examine which types of emotional work the social workers organizations in Korea are likely to experience more.

Unlike research from a Western perspective, Korean research on emotion in organizations does not make a clear distinction between emotional labor and emotional work. However, professionals in service industries in Korea refer to their emotional experience as *감정노동* (*Gamjung Nodong*) which refers to their emotional struggle, stress, or burnout from their job (Jang, 2009). *Gamjung Nodong* typically involves a wide array of felt emotions such as frustration, anger, sadness, and irritation (Kang et al, 2008). Throughout the history of Korea, the demand for social services increased, however the employees experienced poor working conditions (e.g., low pay, emotional struggle, enduring abusive clients, etc.) (Jung, 2009). Excessive *Gamjung Nodong* can lead to physical illness such as depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, alcohol abuse, gambling, etc. (Jang, 2009). *Gamjung Nodong* also triggers loss of passion for the profession, enthusiasm, and compassion, which could also lead to poor job performance and service quality to clients. (Kang et al., 2008).

While it is evident that large numbers of social workers experience extreme stress and burnout due to *Gamjung Nodong*, this particular concept is still lacking comprehensive study. Furthermore, in Korean scholarship, there is no distinction between emotional labor and emotional work. *Gamjung Nodong* primarily connotes negative emotional experiences rather than differentiating emotional experiences considering authenticity. Consequently, the notion of emotional work needs to be addressed more proactively in order to understand employees' emotional experience more comprehensively so that the acknowledgement of

their emotions can create space for communication of emotional work. Therefore, I ask the following research questions:

RQ 1: How do social workers in Korea experience emotional work?

RQ 1a: What is the influence of emotional work on social workers in Korea?

Wharton and Erikson (1993) argue that supporting the emotional welfare of social services organization employees is as important as meeting the needs of clients. However, in reality, it becomes the employees' responsibilities to carry on and perform those particular emotions regardless of their will or intent (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). Furthermore, through communication, individuals can discover their emotional experience in organizations (Waldron, 2012). However, as the culture of Korea does not encourage open communication of emotions, it is evident that emotional communication can be subject to organizational constraints in which individuals might not have full awareness of their communicative actions. Therefore, I ask the following research question:

RQ 2: How do social workers in Korea communicate about the emotional work they experience through their job?

METHODS

This study was a qualitative investigation of how social workers in Korea experience emotional work as well as how they communicate about their emotional work. In the sections that follow, I provide information about the participants in this study, the modes of data collection, and the procedures that were utilized in the project. This study's methods were reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of Colorado State University. All participants gave informed consent.

Role of the Researcher

As the researcher, my experiences and sensibilities were important to this study. Indeed, the role of the researcher is increasingly a focal concern in qualitative study and the researcher is placed inside the frame of the study (Hatch, 1996). I have previous experiences of working in one of the four major social welfare organizations in Korea as a pre-adoption, post-adoption case worker, and public relations specialist for two years. Having been involved in these three different departments, I encountered various emotional experiences including emotional work. My primary tasks and responsibilities in the organization were to interact with clients that were birth families who relinquished their children for foreign adoption, adoptees who have been adopted to the U.S. and Australia, and adoptive parents who adopted the Korean infants as their own children. Interacting and serving these different groups of clients, my typical day was filled with both emotional work and emotional labor depending on the interaction that day in the organization involving various emotions such as frustration, anger, sadness, sympathy, and sometimes happiness. However, these emotions were highly authentic as I also had a high degree of empathy for the clients and considered the emotional experience to be part of my job. Although I experienced tumultuous emotional shifts between negative and positive emotions, I accepted

the experience as part of my organizational experiences. These experiences were important to this study for three reasons which I explain below.

First, my previous organizational role was significant as I recruited participants for this study. My own professional experience in one of the social welfare organizations in Korea was a leveraging mechanism for participant recruitment. Through my previous work experience, I established and developed a large professional and social network with many social workers in Korea both within the organization I worked at and with other social welfare organizations. As the study embarked, I reached out to former colleagues and contacts to expand the recruitment process through their professional networks as well.

Next, as a native of Korea, my mother tongue is Korean but I also have advanced understandings of the English language as well as full understanding of Korean language and culture. Additionally, through my extended stay in the U.S., I received undergraduate and graduate education which further advanced my cultural understandings. Having comprehensive understandings and knowledge on the two languages benefited this study for the following reasons: (a) the understanding of English language and the U.S. culture allowed me to apply theoretical groundings of the scholarship written in English to Korean social workers which bolstered the fundamental concepts discussed in this study; (b) understanding the Korean language and culture allowed direct encounters and conversations in Korean with study participants who were Koreans, ensuring that nothing was lost in translations; and (c) allowed me to take both the insider and outsider perspective simultaneously throughout the study. I have previously served as an interpreter at a large number of conferences, meetings, and seminars and as translator for government and global organizations in Korea, translating and interpreting between English and Korean language. Between the U.S. and Korea, there are great differences in language and culture which were pivotal elements of this study. The language Koreans use has cultural nuance that are not fully conveyed in English or the U.S.

culture. Therefore, my breadth of semantic and cultural experiences and knowledge ensured transparent and accurate conversions between the two languages and culture in the study. Additionally, I provided an overview of the study in Korean as well as the purpose of the study and other inquiries as necessary prior to, during, and after the interview process.

Finally, as the researcher, another important role of mine was to encourage participants to share their emotional work experiences as well as how they communicate their emotional work. Furthermore, with previous experiences with one of the social welfare organizations, I was aware of many organizational constraints that exist in Korean social welfare organizations (e.g., governmental pressure to meet annual quotas, top-down structures that hinder social workers from being more liberal, directives from supervisors, and organizational pressures regarding budgets). As a previous employee, I have had similar experiences and based on this I was able to connect with their daily responsibilities. This understanding created more comfortable context where participants could feel at ease to be more open and honest about sharing their organizational and emotional experiences. As the interview drew upon varied interpersonal skills, my role as the researcher required asking questions in an “effective, nonthreatening way” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p.170). Since the interview was designed to elicit the personal experiences and realities of participants, my experience allowed me to present myself as a trusted confidant (Brenner, 1985).

Participants

Recruitment. The participants were recruited through a snowball (or chain) sampling technique. Snowball sampling is utilized as one of the most widely employed recruitment methods as it also allows access to wide variety of populations, thus providing a unique ways of reaching different groups (Noy, 2007). Social workers in Korea are a close network and often collaborate with one another to enhance the quality of their service (e.g., workshops, annual seminars, and conferences). Furthermore, due to frequently changing

government regulations on different social groups that require social services, the social workers in Korea often share information regarding changing policies more informally. Therefore, social workers in Korea tend to be a highly networked group and employing the snowball sampling strategy allowed the recruitment of diverse participants from different social welfare organizations in terms of their tasks, years of experiences, gender, and age groups. Recruitment letter (see Appendix A) was sent to four major social welfare organizations in Seoul, Korea and these organizations forwarded the letter to other affiliated organizations they network with. I was the primary contact person. Participants are referred to by pseudonyms throughout the thesis to ensure the privacy.

Demographics. Eleven ($n = 11$) participants were recruited (see Appendix B). All participants were social workers currently employed by different social welfare organizations in Korea. All participants obtained undergraduate degrees in social welfare or social works in Korea with two participants currently pursuing master's degree in social welfare. All participants were native of Korea between the age ranges of 20s to 50s. All participants were females except for one. This is representative of the industry as Korean social welfare is highly female dominated with 74.5 % of workers at social welfare organizations being women (Kim, 2011). Participants' current job titles within the organizations were diverse, including public relations, adoption, counseling, disabled and senior welfare and North Korean refugee care. The largest numbers of participants (36%) were serving in the adoption. The years of experiences varied among participants with the average of 13 years ranging between 2 years to over 30 years. All participants spoke Korean more fluently than English, therefore the data collection process was conducted in Korean which was later transcribed and translated to English.

Procedure

Data Collection. A qualitative interview approach was used to examine the social workers' emotional work and their communication on emotional work. This method was chosen in an effort to collect more diverse data which can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the proposed research questions (Creswell, 2003). In order to collect rich data from the participants, the study utilized in-depth interviews. Interviews were recorded with participant consent and were later transcribed into Korean which resulted in 53 pages in length. Used excerpts of the data were translated to English.

The interviews were conducted individually with each participant in Korea. Once the initial recruitment process was completed, I arranged individual interviews with each participant. The location and time of the interviews varied depending on the participants' preferences but mostly were locations nearby organizations, in the organizations, and/ or residences of the participants. The interviews took place during the first two weeks of January, 2016 in Korea. Participant consent forms (see Appendix C) were provided by the researcher prior to the interviews and signed by the participants. All participants were provided with a copy of the consent forms.

Interview Protocol. The interview protocol (see Appendix D) was based on previous research on emotional work and communication, particularly in the discipline of communication (Miller, 2007; Miller & Koensten, 2008). The modeled interview protocols have been altered to meet the goals of this study in order to assess the research questions in this unique context.

In order to study the RQ 1 (How do social workers in Korea experience emotional work?) and RQ 1a (What is the influence of emotional work on social workers in Korea?), I modeled Miller (2007)'s investigation on compassionate communication of professions that involve emotional work. Miller (2007)'s interview protocol was developed to explore issues

of compassion, emotional work, and communication of compassion in the workplace. The interview protocol of Miller (2007)'s study was composed of five subsets of questions that asked: (a) participant's motivation to join the profession; (b) typical day at the job and how they feel throughout the day; (c) what compassion means to them; (d) how compassionate communication influences both the participants and people they work with; and (e) any additional information that participants want to share about being in compassionate career. However, since Miller (2007)'s protocol focused on compassion among professions that experience emotional work, I altered the questionnaires to meet this study's purpose and targeted participants. Specifically, in order to investigate how social workers in Korea experience emotional work and the influence of the emotional work, I only employed parts of Miller (2007)'s interview protocols. Questions include, "Can you describe typical day of your work?," "How do you feel at the end of a typical workday?," and "How would you describe your feelings as you engage with your clients all day?" (Miller, 2007).

In order to answer the RQ 2 (How do Korean social workers communicate their emotional work?), I employed Miller and Koensten (2008)'s investigation on emotion and communication in the workplace for financial planners. Miller and Koensten (2008) primarily studied the communication of emotions in the finance industry as well as the influence of emotional work on the experience of burnout and job satisfaction through telephone interview. The telephone interview protocol was divided into five sets of questions: (a) reason for joining the profession; (b) description of typical interaction throughout the day (e.g., clients, supervisors); (c) cause of stress throughout the day; (d) how the profession has changed over the last five years; (e) plans for the future profession. As the second research question is primarily focused on how emotional work is communicated, I employed parts of Miller and Koensten (2008)'s interview protocols. To investigate how social workers communicate their emotional work, I asked "Who do you interact with

primarily in the organization?” “Who do you turn to when you need help during stressful situations?” and “How do you manage the emotions you experience from work?”

Additionally, in order to obtain a deeper understanding of how emotional work is communicated, I asked additional questions aside from Miller and Koensten (2008)’s study. Specifically, I asked whether the participant’s friends or family are aware of their emotional work by posing the following question: “What do your friends or family members know about your job?”

To summarize, adapting protocols from Miller (2007), and Miller and Koensten (2008), this study’s interview protocol presented three subsets of questions: (a) the experience of emotional work at the employed social welfare organizations, and the influence of the emotional work; (b) communication of emotional work, and (c) demographic questions (e.g., length of employment, position in the organization, affiliation in the organizations, sex, age, etc.). The first two sub-sets of interview questions were open-ended in an attempt to obtain narrative discourses from the participants expressing their perceptions and perspectives on emotional work experiences in their organizations as well as how they communicate emotional work. Some demographic questions included close-ended questions. All interview protocols were translated to Korean prior to the interviews.

Language translation. One very significant aspect of this interview processes was the application of dual languages. As the participants were Koreans where English was not their mother tongue, the study procedures included Korean language translations. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) argue, if interviews are cross-cultural encounters, the interviewer should be a fluent speaker of local languages and a “sensitive traveler across cultural borders” (p. 171). Therefore, I accommodated myself to the study participants linguistically and culturally throughout the interview process. After the data collection, contextualized translation technique was utilized during the data analysis phase of the study (Buzzanell, 2011). The

contextualized translation is a set of strategies for intercultural research that involves “simultaneous online or face-to-face interaction with translators” (Buzzanell, 2011, p.6). As I was the researcher and the translator, after the interview, I collaborated with my advisor and worked through each emerging themes, adding notes, making links to other materials and inserted different interpretations of words and contexts to ensure the integrity of culture and language (Buzzanell, 2011).

Analysis

A grounded theory approach was used to analyze the interviews with the participants. I began the analysis process by reading all of the interview transcript, highlighting and taking notes on them based on relevant concepts from the study. Simultaneously, I revisited the notes I took during the interview. Furthermore, the process of interpreting the collected data was also collaborated with my advisor due to its complexity with semantic and cultural nuances. The interpretation of collected data and analysis process included meaning making which was not a process of precision and was clearly influenced by the background, knowledge, and cultures of the researchers involved (Putnam, 1983). The concepts used to guide initial coding included both issues relevant for this investigation of the data (i.e., how Korean social workers experience emotional work and how Korean social workers communicate their emotional work). Although these concepts guided the initial coding, I did not constrain myself by the coding system and attempted to look for other emergent themes while reviewing the interview transcripts. After the initial coding, I discussed findings and insights with my advisors. Through employing grounded theory methods, I followed the following steps suggested by Charmaz (2000): coding data, developing inductive categories, revising the categories, writing memos to explore preliminary ideas, continually comparing parts of the data to other parts and to literature, fitting it into categories, and noting where it did not fit and revising the categories. This method was an

ideal tool for this study as it allowed construction of analysis while keeping the researcher interacting with the collected data and emerging ideas (Charmaz, 2008). Furthermore, as Charmaz (2000) explains, through a grounded theory approach, researchers can “form a revised, more open-ended practice of the theory that stresses its emergent constructivist elements” (p. 510). The investigation on emotional work and communication of emotional work among Korean social workers began with research questions coming from extant literature.

In the chapter that follows, I address the results of this study, including an overview of the collected data and findings through the interviews.

RESULTS

The data collected through individual interviews resulted in a rich, complex data set that allowed further investigation of emotional work experiences among Korean social workers. The purpose of this study was to examine how Korean social workers experience emotional work, the influence of the emotional work, and how workers communicate about emotional work. The following chapter provides an overview of the research results. First, I provide interview data regarding the participants' reasons for joining the industry and organization in order to illustrate the social structure of Korea and the cultural nuances. Then, I present the findings relevant to research questions including details of how the participants shared their emotional work experiences as well as their communication of emotional work, and a number of salient themes that were revealed through the interview process. To enhance better understanding, I provide excerpts of the interview data to support the findings. All names provided in these examples are pseudonyms¹.

Constrained Career Choices in Korea

Prior to discussing the relevant findings of proposed research questions, I explore the participants' motivation for choosing a profession in the social welfare industry to enhance better understanding about the study. Interviews revealed that the culture of Korea is composed of unique social structure that impacts the background of selecting particular professions.

One of the interview questions asked about participants' overall perception of the profession and willingness to choose the same profession. The responses suggested that the

¹ Korean names are structured to place the last name first (i.e., Kim Min is the proper way to present one's name in Korea, not Min Kim). Therefore, all participants were given a last name pseudonym with a prefix title that indicates their gender and marital status (i.e., Miss Yim, Mrs. Yim, and Mr. Yim (males are referred to as Mr. regardless of their marital status)).

majority of the participants were influenced by the social structure of Korea and that they lacked autonomy when choosing a profession.

The phenomenon of lacking autonomy over choosing their desired professions is due to the common job selection process in Korea. All Korean senior high school students are required to take the *Soo Neung*—the Korean version of the SAT—which is only offered once a year on the same day nationwide. This one-time score determines their qualification for the universities and majors which are ranked in tiers according to their reputation (Shim, Kim & Martin, 2008). Participants who responded that they did not choose to be in social welfare elaborated that their *Soo Neung* score determined their college and major. A majority of participants were influenced by the educational and social structures in Korea which hindered them from having autonomy in college and in the job selection. For example, Mrs. Huh said:

I think Korea is just very different. I never wanted to study social welfare but I began without even knowing what the major was like. I was placed in social welfare in the second round of admission process so I wasn't even interested in what I studied. One day I heard this organization was hiring so I went in for an interview and got the job.

Although their majors were in social welfare or social works, their undergraduate degrees did not provide focused areas of study under the discipline of social welfare but went over the general course works. Furthermore, a majority of the participants shared that the reason for joining the industry was because they were following the college entrance test system that decided their major and the university they attended, not based on their own will/choice.

Obtaining undergraduate degrees in Social Welfare or Social Works participants were led to choose the profession in social welfare—during their senior year, they were required to do internships at welfare organizations and many were recruited by social welfare organizations—meaning they did not choose the profession autonomously. However, some

shared that although they were not aware of the nature of the profession of social welfare when they began their studies, over the years, they were able to recognize their passion and ability to adapt to the profession. For example, Mrs. Noh stated:

At first...I chose social welfare major in college according to my *Soo Neung* score. Until my senior in college I wasn't able to make a firm decision to join a social welfare organization. But after a number of volunteering and required internship experiences, I became a bit more passionate about the industry. When I first joined this organization, it was largely due to the fact that it was easier to make the transition from college to the organization based on my volunteering and internship experience. Now, I think as long as I can do something meaningful I'd be fine if it isn't in social welfare. That is if I were to choose my profession again.

Here, Mrs. Noh's illustrating that, although she is uncertain about choosing the same profession again, through years of experiences she fostered an interest and passion in the profession, creating a certain level of autonomy that she did not have when making her initial career choice. Such a change of perception indicates that it might be possible for individuals to regain a sense of autonomy, even if that autonomy is not inherent from the beginning of their career.

Furthermore, Mrs. Choi said:

There is no background. I studied social welfare and that's it. As it was getting closer to my college graduation, I was informed of a job opening here and because my GPA was pretty high, I was recommended for an interview by my professor in the department. I got the job and I began working in January before the graduation in February². I didn't even know what job I was taking. All I could think of was, "Wow, I got a job. Now I can do things for my parents."

Mrs. Choi's statements indicate a few insights that is common in Korea. Being collectivistic culture, Korea abides by strong reverence to the elders and there is a keen tie between parent-child relationships (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008). It is customary in Korea that when children grow up and start having a career, it is now their turn to look after the parents who are likely to be retiring. Many Koreans take care of the parents financially through their income which is one of the unique elements in collectivistic culture. Mrs. Choi stating,

² In Korea, the end of school year is December and graduation is in February.

“Now I can do things for my parents,” supports such cultural pattern of reversing the role of the breadwinner in the house which she began as she started to work in the organizations which reflects a lot about the cultural norm in Korea.

All three participants, Mrs. Noh, Mrs. Huh, and Mrs. Choi’s statements illustrate the social and educational influences that influenced their reason for working for their organizations and in their industry. Furthermore, the three responses also demonstrate that the members possessed low intrinsic motivation for joining the organization. It is evident that the members lacked autonomy and will to choose their course of study and profession due to the social expectation to follow the set rules on educational standards of following the exam score. After this brief introduction of educational constraints and social structure prevalent in Korean culture, now I present further findings in response to proposed research questions.

Emotional Work of Korean Social Workers

In order to investigate how Korean social workers experience emotional work, I inquired about the different types of *gamjung* (feelings and/or emotions)³ they experience in the organization by asking them to share the following: (a) general *gamjung* experiences throughout the day; (b) positive and negative *gamjung* they might experience at workplaces while interacting with their clients; and (c) their overall *gamjung* toward the clients. There were two major findings that emerged about the Korean social workers’ emotional work experiences. First, Korean social workers experience positive and negative emotional work ranging in different *gamjungs* that allow them to experience a variety of emotions about their work and clients. Second, Korean social workers express the positive and negative emotional work indirectly through discussing an ambiguous mix of *gamjung* and their

³ As the interview was conducted in Korean, I translated the interview protocol from English to Korean. In Korean language, the terms feeling and emotion are translated to one word *Gamjung*.

cognitive states (i.e., curiosity, certainty, interestedness, etc.). These two themes were expressed by all participants.

When asked to describe their *gamjung* at the end of the day, all participants recalled a set of mixed responses of *gamjung* and cognitive states they experienced. However, these responses did not directly label the type of emotions they were experiencing. Although I specifically asked about their *gamjung*, all participants stated a mixture of what sounded to be partly *gamjung* and cognitive states, including further details of what they “thought” the day felt like. For example, Mrs. Choi stated:

After a day at work....Uh....The first thing I think about is getting ready for tomorrow since I have another day of work ahead of me...I don't make any other schedules or appointments after work because all of these seem too overwhelming after work. I just feel like I need the night off to get ready for tomorrow.

Additionally, Mrs. Yim said:

I guess the negative feeling comes from uncertainty. Because I'm working under such disorganized structure, there is a great deal of uncertainty I feel because I'm not sure if I'm doing my job right.

The mixture of ambiguous *gamjung* and their cognitive states are echoed in Mrs. Choi and Mrs. Yim's responses. Both Mrs. Choi and Mrs. Yim expressed their *gamjung* and cognitive states quite ambiguously and indirectly. Although not directly stated with vocabulary that denotes *gamjung*, Mrs. Choi's response indicate that engaging in any other activities after work would be “overwhelming”. Similarly, Mrs. Yim's response shows that she might experience negative feelings through “uncertainty” which suggests an indirect connotation of emotions rather than a declarative statement of how they “feel”.

Similarly, positive effects of emotional work were also expressed with mixed, indirect responses. Mr. Han said:

When my day at work is over, I feel like each day is not totally in vain. I also feel proud and that I had a fun day. Of course this changes day by day, but in general I think such pride continues each day.

Related patterns were seen through another participant, Miss Hong:

I feel like my heart is about to burst when I see disabled children going on their first trip, for the first time in their lives. It's a great feeling that I get to be the first person who can make their trip happen.

Although both Mr. Han and Miss Hong did not directly express their positive *gamjung* with declarative terms (e.g., happy, fulfilling, exhilarated), their responses indicate some positive connotations about their emotional work such as “proudness,” “not totally in vain,” “fun,” and “feeling great.” In addition to Mr. Han and Miss Hong, a number of positive effects of emotional work appeared throughout the participants’ responses such as, “There is the enjoyment of seeing your case children grow and find forever homes,” (Mrs. Huh) and “I feel that the day was very fulfilling” (Mrs. Tak).

Moreover, the ambiguity and indirectness were prevalent through detailed descriptions of their tasks and responsibilities, unable to decipher clearly what their *gamjung* is through their statements adding complexity to the concept of emotional work. To further illustrate, Mrs. Park said:

My responsibilities are a bit different than others. My work hours begin a lot earlier than others because I am in charge of departures of adoptees that do not have set schedules. When I have to go to work early in the morning around 7 am, I have to see the adoptee and the parents, I come back home to get my kid ready, and after this I go back to work. The daily schedule itself is a lot different than others. Then, all e-mails, all foreigners, all counterpart agency's employees, Americans, Australians, adoptive parents, they all came to me when they were in trouble. I meet people all day long, I have to talk to a stranger, and I even have to help them on the phone. This is really tough. They all expect me to provide the perfect answers and they expect me to help them no matter what. My supervisors look for me whether I'm there or not. They tell me I'm doing something important but sometimes I get confused. I'm always running out of time I get calls in the middle of the night. Sure, I also get complimented a lot for what I do. They all say I'm the only one who can do this well.

Mrs. Park's very elaborative response indicates greater ambiguity and indirectness that cannot be defined nor deciphered declaratively. Her response suggests a mixture of various emotional or cognitive states such as “confusion” and “tough” that cannot be clearly perceived as neither positive nor negative but could possess different indications about her

emotional work. No participant clearly stated his or her *gamjung* directly but incorporated broad terms to describe their emotional work vaguely such as “It’s tough,” (Mrs. Joo) or “I feel a variety of emotions,” (Mrs. Noh) which could trigger a number of different interpretations such as: (a) participants are expressing their emotional work indirectly; (b) they experience conflicting *gamjungs* throughout the day that they cannot articulate clearly; or (c) their emotional work experiences are very diverse and are composed of a mixture of different *gamjungs* and thoughts.

However, although the conversations with the participants revealed that indirect responses were very dominant, the interviews revealed two responses that were exceptions to this. Two participants were the researcher’s former co-workers and had already established close relationship with the researcher prior to the study. These participants were more descriptive and direct with their responses rather than being ambiguous and discreet. For example, Mrs. Huh said:

Do you know when I am the happiest? When I erase the name of an adoptee who departed to the US with the adoptive parents. As soon as I erase that name from the departure board, I tell myself, “My job here is done.” It’s a great feeling because now my responsibility for this child is done and is moving onto another case. Of course I still care about their post-adoption life but I think the relief comes because I trust the adoptive parents that they’ll provide good home for the child and I don’t have to do anything else from now on.

Mrs. Huh’s emotional work experience is more descriptive and direct. Although she still has mixture of *gamjung* (e.g., happy, great feeling, relief) and cognitive states (e.g., care, trust), she uses more specific terms such as “happy” and “great feeling”. The example statements suggest that although Koreans tend to communicate indirectly, the degree of relationship and interpersonal intimacy are critical links that determine the range of directness and indirectness.

Influence of emotional work. Based on how Korean social workers experience emotional work, here, I explore the effects of emotional work for Korean social. The

interviews indicate that the participants' emotional work influences them to feel a sense of pride while triggering them to have high responsibility and compassion.

First, the emotional work experience (e.g., mixed *gamjungs* and cognitive states, enduring interactions with clients, providing services to clients, etc.) influences Korean social workers to feel sense of pride in the work they do, escalating their ego and self-esteem while at work. For example, Mrs. Koh remarked:

Of course there are positive feelings about my work. That's why I'm not quitting. It's just that my positive emotions are much smaller than my negative emotions (laugh). Although I was frustrated as everyone always depended on me, this also tells me that my clients trust me. Then, I often think, "Yeah...It's such a grateful experience that they all rely on me heavily. I must have provided them with one heck of a service. I might be an ordinary person outside this organization but as long as I'm here, everyone trusts me and acknowledges my ability. I am a great person." Although there are times when my ego and pride drops to the bottom of the earth, there are times when I feel like I can be proud of myself.

Mrs. Park also said:

Whenever I work with my clients, I receive countless number of "Thank You" from them. There are a lot of people who speak English in this organization, but many clients think I speak better than the others and they rely on me more. Even if I can't help them 100%, I can still advise them on many things. So even if my days are tough, people acknowledge my ability and I want to utilize that to help them.

Mrs. Koh and Mrs. Park's responses show that their position in the organization and responsibilities allow them to experience strong sense of pride. Being needed and relied on can be emotionally draining, however, these responsibilities also result in being complimented for what they do. This allows them to reconsider and redeem their capabilities while helping their clients. Such emotional work experience fortifies the commitment of social workers to help others by bolstering their self-esteem and pride.

Second, in addition to expressing pride and heightened ego, Korean social workers also reported that responsibility and compassion emerged as strong *gamjungs* toward their clients, wanting to support them regardless of other conditions influencing the social worker, such as work-life balance, demanding clients, and emotional challenges. For example, Mrs.

Huh shared:

I have two sons that are four and eight years old. Each morning, it's a war just to get them ready for daycare and school because they don't want to eat breakfast or leave home that early in the morning. So every morning they end up having breakfast in the car on the way to schools and after I drop them off I get to go to work. Sometimes, I just want to drop everything and be a stay home mom but I think my job is part of my life and that I have to complete my tasks that I started. Depending on what and how I do my job, a person's life changes. I am responsible for so many and it's because of that responsibility that I still continue to come to work each morning despite the very challenging battle I have with my kids. It's the responsibility...

Mrs. Choi also said:

When I first began working in the '80s, it was my job to send abandoned children for adoption. I sent them abroad. Now, I work for post-adoption, meeting those children I sent off coming back to their motherland as adults. Back in the '80s, I worked without a mission, without a sense of what I was doing. To me this was just a job. I didn't even expect those children to come back and struggle to find their pasts. Now, I regret the fact that I only thought of them as part of my job, not considering the importance of their heritage, life, and even the impacts of being adopted. Even if I am not the one who abandoned them, because I didn't care about the clients in the past. Now I try to help them as much as possible. Now I have the mission to help them reconcile their life. Now I try to communicate with them more honestly rather than hiding their past record or about their birth parents. Anyone can make mistakes and I want to make it up to them by helping them.

Both Mrs. Huh and Mrs. Choi's response reveal that they consider their clients' well-being regardless of the difficulties they personally experience. Mrs. Huh experiences tough work-life balance with her children leading her to want to quit her job, however, she still prioritizes her clients' well-being which reflects her empathy and compassion for her clients. Similarly, Mrs. Choi is also experiencing various challenges with her clients as she feels she has to help them reconcile their lost lives of being adoptees. Her statements echo her compassion although such feeling did not emerge from the beginning of her profession. Wanting to "make things up" for the clients who she feels responsible to because she is the one who facilitated those clients adoption, she is dedicated to helping them with strong compassion and responsibility. However, the responsibility and compassion developed over the years. Mrs. Choi's response "To me it was just a job" indicates that her perception of the profession

and her responsibility to clients changed over the years in the organization. This suggests that Mrs. Choi's emotional work developed in stages of different emotions that led to compassion rather than having the same, steady emotional work from the very beginning of her profession. Furthermore, one notable element here is the types of work Mrs. Huh and Mrs. Choi are in. Both are members of two different organizations that manage foreign adoptions.

While it is possible that the adoption sector might possess stronger tendencies to create responsibility and compassion, members of other social welfare sectors also shared similar accounts. For example, Mrs. Joo said:

My job is meeting people from North Korea. My job is to work with them and to help them. When you have to talk all day long with people who don't understand what it's like to be in South Korea, it's fatiguing and enervating. Many of them are able to arrive in South Korea through China, Laos, and some other third nations. It takes years for them to get out of North Korea. Whenever I listen to their stories, it's heartbreaking and I feel sorry for them. I get headaches by just listening to them and I get extremely stressed. But I have deep concerns for them because they need my help with even the smallest things in life.

Mrs. Joo's response indicates that the reason she is able to help them is due to strong compassion. Although she's "fatigued, heartbroken and enervated," the "deep concern" is coming from the fact that her clients need her help which shows compassionate nature of her emotional work experience in the organization. This also indicates that Mrs. Joo is experiencing emotional contagion which means she feels *with* the clients (i.e., empathy) and that she sympathizes her clients. Another example of this is comes from Miss Hong who said:

I deeply care about my clients and how they are treated in the society. Since I work with disabled children, I often notice how the general public views them. I can see them rolling their eyes and wanting to keep their distance from the disabled children. The disabled children really need a lot of help not just from the facility but also in the society rather than being looked down or ignored!

Miss Hong's remarks illustrate how the social workers in Korea have strong compassion toward their clients, wanting to see them blend in with society rather than being discriminated

against. Her “care” for her clients allows her to notice the societal intolerance toward disabled clients as well as acknowledging that they “really need a lot of help.” However, Miss Hong’s statements also echo that her compassion toward clients developed throughout her career. Miss Hong also shared:

Now I feel very protective of my clients. When I worked in other organizations I didn’t have the same sense of protection or compassion. I’m not sure if this has to do with my age that I’m thinking about marriage and children. But now I see myself with a possibility that I could also give birth to a disabled child.

Miss Hong did not have the same concern and care for her clients prior to joining this organization. However, with added years of experience she now has different degrees of protection and compassion.

The responses from the four participants above exemplify the strong responsibility and compassion that Korean social workers have about their role in the organization and for their clients influenced by their emotional work experiences. They expressed strong protection and sympathy toward the clients as they are intimately working with them to resolve life problems that cannot be shared with anyone else. However, one element to consider is that pride, responsibility and compassion were not inherent from the beginning of their organizational experiences regardless of the different division. The influence of emotional work developed over time. It is also notable that positive emotional work seems to facilitate their overall affection towards and responsibility to their profession, regardless of the challenges they experience.

Additionally, one more noticeable element that emerged was members’ self-compartmentalization of negative emotional work through creating their own agency to resist and cope those emotional experiences. Referring back to statements that Mrs. Koh, Park, and Huh shared, one emerging similarity they present is the influence of their intrapersonal perception about pride, responsibility and compassion. Mrs. Koh stated:

Although I was frustrated as everyone always depended on me, this also tells me that my clients trust me. Then, I often think, “Yeah...It’s such a grateful experience that they all rely on me heavily. I must have provided them with one heck of a service. I might be an ordinary person outside this organization but as long as I’m here, everyone trusts me and acknowledges my ability.

Her self-reflection of her role can also be seen as ways to compartmentalize emotional work, allowing herself to be the “good service provider” who is “trusted”. Furthermore, Mrs. Park’s statement “even if my days are tough, people acknowledge my ability,” or Mrs. Huh’s “because of that responsibility that I still continue to come to work each morning despite the very challenging battle” indicate that these emotions are her own creation of the self, securing herself as the agency to deal with emotional work. The positive self-talk allows the members to resist negative emotional work of “frustration,” “toughness,” and “challenging battle,” shifting the perception of the negative emotional experiences to positive ones, thus changing the discourse to obtain their own agency. Having agency allows them to be “empowered to make a difference” (McPhee, 2004, p. 365) in the course of client interactions. Through this process, the members change the narratives of their perception toward negative emotional work while creating agency to empower themselves to resist and combat emotional work experiences as well as taking ownership of their emotional organizational experiences.

Communication of Emotional Work Among Korean Social Workers

In addition to identifying how Korean social workers experience emotional work and its influences on them, I also explored how Korean social workers communicate with others about their emotional work. The findings suggest three things: (a) Korean social workers communicate their emotional work with and through in-group associations within the organization to cope with emotional work; (b) Korean social workers utilize in-group associations as means to cope with emotional work and also to improve the quality of the work; and (c) the social workers communicate their emotional work with family or friends only if they are in the same profession.

First, Korean social workers are dedicated to in-group associations within the organization and this is the channel to communicate their emotional work more intimately. The Korean social workers have a strong sense of in-group association and belongingness that was salient in all participants' organizations. All participants stated that they communicate the most with their co-workers, however, these co-workers are not simply someone who works with them but additionally these colleagues have something else in common such as educational background, age, tenure in the organization, and/or position in the organization (e.g., section chief, director, etc.). For example, Miss Cho stated:

I mostly talk a lot with my peers that started working at the organization the same year as I did. We formed a *Donggi Moim*⁴ (in-group gathering) and go on trips together or have dinner after work. We even see each other on some weekends too. I'm mostly stressed because of my supervisor but I cannot really share this struggle with my teammates. I don't trust them yet. But this other group that I talk to, they are in a different team but at the same age to understand my struggles. There are about five of us and I only talk to them because they know me the best in the organization and understand what I go through. I know they will never tell others about what I share with them.

Miss Cho emphasized the notion of trust that comes from her age cohort. Although her age cohort does not share the same responsibilities in the organization, being in the same workplace provides them with enough knowledge of each other's tasks and struggles that they are able to support emotional experiences. "Understanding my struggles" indicate the emotional support Miss Cho is receiving from her in-group members. To further bolster the finding, I present another example. Mrs. Koh said:

There isn't much I can do when I was stressed because it's nerve wracking to speak to my supervisors. I don't want to be seen like I'm complaining. So I mostly talk to my co-worker Yoon who I went to college with. Although we were not in the same year, I knew her name in college. After joining the organization and being placed in the same department, I became a lot closer with her because of the school tie. We often go out for beer and chicken after work. I can't possibly talk about these with my friends because they don't know the nature of my work. My work talk is only comprehensible to those in the organization. I don't even bother talking to my

⁴ In Korean, Donggi means same period with connotation of sharing something in common such as age, school, year, etc. Moim denotes gathering of all sorts.

family or friends because it's someone else's life that I don't feel comfortable sharing with the outsiders.

Mrs. Koh's response illustrates how strongly she relies on her co-worker, Yoon, who also happens to share the same alma mater. It also shows that the school tie connected them to be intimate and share Mrs. Koh's emotional work. Having someone who went to the same college, in the same profession, allows Mrs. Koh to create a stronger bond and to share and communicate her emotional work.

Furthermore, the notion that Mrs. Koh's work is "only comprehensible to those in the organization" illustrates the third finding of communication of emotional work. Mrs. Koh's remark indicates that in-group association mostly plays the role of coping with emotional work. Mrs. Choi also said:

I mostly communicate with another director in the organization. We both entered the organization in the 80s and you know, you can't ignore the maturity. She is the only *Donggi* I have left in the organization so I speak with her about the cases too.

Mrs. Choi's argument that "you can't ignore the maturity" and "speak with her about the cases," indicate that emotional work is not the only element she communicates with her in-group association. "The cases" is a broad notion and can entail many different aspects of the work and having someone who entered the organization at the same period, also shows deep understanding of each other's tasks and responsibilities. Furthermore, her statements suggest that she utilizes her in-group networking to discuss her cases indicating that the in-group serves as a way to improve their performance with clients.

Lastly, Korean social workers communicate their emotional work with others if they are also in the same profession. The interviews suggest that participants still communicated their emotional work outside the organization as long as the other party of communication is social worker. Although many participants stated they only talk to someone in the organization who shares the same in-group identity, other participants had family members

who they communicate their emotional work to because the family members were also social workers. For example, Mrs. Tak said:

Um...I speak to the other directors and I also talk to my husband a lot. He teaches social works at a local college and he knows the nature of my job well.

Mrs. Noh also stated:

My husband is a social worker and I talk to him every day and I rely on him the most. I'm also enrolled in a graduate program at E University. I often talk to my cohort about my daily experiences because we have a lot of things in common. My other family members? They don't know much about what I do or what I experience other than, "Oh, you're helping others. You are doing something good for others."

Both Mrs. Tak and Mrs. Noh's partners are in the same industry or profession. Other participants pointed out that they do not communicate about their emotional work with others outside the organization. For example, Mrs. Huh said:

My family and friends don't really know what I do other than I work with children. I feel like I'm violating those children's privacy by talking about them which I can't avoid when I talk about my work. And my children are too young to know what adoption really is.

Additionally Mr. Han said:

I think my wife knows maybe 30% about my job. She doesn't really know so I tend to not talk about the job much. She doesn't know what my organization is like or its culture.

Due to their lack of understanding and knowledge about the job and the fact that they prioritize client confidentiality, Mrs. Tak and Mrs. Noh's responds indicate that in-group association based on the profession is an integral element that supports their emotional work experiences in the organizations. Furthermore, due to that lack of understanding and knowledge, Mrs. Huh and Mr. Han's remarks suggest that the participants do not share their emotional or organizational experiences with others such as family or friends.

Organizational barriers. Aside from the evidences mentioned above regarding communication of emotional work through in-group associations, the participants also shred barriers to in-group associations. The Korean social workers' in-group association presents

two important roles for the members: (a) to provide support and coping mechanism for their emotional work by communicating closely with members; and (b) to improve the quality of the work they do by consulting their cases with another in-group member.

However, the caveat of in-group association that was presented was lack of organizational acknowledgement on the importance of in-groups from the upper level which leads creates emotional dissonance for members with the organization. The interviews revealed that such in-group, small group gatherings are not encouraged or supported on an organizational level. Mrs. Tak said:

Uh...I often talk to another director since she also knows what my struggles are. I often feel stressed after a meeting with the executives and she is also in the meeting with me. Other than her, I don't really have anyone to talk to. In the past, our organization had a few private small groups that were formed based on the year they entered the organization or the school tie. Back then, I had many fellow graduates from Kangnam University and we bonded well. Now there is only a few left. We used to go shopping after work or have dinner and it was a huge driving force of our everyday work. No matter how stressed we were we could go out and talk our concerns away. But now, there are no such small groups because the executives don't like us having such gatherings outside the organization. It's not like they forced us to quit meeting but as people leave the organization one after another, within the last five years the groups slowly disappeared. But those associations aren't always that bad because we also consult each other's cases to be better at our job. We don't just sit there and bad mouth the superiors in the organization you know. Sure, we may bash them and complain about their decisions and all, but in the midst of that we could also talk about some positive things and have productive conversations!

Mrs. Tak's response showed that there is common information sharing among the same positions in the organization that only the selected few share certain agenda in the organization. She also emphasized the school tie although this is no longer the case as the number of employees who can share the same association diminished which indicates how crucial those in-group association was. Mrs. Tak's assertion that "the executives don't like us having such gatherings" illustrate that she feels there is an organizational constraint that invisibly restricts the freedom to host in-group networks. Similarly, Mr. Han said:

I think it's similar wherever we go. Everyone will have similar concerns...One thing I noticed after began working in this organization is that productivity and *gamjung*

experiences are all interrelated. I struggle with our internal communication culture. It just seem like this organization has a different perception of internal communication. Communication is always oppressed. Even if we have a little sound box⁵ where employees can share their concerns and struggles, they can never be too honest about their organizational experiences. Social oppression and organizational oppression are quite strong here.

Mr. Han's statements mirror possible organizational suppression regarding communication in the organizations. He distinctively stated that he "struggle[s] with different perception of internal communication" and that "communication is always oppressed," indicating that such difficulties become organizational barriers that ultimately lead members to experience dissonance from being discouraged from disclosing and communicating their emotions more frankly.

Emotional Labor and Emotional Dissonance in Social Welfare Organizations

Following the findings regarding emotional work and communication in the organizations, I share further insights were revealed regarding emotional labor and emotional dissonance. Returning to the core concept of emotional work, it is an authentic emotional experience that human service professionals encounter through their interactions with clients (Miller, 2007, 2009, 2014). According to Hochschild (1979, 1983, 1997), emotional labor is experiencing stress and burnout due to fabrication of one's emotion in order to generate higher profit. Finally, emotional dissonance is the clash of inner feelings and organizations' expected display of emotions (Abraham, 1998). These three emotional experiences are inter-connected as organizational emotional experiences varying by professions and the type of work they do. Furthermore, in the case of Korean social workers, these three organizational experiences—emotional work, emotional labor, and emotional dissonance co-existed in their organizational experiences.

As members of the social welfare organizations, the participants often experienced a clash of values and emotions with their organizations. For example, Miss Cho said:

⁵ Sound box is a literal translation of what Koreans call suggestion box.

My supervisors always tell me to smile and be nice to my clients because I'm supposed to spread happiness not sadness. But sometimes, I'm having a bad day too. It's really hard to always put on a smile when I'm frustrated.

Miss Cho's remarks clearly indicate that she is experiencing emotional labor that she has to fabricate her *gamjung* in order to satisfy her superiors and clients which also creates emotional dissonance with the organization as her inner feelings conflict with the organizational expectations. Additionally, Mrs. Park said:

I always have had multiple tasks. Everyone at work relies on me and I'm getting sick of this. But when I express my frustration or anger, the executive director says, "That's nothing. It used to be worse when I was in your position. Suck it up."

Miss Cho and Mrs. Park's responses attest that there are different standards and perception between the members and leaders in the organizations. The organizations push certain emotional boundaries without acknowledging each member's emotional state or internal struggle. Furthermore, organizations seem to prioritize the clients' well-being before their own employees' who are integral to bring stable life for the clients. Fabrication of emotions is asked and expected by organizations. Expressing "frustration" and "anger" can be seen as a form of communication. Although, the response shows that the organization is not receptive of such communication of emotional work and that emotional labor exists in the participants' organizational experiences along with emotional work (Hochschild, 1979, 1983, 1997; Miller, 2007, 2009, 2014).

Aside from possible experiences of emotional labor, conflicting perspectives between organizations and members also generates emotional dissonance. Mr. Han said:

The level of conflicts and stress we experience in the organization is different from other professions. Internal, organizational communication and the emotional conflict with the supervisors are sometimes unbearable. We all have different individual values and because we work with and for people, not everything can be perfect. The conflicts with organizations are on a whole new different level. Sometimes, that conflict is seen as part of the job but in many cases, I just cannot understand why. Trying to negotiate and mediate those tensions with the organization is a lot of stress. There is only so much I can do and they often invade my personal values and beliefs and I have to do the same to others....

Mr. Han's response reveals another dimension of organizational dissonance. Although he did not specifically share his emotional work, his response indicates strong emotional dissonance he experiences with upper level in the organization. "Invading personal values and beliefs" as well as "emotional conflict with supervisors" shows the challenging aspect of his organizational experience that may be intervening with his emotional work and communication.

On top of emotional labor and emotional dissonance between the members and organizations, social constraints also influence members' emotional experiences. For example, Miss Cho also said:

I'm also extremely frustrated when people, anyone in general expects us social workers to be congenial and serving others all the time. I'm an employee who received monthly salary and insurance coverage. I am here to make a living, not to be pushed around. I hate when people expect me to be okay with low paycheck because we are supposed to be helping others and volunteer our time and efforts for others. If this were not a job, I wouldn't be here.

Miss Cho's statements indicate that there is not only emotional labor from organizational constraints but also societal expectations that suppress the members' organizational and emotional experiences. Her statement that "I'm an employee who receive monthly salary and insurance coverage," and "If this wasn't a job, I wouldn't be here" mirror her internal struggle having to experience conflicting viewpoints about her profession among herself and the society as well as the organization.

In short, the interviews revealed four findings about Korean social workers' emotional work, its influence, and how they communicate the emotional work. Foremost, Korean social workers experience emotional work experiences are diverse but they express them in ambiguous statements, composed of mixture of *gamjung* and cognitive states. Second, the emotional work Korean social workers experience influence them to develop a sense of pride about their work, responsibility and compassion for clients that were not inherent from the beginning. Furthermore, the interviews suggest that Korean social

workers communicate their emotional work through in-group associations within the organizations composed of individuals sharing commonalities such as age, position, and school background. Finally, they also communicate their emotional work with friends or family only if they are in the same profession. The findings in this study have theoretical and practical implications which are explored in the next section.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study identified two distinctive communication styles/strategies of emotional work in which Korean social workers engage—indirect communication of emotional work and in-group dependency. In the following section, I present the analysis of the interviews of this study in light of extant theory in order to explain the emotional work experiences and communication of Korean social workers.

Communication and Korean Culture

As discussed in the previous section, the findings suggest Korean social workers experience emotional work in a diverse manner, ranging between some positive and negative emotional work experiences. However, when it comes to communicating their emotional work, their communication was indirect with an outsider but more direct and open with in-group association. In order to explain this phenomenon, one pivotal piece of evidence is the cultural norms and conventions of communication in Korea.

In order to examine why members' encounter with the researcher in this study was so indirect and ambiguous, mixing *gamjung* and cognitive states, I turn to the contemporary culture of Korea. According to Shim, Kim, and Martin (2008), one of the most distinctive facets of Korea is the high-context culture which is relational, collectivist, intuitive, and contemplative. Because of this, developing trust is a critical step in Korea. Indirect and high-context communication styles are closely related, and evidenced in contemporary Korean communication patterns (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008). High-context communicators deliver messages in an abstract, implicit, and indirect manner. This meaning that interpretation of such messages are based on the intuition and contemplation of the audience (Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun, & Kropp, 1999). Kim (2014) argues one very dominant

form of communication in Korean culture is circumlocution, the use of evasive and vague words.

According to cultural research, the Korean culture possesses different degrees of directness that individuals employ in conversations (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008). When Koreans communicate, individuals say one thing which may imply something else (Searle, 1975). Searle (1975) further contends that in such instances, individuals have an underlying message which is not literally expressed in the verbal message. For example, a Korean might say “I just heard from the doctor. I am afraid the news was not very good,” indicating “I have incurable disease” (Holtgraves, 1998).

According to Holtgraves (1997, 1998), the primary motivation to use indirect expressions is concern for other’s face. The emphasis on face leads to the use of relatively indirect expressions (Ting-Toomey, 1988) or polite expressions (Triandis, 1994). Holtgraves (1997) has found that Koreans are more likely to interpret and produce indirect messages and this is usually motivated by interpersonal consideration, or by an individual’s mutual sensitivity to the thoughts and feelings of another. For example, Koreans often comment on another individual’s appearance and they say, “You’re looking well and healthy. It seems you have a good life going on” as an indication of “You have gained weight. You must be eating well.”

The indirectness in Korean culture is a reflection of politeness for face-saving (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Such indirectness caused by sensitivity is also seen in an individual’s concern for managing the face threat of his or her verbal statements (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1967; Holtgraves, 1998). Brown and Levinson (1987) contend individuals are motivated to manage face of one another through polite remarks which is also indirect speech patterns (i.e., metaphor, insinuations, innuendos, hints, and irony). Such tendency of face management is dominant in collectivistic culture as well (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Hara &

Kim, 2004; Kim, 1994; Ting-Toomey, 1988). For example, Koreans tend to use “discreet and moderate communication modes” in managing issues and problems (Ting-Toomey, 1992, p. 217).

Furthermore, in Korean culture it is often challenging to completely understand and acknowledge emotional expressions because burdening others with one’s emotions is not an ideal virtue which is an influence of strong Confucianism culture (Kim, 2006; Lee, 2013; Shin, 2002; & Choi, 2009). In addition, the Confucianism embedded in Korean culture encourages individuals to focus on collective “we-ness” rather than the “self.”

Referring back to the previously reviewed literature on Confucianism and its influence on Korean culture, Yum (1988) argues that the Confucian legacy *i* suggest that one should be affiliated and identify with relatively small and tightly knit groups of others over periods of time. She further contends that these long-term relationships work because each group member expects the others to reciprocate and also because group members believe that sooner or later they will depend on the others (Yum, 1987a). Koreans enmeshed in this kind of network make clear distinctions between in-group and out-group members (Yum, 1988). Therefore, indirect communication is encouraged and welcomed rather than frankness (Shin, 2002).

Research on the communication culture of Korea suggests that Koreans are unwilling to share their emotions and engage in direct, open communication with another. The findings suggested that Korean social workers experience emotional work through ambiguous mix of *gamjung* and their cognitive states (i.e., curiosity, certainty, interestedness, etc.), expressing them indirectly. As the previous research literatures suggest, the Korean culture influences individuals to save their words and to be indirect was shown through the participants’ expression of their emotional work. Circumventing, illustrating their *gamjung*

through use of cognitive states, emphasizes that such actions are part of their indirect communication traits embedded in the communication culture of Korea.

Another element that supports Korean social workers' indirectness is the degree of relationships that might influence the communication of Koreans. The Korean social workers were projecting different degrees of directness and face-saving behaviors to me—the researcher and the outsider—except for the two participants who have former associations and built relationship with me which indicates their tendencies to be indirect. To the participants I, as the researcher, am the “other,” hence, there is a higher need to be polite and reasons to be indirect. Although I am not the dominant figure in the organization, being the stranger with no prior acquaintance, I am someone with whom they need to save their face. Lacking trust and established relationship, my role and position as the researcher is the triggering factor that could have generated even more indirectness.

With two particular participants the interview experiences were rather different, with these participants sharing greater details about their emotional work. These two participants had previously established a relationship with me as co-workers and their interview time was significantly longer than the other participants who have never met me before. The average interview time for participants was less than twenty minutes while the two former co-workers' were close to an hour each. The depth of details they shared during the interview provided greater insights about their emotional work and organizational experiences. I was able to be part of the conversation with a more interactive exchange of dialogues. For example, one of my former co-workers said:

I suffered from upset stomach almost each day for a month when I first started. You know Director Wee who was the director then, right? You know how horrible she is to a newbie right? Oh man, she used to follow me everywhere trying to find what I did wrong that day. I went home crying every day not wanting to go back the next day. It took me a few months to get used to her. My mom had to pack white rice porridge for my upset stomach for almost a month. That's how serious my sickness was because of her. Dang, she was crazy.

Her response shows that there is no face saving, and is very descriptive. Sharing her hostile relationship with a former supervisor whom I also know suggests the degree of comfortableness and trust. The example statements show that although Koreans tend to communicate indirectly, the degree of relationship and interpersonal intimacy are critical links that determine the range of descriptiveness and openness. The findings on emotional work of Korean social workers lead to another value that was salient in the collected data, the in-group association which elaborates how intimacy or relationship change the way Korean social workers communicate their emotional work.

Additionally, it is important to ponder the implications of feeling and emotion. As previously stated, feeling is personal while emotion is social (Shouse, 2005). Furthermore, emotion can be managed depending on different social contexts, generating different display and projection according to circumstances (Fineman, 1993). Interacting with me, the researcher, and a stranger, is clearly a different social setting in which to manage emotions, thus, participants expression of cognitive perspectives could also be a tactic that can be seen as indirect communication pattern employed to avoid sharing their psychological emotions.

Ultimately, I argue that due to circumventing and the indirect communication culture of Korea, the social workers were saving their words when expressing their emotions through unconscious mix of *gamjung* and cognitive states. It is inherently embedded in the Korean culture to be indirect and ambiguous about emotions. Thus, the Korean social workers were hiding their emotions to the researcher, however, still elaborating on their thoughts as means of politeness.

In-group Association and Communication of Emotional Work with *Uye-ri*

This study identified in-group association as a communication channel for emotional work experiences and coping mechanism for Korean social workers. Participants of the study expressed strong intimacy and connection to their in-group associations composed of

school-ties, age cohort, positions they hold in the organizations and the year they began working in the organization. Participants were especially attached to their in-group associations as such gathering provides emotional support.

Korean culture is strongly rooted in in-group connections. According to Triandis (1988),

In-groups are groups of individuals about whose welfare a person is concerned, and with whom that person is willing to cooperate without demanding equitable returns” or groups that agree on valued attributes of individuals whose personal values or concerns are similar (p. 65)

In-group relationships are often characterized by familiarity, intimacy, a shared history, and potential future relationships (Matsumoto, 2002). The participants clearly had strong associations with their in-groups and for their organizational emotional experiences, familiarity, intimacy, and a shared history were pivotal elements that generated such close ties.

Infused with Confucianism and its values in human relationship development, Korean society has been immensely influenced by such ideas from the start of the industrial modernization period (Shim, Kim & Martin, 2008). Shim, Kim, and Martin (2008) further argue that the Korean culture values various types of connections of in-group memberships (i.e., family, schools, companies, regions, social rank, wealth, and scholarly pursuits). Furthermore, these in-groups gather as a community to share or to pursue their common interests through monthly gatherings “to promote social-ties through personal hobbies and entertainment” (p.85). The scholars additionally argue that some in-groups focus on providing group cohesion among members in order to keep the pride of their identity as well as the collective goals for mutual benefits (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008).

Tajfel and Turner (1985) argue individuals are inclined to classify themselves and others into certain social categories. In the case of Korean social workers, their in-group association was within the organization, age-base, organizational position, and tenure in the organization. It is evident that Koreans value in-group association, placing themselves in

different socialization opportunities as Tajfel and Turner (1985) argue. Furthermore, the in-group socialization is one of the ways for them to value the “we-ness” and *i* legacy of the Confucianism that have been strongly embedded in Korean culture. According to the principle *i*, human relationships are not based on individual profit, but rather on the betterment of the common good (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008).

One related concept that further defines in-group networking is the Korean concept of *uye-ri* (justice and righteousness). *Uye-ri* is directly derived from *i* and describes a long-term, obligatory interpersonal relationship that is also the binding rule of social interaction (Yum, 1987b). According to *uye-ri*, “reciprocity is not necessarily immediate, nor does it have to be promised” since both parties that interact with each other understand that they are bound by *i* (Yum, 1988, p. 378). *Uye-ri* is not only required to be a lawful citizen, but it is almost a prerequisite to be part of the Korean in-group as *uye-ri* deals with the issue of trust (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008). It is unlikely that an individual who lacks *uye-ri* would be warmly accepted into any relationship network. Kim (2003) argues, in an in-group high in *uye-ri*, full disclosure of information from all parties is expected. On the other hand, when interacting with members not in the in-group, with whom *uye-ri* has not yet been established, information-giving is limited and overall communication is handled cautiously (Kim, 2003). Honesty and loyalty are needed to form tight bonds between members of the in-group, especially between family members, friends, and co-workers (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008). Therefore, in-group networking for Korean social workers allows deeper communication of their emotional work as *uye-ri* is binding their connections and through common grounds such as age, positions, and school cohort. Furthermore, their emotional work sharing is unrestricted acceptance, thus, forming strong ties through established *uye-ri* within their in-group networks.

Although other associations such as family or friends could provide emotional support in general, emotional work experiences possess unique dynamics that outsiders of the organization cannot fully associate themselves with. One reason why out-groups are not valued as participants did not communicate with outgroups in an effort to compartmentalize. Anderson, Long, Buzzanell, Kokini, Batra, and Wilson (2015) argue that professionals tend to keep established boundaries between their work and life in regards to emotional work, utilizing compartmentalization as a tool to provide emotional containment from the organizational experiences. Participants did not share their professional experiences, perhaps in part because the process of having to communicate their emotional experiences to non-social workers became burdensome. This act of avoiding sharing emotions at home can be seen as a strategy of compartmentalization. Particularly, as communicating these emotional experiences with others not in the profession may lead to further emotional work as participants attempt to explain the details of the individual situation (Anderson et al., 2015).

While compartmentalization is used as a strategy to shield further emotional work with outgroups, the role of in-groups emerge as strong coping mechanism as social workers experience mixture of other organizational emotions. As previously discussed, emotional work experiences and emotional dissonance are highly tied to the social worker profession in Korea, in-group associations are naturally formed within the organization to remedy the emotional struggles. Participants have shared that their in-group associations are to communicate their emotional work more intimately and to seek help in times of distress they experience with clients of supervisors. Additionally, in-groups allow more productive conversations about tasks and ways to improve the quality of work.

While *uye-ri* bolsters the link between Korean social workers and their formation of in-group networks, emotional dissonance with organizations is another triggering factor that strengthens in-group dependency. Referring back to the findings, as Mrs. Tak remarked,

emotional work experience with clients and emotional dissonance in the trigger stronger in-group ties. According to Rafaeli and Sutton (1989), emotional dissonance occurs when members express emotions that satisfy display rules of the organization but conflict with the members' inner feelings. The negative effects of emotional dissonance cause occupational stress as it violates the members' inner emotions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

Abraham (1988) argues that one of organizations' roles is to provide opportunities for socialization through informal networks for the expression of genuine emotion. However, organizations where the Korean social workers are members of are not encouraging such social gatherings. Findings suggest that the in-group association is not acknowledged as a critical element in members' organizational experiences although the members depend on it heavily. Referring back to Mrs. Tak's remarks, "But now, there are no such small groups because the executives don't like us having such gatherings outside the organization" illustrates the organizational stigma the members experience during their in-group socialization. Choi and Wright (1994) contend one of the main traditional cultural characteristics in Korea is absolute loyalty to the hierarchy within the structure of authority. Although Mrs. Tak did not elaborate why and how the executives did not like members' having discreet in-group associations, the hierarchical culture exemplifies the influence of organizational power of top-down approach.

Morris and Feldman (1996) argue social support became known to be a powerful moderator of emotional dissonance including support provided by co-workers that could reverse the destructive emotional split. Additionally, Ashforth and Mael (1989) state social identity in group membership occurs regardless of the presence of strong leadership or member interdependency, interaction, or cohesion. However, in the case of Korean social workers, interdependency and interaction are pivotal to continue in-group associations. Although the role of leadership was not explicitly discussed through the findings, based on

the participants' conversations about "executive levels" or "upper levels," it is evident that the higher chains of command in the organizations are not supportive of the members' in-group associations, creating organizational dissonance and perhaps suggesting to members that the organization is not providing support in regards to their emotional work.

Finally, existing research has demonstrated that job autonomy could reduce dissonance and pacify emotional struggle (Erickson, 1991). Furthermore, job autonomy allows emotional control, preventing hostility (Abraham, 1998). However, for Korean social workers, job autonomy is one lacking element that could assuage their emotional dissonance. They did not have the autonomy to choose their profession in social welfare, and they did not possess strong passion for the profession in the first place. Thus, their in-group dependency became greater, allowing them to share emotional dissonance along with their emotional work. The dilemma of lacking job autonomy could suggest further research to explore the role of autonomy for Korean social workers in regards to their degree of in-group dependency and choosing the means to communicate their emotional work.

Revisiting emotional work. The study complicates Miller's primary argument of authentic emotions of empathy and compassion. The focal point of the current study is culture's effect on the emotional work experience and its influences. Miller (2013) argues that those in human services professions accept emotional work as part of their job, thus, their emotional experiences are not fabricated which triggers them to feel with and feel for the clients. However, the investigation of Korean social workers comparatively suggested new insights regarding Miller's initial argument on emotional work.

First, in the case of Korean social workers, emotional work is not what they anticipate prior to joining the profession, rather, something that develops in different forms through years of organizational experiences. As Korean social workers do not have the same autonomy when choosing the particular profession, they do not have the same level of

anticipation nor awareness of their emotional work. Bess (1978) argues selecting an occupation takes an extended periods and involves several stages of decisions. Furthermore, those who anticipate correctly about the values, norms, behaviors of the organization are likely to have more successful organizational experiences (Merton and Lazarsfeld, 1972). The findings suggest Korean social workers do not possess job autonomy in the selection process to which Bess (1978) refers. This is due to the unique social structure of Korea that hinders many from choosing the academic discipline and profession. One of the arguments Miller (2013) made regarding emotional work is that those engaged in human service professions choose their professions with an awareness of the nature of the job—heavy emotional work—but are willing to accept the terms. For Korean social workers, the reason for being in social welfare profession was not solely their choice due to social constraints they experienced.

Furthermore, while compassion and empathy were the most prevalent forms of emotional work identified by Miller (2013), in this sample these two types of emotional work emerged at later periods in the profession, not from the beginning. The complexity associated with non-autonomous job selection leads Korean social workers to experience emotional work in various degrees through years of organizational experiences with clients. Furthermore, although emotional contagion emerged as a form of empathy, it was not the most prevalent element that did not emerge as strong as compassion, responsibility and pride. Each participant showed different timing and degrees of compassion and responsibility as their years in the organization varied greatly ranging between three years to more than three decades. Referring back to the findings, members shared their changing emotional work through extended periods of time. Mrs. Huh, Mrs. Choi, and Mrs. Park elaborated that they now have strong feeling of “pride,” “responsibility,” and “compassion” for the work they do and for the clients.

However, this emotional work did not appear from the beginning of their work experiences nor everyone experienced emotional contagion.

Miller's argument is partially applicable to the Korean social workers in the sense that compassion and empathy existed. However, one element that needs further exploration is the differences of experiencing stages. Miller (2013)'s argument suggests that compassion or empathy are inherent from the beginning as the social workers are cognizant of emotional demands but they have strong desire to help others. In contrast, as Korean social workers were lacking occupational autonomy, for them compassion or empathy did not seem to be parts of their initial experiences of the profession. Therefore, Miller's argument could be further supplemented with in-depth exploration of how the emotional work experiences may differ or develop for professions that are heavily influenced by social constraints. The non-linear development of different timing of the emotional experiences suggests that although the nature of profession is similar, how social workers accept the emotional dimensions of the profession vastly differ between cultures primarily.

Secondly, while Miller's argument was solely based on emotional work, differentiating human services professions with frontline workers and their emotional labor, the findings of this study revealed that Korean social workers experience both emotional work and emotional labor as well as emotional dissonance. While dominant emotional experiences presented were emotional work, Korean social workers are prone to emotional labor and emotional dissonance as well since hierarchical structure requires complete abidance to higher orders. As one of the respondents Miss Cho said, having to fabricate one's emotions in order to serve the clients better attest to expected emotional labor that members experience. Hierarchical social structure and its strong influence changes organizational experiences for members in Korea, hence, influencing their emotional experiences as well.

The intercultural application to Miller's notion of emotional work allowed a number of constructive insights that although similar traits mirrored between different cultures, cultural norms that influence the societal expectations and conventions draw different emotional experiences, furthering additional implications for practical applications for organizations. In regards to the cultural difference, another element that influenced the Korean social workers' emotional work is the infusion of Confucianism that develops indirect and implicit communication of emotions in organizations. Due to the nature of Korean culture, indirect and implicit communication is valued over honest, non-discernable communication of emotions. Although, the shared data suggested strong sense of compassion and responsibility that the Korean social workers' possessed in regards to their encounter with clients, Koreans are inherently discreet when it comes to emotions. Therefore, the study raises questions regarding the authenticity of their emotional work, furthering discussions about the link between emotional labor and emotional work.

In light of the above discussion, I propose a communication model of emotional work that could suggest further research and investigation (See Appendix E). The suggested model shows the connection between emotional work, emotional labor, and emotional dissonance for Korean social workers as they interact with clients and organizations. It further shows the interrelated connection between social constraints that prohibits autonomy in job selection, cultural norms and communication norms that influence Korean social workers' emotional experiences. Finally, it highlights the strong in-group dependency Korean social workers use to communicate their emotional experiences in the organizations. Reflecting on the fact that the only flow of communication is through in-group associations, it highlights the importance of in-groups in social welfare organizations in Korea.

Social constructionism and emotional work. The findings of this study revealed that profession of social welfare is heavily influenced by existing social norms and cultural

conventions. Additionally, there was a strong link between Korean culture and how social workers experience and communicate emotional work. Communication tactics and norms that were constructed through development of Korean history influence the way Korean social workers express and communicate their emotional work as well as their strong dependency on in-group socializations. Instead of clearly and directly expressing the emotional work, Korean social workers chose to circumvent and evade direct confrontations regarding their emotional experiences due to lack of *uye-ri*, hence, making a distinction between in-group and out-group associations during the interviews.

Furthermore, although the Korean social workers lacked autonomy over selecting their professions, the development of compassion, responsibility and pride show merging of pre-constructed social constraints and an evolution of interpretation and meaning of work they experiences. Absence of intrinsic motivation for a profession and limited awareness of the nature of the job are influences of socially constructed constraints. Wrzesniewski, Berg, and Dutton (2008) argue that members of organizations tend to autonomously shift aspects of their jobs to ameliorate the purpose that inherently exists in the nature of the job and their own needs and preferences. This process is referred to as job crafting (Wezesniewski, Berg, & Dutton, 2008). Furthermore, there are three ways employees can adapt to craft their jobs: (a) asking for different tasks at work; (b) altering interpersonal relationships such as associating with an inspiring colleague; and (c) alternating their own perceptions toward the work more positively (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) further argue that these strategies help employees to be more engaging in their profession as well as to establish meaningfulness of the career. It is possible that the Korean social workers underwent their own job crafting through the experiences. Although participants began with little autonomy over their choice of profession, the findings suggested that: (a) their in-group associations are possible avenues to provide strengthened interpersonal

relationship support network; and (b) interaction with clients provide positive affirmation of the work they do, shifting their perceptions toward the meaningfulness of their profession. Ultimately, the job crafting processes that members reported using reflect their process of meaning-making. Their interpretations evolved from constructed norms of society and organizations. Through their years in the organizations, interacting with clients, the social constraints and natural adaptation of rules, created a sense of what the work truly is (Pfeffer, 1982; Fine, 1984).

Finally, social constructionism theory argues that knowledge is influenced by social processes and practices (Hruby, 2001; Allen, 2005). The reason Miller's emotional work is partially applicable to Korean social workers while presenting considerable differences can be viewed as another byproduct of the cultural differences and construction of reality, meaning of work, and societal structures. Although Korean social workers may or may not recognize their communicative tactics and projection of their emotional work, it is a powerful indication of how social processes can trigger different cultural nuances and traditions that present a new set of knowledge about emotional work and communication in organizations.

Practical Implications

It is through the in-group associations the Korean social workers are willing to openly share and express their emotional work. However, such in-group associations are not acknowledged as part of their job but can only be done privately without the organization's knowledge. Such findings lead to conclude that the Korean social workers' emotional work is not communicated with other parts of the organizations such as superior level decision-makers or managerial positions. While the unique culture of Korea and its communicative norms dominate the way Korean social workers communicate their emotional work, I argue that on an organizational level there are ways to assuage the members' emotional work.

Organizational acknowledgement and support are critical to allow members to have more autonomous in-group associations. Rather than viewing the association of in-group members as a negative threat to the organizational leadership, perceiving the association as positive synergy for better performance is vital. Invigorating in-group associations at an organizational level can trigger more open outlets for the members' emotional work whether positive or negative.

Revisiting Morris and Feldman (1996)'s argument regarding the power of co-worker social support, it is evident that Korean social workers also need strong co-worker support. Given the uniqueness of in-group associations based on school, age, year, and position, it may require members to find their own in-group associations within the organizations. However, one caveat is the degree of organizational involvement to promote or create in-group associations as the findings revealed such associations are mostly possible through personal connections such as age, school, and years in the organizations. Furthermore, Korean social workers have greater degree of emotional dissonance with their affiliated organizations because no participants said they communicate their emotional work with supervisors but only with in-group members. This suggests that in order to narrow the emotional dissonance between members and organizations, the organizations need to invigorate and promote active associations of in-groups on an organizational level. Here, I offer a few suggested practical solutions that organizations can employ in order to provide effective space for members to communicate their emotional work.

Foremost, it is important to acknowledge social expectations of the role of social workers and attempt to change the narrative of the profession. Participants shared their frustration of being seen as "doing good works" and "volunteering". Such perception of societal constraints prohibits them from expressing themselves "employees of an organization" which further hinders them to express or communicate their emotional work. One solution for

this is turning to the media. Park (1995) argues that Koreans easily alternate their perception about professions depending on how they are described in the media.

Furthermore, Korean dramas often develop contents regarding different professions that are prone to stereotypes (e.g., stuntman, actors, military personnel, and doctors), attempting to reflect the reality of each profession (Hong, 2016). A media portrayal of social workers, showing their everyday lives and difficult confrontations with clients can further the understanding of the profession for the general public as well as change the perception that social workers are not just “doing good works” but are also humans with emotional burdens that need to be acknowledged. Weaving fictional stories on media based on the reality of social workers can reveal the veiled truths of their emotional work more explicitly and candidly.

In addition to a general implementation of changing perception which is more longitudinal, there are other ameliorations that organizations can develop and implement in order to contribute to organizational members’ healthy communication of emotional work. One critical step is to develop organizational programs or trainings to encourage “venting” of social workers’ emotional work as a healthy form of communication. There are a few avenues to execute these programs—mentoring, leadership training, and organizational support services.

First, employing a mentoring program that allows members to interact with other senior members will generate different dynamics of in-group associations. Kalbfleisch (2002, 2007) argues mentoring is a relationship of care and assistance between mentor and mentee which is also a significant aspect of mentee’s career well-being. Scholars have argued that Korean culture is keen on associating oneself with another, creating in-group membership through common elements such as school, age, and social positions (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008; Yum, 1988). Although mentoring is usually between senior members and

junior or new members (Hunt & Michael, 1983), it could provide an insightful organizational experience that alleviate emotional work for Korean social workers. Mentoring is an important development tool in organizations (Jennings, 1971). Long, Buzzanell, Anderson, Batra, Kokini and Wilson (2014) argue that one of the key perspectives of mentoring is its network approach. In other words, mentoring is a practice of continuing interactions that reflect upon “individual and organizational needs and preferences in changing spatial, temporal, institutional and cultural contexts” (p. 396). Furthermore, among different organizational types, mentored members showed positive outcomes than those who were not (Buzzanell, Long, Anderson, Kokini, & Batra, 2015). Mentorship also provides the opportunities to develop support, respect, and power as well as emotional development that influence commitment to the organization (Hunt & Michael, 1983). One area of implementation that Korean social welfare organizations can attempt is to provide an opportunity for senior members and junior members to be paired in a mentor-mentee relationship, creating a new dimension of cohort-ship.

Findings suggested that members do not connect with senior members, however, if those senior members become their in-groups, it could potentially generate a narrowing of communication gaps they might have experienced. If the senior and junior members share the same alma mater, regional background, or division commitments, these elements could connect them to create a new dimension of in-group associations. Although mentorship varies according to cultural context, mentoring program can benefit different types of organizations with “enhanced opportunity, with enthusiasm for innovation and structural supports” (Kanter, 1977, p. 479)

It has been argued that mentorship enriches organizational experiences. Furthermore, professionals who experience mentorship themselves are likely to become mentors of succeeding generations which could retain a series of mentoring relationships for prolonged

periods of time if begun (Kram, 1980). Although it may be a challenge to initiate mentorship program, if employed it could generate positive outcomes to deal with members' emotional work.

Second, it is also important to train the leaders on the different types of discourses they engage in with the members. Leader communication has been recognized as a critical element in members' work motivation and performance (Levering, 1988). Furthermore, how leaders communicate with their employees can bolster commitment to the organizations (Robbins, 2001). Findings illustrated that members are heavily influenced by the executives and are mindful of their hostility toward in-group gatherings. Training leaders to acknowledge the importance of in-groups within the organization as well as educating them with more appropriate dialogue techniques will ease the emotional burden and distance between leaders and members.

Lastly, aside from leadership training, one other essential stage is to develop organizational support for the social workers' communication of emotional work. Mrs. Yim, who is employed in foreign social welfare organization as a counselor for expatriates in Korea stated:

I don't feel too stressed about my job because I have my own counselor whom I go to and share my everyday experiences. Knowing that I have someone who understands me fully as well as the nature of my job, I rely on her a lot more regarding my emotional experiences. So each day, I arrive at work with excitement, anticipating meeting my clients.

The role of organizational support is extremely critical that promises members' emotional well-being. Except for Mrs. Yim, other participants naturally formed in-groups because their emotional work was not acknowledged nor supported to communicate freely on an organizational level.

Establishing internal counseling systems for employees will ensure members to know that organizations acknowledge their emotional experiences, creating spaces for healthier communication without concerning about the upper-level leaders.

The practical implications, however, require further investigation to assess its feasibility. Next, I address the limitations and directions for future research.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Although the study suggested significant findings about Korean social workers, the research revealed a number of limitations that could be supplemented with further research in the future. Foremost, limited sample size restricted exploration of further insights about the social welfare profession in Korea as well as diverse organizational culture. Expanding the number of participants nationwide could generate more in-depth findings and insights about the social welfare profession in Korea. Korea is divided into four major regions and each area possesses different regional cultures and these could provide further insights about more diverse organizational compositions such as gender, sizes of the organizations, leadership structure and client demographics, bolstering understanding of emotional work. Secondly, the role of the researcher prevented in-depth exploration of Korean social workers' emotional work. Etherington (2007) argues, researcher reflexivity helps create "transparency and dialogue that is required for forming and sustaining ethical research relationships," especially when prior relationships with participants already exist (p. 599). In comparison to the two participants whom I already have established relationships with, other participants lacked established credibility with the researcher and it curbed more intimate encounter with the participants.

However, such limitations also suggest more extended future research directions. With extended sample size, prolonged study duration, and employment of different methodologies future studies can add to our insights about Korean social workers' emotional

experiences in the organizations. First, employing mixed methodologies would enlarge the dimension of emotional work study. Incorporating non-confrontational interviews where I do not directly interact with the participants face to face such (e-mail, online surveys). This way, the concern for face and politeness is likely to be reduced, being able to probe more specifically about the participants' interactions with clients (i.e., the types of services they provide, the duration of interaction with each client, and the depth of their interpersonal relationship) would add richness to the data about emotional work and could further the discussion of the implications of emotional work.

Additionally, conducting a longitudinal study by following up with participants after certain periods could provide additional insights. This way, I could build trust with the participants which could allow more open communication about their emotional experiences and to be able to further investigate what social workers communicate about and how they talk about emotional work amongst themselves within in-group associations.

Furthermore, in order to extend the discussion of members' practice of agency in resisting the negative emotional work, conducting an ethnographic study would enrich the findings to understand whether other coping mechanisms emerge. Employing an ethnographic approach of prolonged time period may enrich the data collection process as the method would provide a strengthened relationship between the researcher and participants (Aoki, 2004). Although, in-group support and dependency were primarily shown as the foremost means to communicate the members' emotional work, examining how the resistance takes place on an individual level can offer new insights to assess alternative options to advance the communication of Korean social workers.

Second, expanding the sample demographics to include leaders in the organizations as well as managerial positions will open new dialogues about organization and emotions, inviting more diverse perspectives on emotional work. Finally, conducting cross-cultural

ethnographic analysis in both the US where the concept of emotional work first emerged and Korea where the new intercultural perspective on it was investigated will supplement deeper cultural understanding. With comparable data and analysis, cross-cultural studies can provide simultaneous interpretations of specific cultural elements that provoke conventional perspectives of intercultural studies (Conquergood, 1991).

Although the limitations constrain the breadth and depth of insights, the study provided extended understanding of emotional work and organizations in Korea. Further research can attempt to examine more in depth about the different sectors of social welfare.

RETHINKING ORGANIZATIONAL EMOTION, COMMUNICATION, AND CULTURE

This study contributes to supplement what Western-oriented views on emotional work lacks—an intercultural perspectives on emotional experiences. Through the findings from this study, it was shown that Korean social workers experience emotional work in varieties of ways in both positive and negative aspects, but when it comes to communicating emotional work, indirect strategies were used ranging from emotions to cognitive states. In relation to how Korean culture dominates the way Koreans communicate, I contend that Korean social workers are influenced and dominated by the social structure and expectations of keeping their emotions within themselves rather than communicating it directly with others. Such tendencies come from being considerate of the others, valuing the “we-ness”. This we-ness also links to their in-group dependency and networking in the organization, however, still abiding by the structure of age, position and school connections. Although they were willing to share how their everyday experiences were, they still had strong avoidance to fully explore how they felt. The expectation from the researcher that the participants would fully share their emotional experiences was succumbed by their indirect, ambiguous responses.

Indirect communication and strong in-group association are salient in Korean culture. It is evident that the Korean culture highly values in-group relationships which dominates individual’s emotional work experiences. However, on an organizational level in-groups are not acknowledged as important elements to consider. Although the emotional work of Korean social workers is not always negative, they were not given proper outlets of their emotional work on an organizational level. Therefore, I argue that it is extremely critical that organizations acknowledge the important role in-group associations have for organizational members.

For Korean social workers, emotional work and emotional labor coexist as well as emotional dissonance because Korean organizational culture is repressed, hierarchical and does not provide much autonomy prior to choosing the profession. These three organizational emotions are inter-connected in Korean social welfare organizations as the social workers not only encounter clients, they also confront social expectations, organizational expectations, and educational restrictions that curb full autonomy. Thus, having low intrinsic motivation hinders full exploration of neither the profession nor its emotional demands. In particular, social workers are responsible for others' lives with strong sense of compassion. Although they are rewarded with positive emotional work such as pride and positive outcomes on their clients, little has been done to truly promote their overall emotional well-being. Since it is evident that social workers rely on their in-group associations within the organization, rather than discouraging and perceiving those associations negatively, organizations need to support and encourage such gatherings.

Additionally, Korean social welfare organizations have low understanding toward the members' emotional work experiences, hence, lacking supports and proper surrounding to communicate on an organizational level. The role and importance of in-group networks within organizations are significant element that creates spaces for the members to communicate their emotional work, emotional labor, and emotional dissonance. Therefore, organizational acknowledgement and support for in-group associations are highly encouraged.

Finally, in order to further understand emotional work in organizations on a global level, it is important for the communication discipline to pursue more diverse research to further explore cultural implications that might be derived from emotional experiences at workplaces. Field of communication has produced immense growth and proliferation of academic research. However, most research and theory are based on Western perspectives and philosophical foundations (Yum, 1988). Although the gap between the West and East

has narrowed, there still remain philosophical and cultural barriers that are not well understood. Communication is a fundamental social process, and that, as such, it is influenced by the philosophical foundations and value systems of the society in which it is found.

Emotion is a complex concept and is highly cultural, interpretive and communicative. This study offers a first attempt at understanding certain traits of Korean culture that may influence worker experiences. Adding cultural nuance complicates our understanding of the intersection between organizations and emotion. Ultimately, this exploration of how Korean social workers experience emotional work in the workplace further expands our perspectives about emotion, communication, and culture.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER OF RECRUITMENT: SOCIAL WORKERS IN KOREA

ENGLISH VERSION

Protocol Title: Emotional Work for Social Workers in Korea

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Dr. Elizabeth A. Williams

Department of Communication Studies

E-mail: elizabeth.a.williams@colostate.edu

CO-PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Minkyung Kim, MA Student, Department of Communication Studies

Office: Behavioral Science building A 208

Contact: 1-970-237-0567(US)/ 010-4012-6914(Korea)/ min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu

Researchers from the Department of Communication Studies at Colorado State University are recruiting participants for a study to explore emotional work of social workers in Korea. This project will investigate how social workers in Korea experience emotional work in their professions as well as how they communicate the emotional experiences.

If you are a Korean national and currently employed at a social welfare organization in Korea as a full-time social worker, you are eligible to join the study. You will be asked to participate in an individual interview to answer open-ended and close-ended questions about your experience as a social worker in Korea. This interview will take approximately 45 to 60 minutes and will take place at a location of your preference. There will be no compensation for participating in the study.

Please e-mail min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu to sign up. If you have questions about the study, please contact Minkyung Kim, graduate student of Communication Studies Department at min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu or 1-970-237-0567 (US)/ 010-4012-6914 (Korea).

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Best regards,

Minkyung Kim

LETTER OF RECRUITMENT: SOCIAL WORKERS IN KOREA

KOREAN VERSION

연구 참여자 구함

연구 제목: 대한민국 사회복지사의 감정 노동과 소통

주요 조사자:

엘리자베스 A. 윌리엄스, 교수

커뮤니케이션 학과, 콜로라도 주립대학교

연락처: elizabeth.a.williams@colostate.edu

제 2 조사자:

김민경, 석사 과정

커뮤니케이션 학과, 콜로라도 주립대학교

연락처: 1-970-237-0567(미국)/ 010-4012-6914(한국)/ min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu

콜로라도 주립대학교의 커뮤니케이션 학과에서 두 명의 연구자들이 대한민국 사회복지사의 감정노동에 대한 연구를 진행하고 있습니다. 본 연구는 대한민국의 사회복지사들이 어떻게 감정 노동을 경험하고 있으며 이를 어떻게 소통하는지에 대해 알아보는 조사입니다.

만약 귀하께서 대한민국 국적을 가지고 있으며 현재 사회복지사로 복지 관련 업종에 종사하고 있다면, 귀하는 본 연구에 참여할 자격이 있습니다. 만약 참여하게 되면 귀하께선 1:1 인터뷰에 참여를 할 것이며 다양한 질문을 통해 면담을 받게 됩니다. 이 인터뷰는 45분에서 1시간 정도 진행될 예정이며 귀하가 선호하는 장소에서 진행 예정입니다. 본 연구에 참여하는 것은 금전적인 보상은 없습니다.

만약 연구에 참여 가능하시면 min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu 로 연락 부탁드립니다. 추가적인 질문이 있으시다면 콜로라도 주립 대학교의 커뮤니케이션 학과 석사 학생인 김민경에게 min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu 혹은 1-970-237-0567 (미국)/ 010-4012-6914 (한국) 연락 부탁드립니다.

감사합니다.

김민경 드림

APPENDIX B

Participant Demographics

Table 1

<u>Participant Demographics</u>			
<u>Participant</u>	<u>Years in the organization</u>	<u>Affiliated Divisions</u>	<u>Position</u>
Mrs. Yim	20	Expatriate Counseling	Director
Mrs. Koh	8	Public Relations	Account Supervisor
Mrs. Park	15	Pre-adoption	Section Chief
Mrs. Huh	16	Pre-Adoption	Section Chief
Mrs. Choi	24	Post-Adoption	Director
Mr. Han	3	Sponsorship Management	Assistant Director
Miss Hong	4	Disabled Welfare	Associate
Miss Cho	7	Senior Social Education	Associate
Mrs. Tak	34	Domestic Adoption	Director
Mrs. Noh	9	Senior Welfare	Associate
Mrs. Joo	3	North Korean Refugee Care Center	Associate Director

APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT: ENGLISH VERSION

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

TITLE OF STUDY: Emotional Work and Communication of Social Workers in Korea

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Dr. Elizabeth A. Williams
Department of Communication Studies
Colorado State University
Contact: elizabeth.a.williams@colostate.edu

CO-PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Minkyung Kim, MA Student
Department of Communication Studies
Colorado State University
Contact: 1-970-237-0567(US)/ 10-4012-6914(Korea)/ min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu

Dear Participant,

My name is Dr. Elizabeth Williams and I am an Assistant Professor from Colorado State University in the Communication Studies department. We are conducting a research study on the emotional work experience of Korean social workers in Korea and how they communicate their emotional experiences. The title of our project is “Let Me Tell You About My Emotions”: An Analysis of Emotional Work and Communication Among Korean Social Workers. I am the Principal Investigator and the Co-PI is Minkyung Kim, a Master’s student in Communication Studies department at Colorado State University.

We would like to invite you to take part in an individual interview about emotional work in the workplace and how you communicate it. Participation will take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour and this will be audiotaped. Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time without penalty.

Benefits and risks of being in the study:

There are no known benefits for participating in this study, but by engaging in discussion, your reflections may improve the quality of your work. You will have the opportunity to express yourself and realize that you may not be alone in your concern for this issue. It will be an opportunity to openly share your feelings and insights that may help others in the same industry in the future who might encounter similar emotional experiences.

You will not receive any compensation for participating in this study. Participation in this study will not cost you anything. Participation in this study is completely voluntary and your choice.

The risks associated with this study are no greater than everyday life. However, participation in this study will ask you to reflect on your previous employment experiences. Depending on the nature of these experiences, feelings of insecurity, sadness, stress, or frustration may surface. However, if you experience distress after participating in the study, you can contact the professional counselor listed below for further assistance.

Dr. Sung-Jin Kim, President of Korean Philosophical Counseling Association
73-4 Yonhi 3 Dong
Sudaimunku, Seoul
Korea, 120-823
Phone: 82-10-6813-2232
E-mail: sjkphil@hallym.ac.kr

Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:

The PI and Co-PI will not connect your name or personal identifiers to the data we collect. Your name will not be used. We will assign you a pseudonym for you. When we report and share the data to others, we will combine the data from all participants. Colorado State University, as well as members of the Institutional Review Boards, have the legal right to review your research records and will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law.

The interview will be audiotaped and recorded for data analysis post interview under your consent.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the IRB of Colorado State University. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, please contact the CSU IRB at: RICRO_IRB@mail.colostate.edu or 1-970-491-1553.

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might arise. Later, if you have questions about the study, you can contact the Co-PI, Minkyung Kim at min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu or at 1-970-237-0567 (US) / 010-4012-6914 (Korea). You will also receive a copy of this consent form.

Your signature acknowledges that you have read the information stated and willingly sign this consent form. Your signature also acknowledges that you have received, on the date signed, a copy of this document.

Signature of person agreeing to participate in the study

Date

Printed name of person agreeing to participate in the study

Name of person providing information to participant

Date

Signature of research staff, Colorado State University

INFORMED CONSENT: KOREAN VERSION

연구 참가 동의서

콜로라도 주립 대학교

연구 제목: 대한민국 사회복지사의 감정 노동과 소통

주요 조사자:

엘리자베스 A. 윌리엄스, 교수

커뮤니케이션 학과

콜로라도 주립대학교

연락처: elizabeth.a.williams@colostate.edu

제 2 조사자:

김민경, 석사 과정

커뮤니케이션 학과

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연락처: 1-970-237-0567(미국)/ 010-4012-6914(한국)/ min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu

연구 참여자에게 드리는 말씀,

안녕하세요. 제 이름은 엘리자베스 윌리엄스이며 저는 콜로라도 주립 대학교의 커뮤니케이션 학과 부교수입니다. 저와 제 지도 학생은 대한민국의 사회복지사들이 경험하는 감정노동에 대해, 그리고 그 감정을 어떻게 소통하는지에 대한 연구를 진행하고 있습니다. 우리의 연구 제목은 “내 감정에 대해 이야기 할게요: 대한민국 사회복지사의 감정 노동 및 그 소통에 대한 분석”입니다. 저는 이 연구의 주요 조사자이며 제 지도학생인 김민경 학생은 제 2 조사자로 연구에 임하고 있습니다.

저희는 귀하께서 이 연구의 일환인 인터뷰에 참여하기를 바라며 이 인터뷰는 귀하의 감정노동에 대해 이야기를 나눌 예정입니다. 참여 시간은 대략 45분에서 1시간 정도이며 녹취가 될 예정입니다.

본 연구의 참여는 전적으로 귀하의 의사에 따를 예정이며 원하시지 않는다면 참여하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 만약 이 연구에 참여하게 되시더라도, 중간에 더 이상 진행을 원하지 않으시면 참가를 언제든지 중단 하실 수 있습니다.

연구 참여에 따른 이점과 불편함:

이 연구에 참여하며 참가자들이 나누는 사항들은 연구에 반영되어 향후 다른

사회복지사들의 업무의 질을 높일 가능성이 있습니다. 또한 귀하께서 느끼는 감정들을 나누며 혼자 감당해야 하는 것이 아니라는 것과 이에 대한 해결 방안을 찾을 수도 있습니다. 이 연구는 당신의 감정을 나누고 표현하며 같은 업종에 종사하고 있는 분들에게도 도움이 될 수 있습니다.

연구에 참여하며 따르는 물질적인 보상은 없습니다. 또한, 이 연구는 어떠한 의무나 금전적 요구를 하지 않습니다. 이에 본 연구의 참여는 전적으로 귀하의 의사에 따라 결정하시면 됩니다.

연구에 참여함으로써 따르는 불편함은 매일 경험하는 일들과 별반 다를 바가 없습니다. 하지만, 연구 기간 동안 당신의 조직에서의 경험들을 상기하며 슬픔, 스트레스 혹은 짜증을 경험할 수 도 있습니다. 만약에 이런 경우를 경험할 때를 대비해 아래 상담사에게 연결을 해 드릴 예정이며, 이를 통해 보다 전문적인 도움을 받을 수 있는 조치를 취해 놓았습니다.

김성진 박사, 한국 철학 상담 협회 회장

서울시 서대문구 연희 3동 73-4

전화번호: 010-6813-2232

이메일: sjkphil@hallym.ac.kr

사생활 보호 및 비밀 유지:

본 연구의 연구원들은 참가자의 실명을 그 어떤 서류 혹은 기록에도 남기지 않을 예정입니다. 귀하의 실명은 절대 거론되지 않을 예정입니다. 우리는 각 참가자들에게 익명을 제공할 예정이며 모든 참가자들의 사생활 및 비밀 유지를 철저히 할 것을 맹세합니다. 또한 수집된 자료는 그 누구와도 공유되지 않을 예정입니다. 콜로라도 주립 대학교 및 연구 재단이 수집된 결과를 검토 하고 비밀 유지를 할 의무를 가지고 있으며 이는 법적으로 보호가 되고 있습니다.

본 인터뷰는 녹취가 될 예정이며 모든 자료는 인터뷰 후 분석을 위해 사용 될 예정입니다.

본 연구는 콜로라도 주립대학교의 연구 재단의 검토 및 승인을 받았습니다.

연구에 관해 추가적인 질문이 있다면 콜로라도 주립 대학교 연구 재단

RICRO_IRB@mail.colostate.edu 나 1-970-491-1553 으로 연락 부탁드립니다.

본 연구의 참여를 결정하기 전에, 더 궁금한 사항이 있으실 수고 있습니다. 그럴 때에 제 2 연구자인 김민경 학생에게 min-kyung.kim@colostate.edu, 1-970-237-0567 (미국) / 010-4012-6914 (한국) 으로 연락 부탁드립니다. 또한 이 연구 동의서의 사본이 귀하에게도 제공 될 예정입니다.

이 서류에 서명하시면, 동의안을 읽고, 동의한 것으로 승인됩니다. 또한, 이 동의안의 사본을 가지고 있다는 사실 또한 인정하게 됩니다.

참가자 서명

날짜

참가자 성명/ 인쇄체로 표기

정보 제공자 서명

날짜

연구 진행자 서명

APPENDIX D

Emotional Work Interview Protocol

English Version

<Part I: Emotional Work>

This section is to examine the social workers' experiences with emotional work.

1. Can you describe typical day of your work?
 - If you don't have a typical day, can you describe how most of your days look like?
 - Or can you describe yesterday at work?
2. How do you feel at the end of a typical workday?
 - What are some negative feelings(emotions) do you have?
 - What are some positive feelings(emotions) you experience?
3. How would you describe your feelings as you engage with your clients all day?
 - When have you felt empathetic toward your clients?
 - When have you felt you are the only person who can help them?
 - When have you felt protective toward them?
 - When have you cared how they are treated in the society?
4. What drew you to this profession and how much did you know about it?
 - If you were to choose your profession again, would you choose to be in the same profession?

<Part II: Communication of Emotional Work>

This section is to examine how the social workers communicate their emotional work.

1. Who do you interact with primarily in the organization?
2. Who do you turn to when you need help during stressful situations?
3. How do you manage the emotions you experience from work?

- Have you relied on your colleagues to manage your emotion? Please explain/Please provide an example.
 - Have you relied on your supervisors to manage your emotion? Please explain/Please provide an example.
 - Have you relied on your family or friends to manage your emotion? Please explain/Please provide an example.
4. What motivates you to go to work each day?
 5. What is the most meaningful part of your job?
 6. What do your friends or family members know about your job?

<Part III: Demographic Questions>

This section asks information on your personal affiliation with the organization.

This will be distributed at the end of the interview to be filled by each participant.

1. What is your sex?
 - a) Male
 - b) Female
 - c) Other
 - d) Prefer not to answer
2. What is your age group?
 - a) 20-30
 - b) 30-40
 - c) 40-55
 - d) Prefer not to answer
3. What is your marital status?
 - a) Married
 - b) Single
 - c) Other (Please specify:_____)
 - d) Prefer not to answer
4. Are there any other members in your household?
 - a) Yes (Please specify:_____)
 - b) No
 - c) Prefer not to answer
5. How long have you been employed by this organization? _____
6. How long have you been in the field of social welfare? _____
7. Which department do you work at?
8. What is your current position in the organization? _____

7. How many hours do you usually work per week?

a) Less than 40 hours

b) About 40 hours

c) More than 40 hours

8. How many co-workers do you have in your team? _____

Emotional Work Interview Protocol

Korean Version

<Part I: 감정노동 >

이 부분은 사회복지사 선생님들의 감정에 대한 부분을 질문하고 있습니다.

1. 전형적인 하루의 일상에 대해 말씀해주세요

- 만약 전형적인 일상이 아닌 매일 매일이 변화가 심하다면 대부분의 일상이 어떤지 말씀해 주실 수 있으니까?

- 혹은 어제의 하루는 어땠나요?

2. 일반적인 하루를 보낸 후 보통 어떤 감정을 느끼니까?

- 부정적인 감정들이 있다면 어떤 것 들 인가요?
- 긍정적인 감정이라면 어떤 것들이 있나요?

3. 하루 종일 클라이언트를 대하며 느끼는 감정들을 묘사해 주세요

- 클라이언트들에게 연민을 어떨 때 느끼니까?
- 클라이언트들을 도와줄 수 있는 사람이 나 밖에 없다고 느낄 때는 언제입니까?
- 클라이언트들을 보호해야 한다고 생각할때는 언제입니까?
- 클라이언트들이 사회에서 어떤 대접을 받는지에 대해 신경이 쓰일 때는

언제입니까?

4. 이 업종을 선택하게 된 배경을 이야기 해주세요. 사전에 본 업종에 대해

얼마나 많은 정보를 가지고 있었습니까?

- 만약 다시 업종을 선택할 기회가 있다면 같은 업종을 선택 하겠습니까?

<Part II: 감정노동의 소통 >

이 부분은 사회복지사들이 감정을 어떻게 소통하는지에 대해 묻는 부분입니다.

1. 현 조직에서 누구와 가장 많은 소통을 합니까?

2. 스트레스를 많이 받는 상황에서 누구에게 먼저 도움을 요청합니까?

3. 업무 중 받는 감정들은 어떻게 관리합니까?

- 감정노동 경험 시 직장 동료들에게 의존을 합니까? 예를 들면 어떻게

의존을 합니까?

- 감정노동 경험 시 상사에게 의존을 합니까? 예를 들면 어떻게 의존을

합니까?

- 감정노동 경험 시 가족들이나 친구들에게 의존을 합니까? 예를 들면

어떻게 의존을 합니까?

4. 매일 아침 출근을 하도록 동기를 부여하는 사항이 있습니까?

5. 현 직업에서 가장 의미있는 부분은 어떤 것 입니까?

6. 주변 친구나 가족들이 귀하의 직업에 대해 얼마나 알고 있으며 무엇을 어떻게 알고 있습니까?

<Part III: 기본정보>

이 부분은 귀하의 개인적인 정보를 기입하는 곳입니다.

1. 귀하의 성별은 무엇입니까?

a) 남 b) 여 c) 기타 d) 대답 불가

2. 귀하의 연령은 어떻게 됩니까?

a) 20-30 b) 30-40 c) 40-55 d) 대답 불가

3. 귀하의 결혼 여부는 어떻게 됩니까?

a) 기혼 b) 미혼 c) 기타 (자세히 기술하시오:_____)

d) 대답 불가

4. 현재 동거인이 있습니까?

a) 네 (자세히 기술하시오:_____)

b) 아니오

c) 대답불가

5. 현재 직장에서의 근무기간은 어떻게 됩니까? _____

6. 현재 업종에서의 총 경력은 얼마나 됩니까? _____

7. 현 근무 부서는 어디입니까? _____

8. 현 직책/ 직급은 무엇입니까? _____

7. 평균적인 주 근무시간은 어떻게 됩니까?

a) 40시간 미만

b) 대략 40 시간

c) 40시간 이상

8. 현 팀에 함께 근무하는 직장 동료는 몇 명입니까? _____

APPENDIX E

Communication Model of Emotional Work of Korean Social Workers

