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**THE EMOTIONS, EMOTIONAL LABOR, AND IDENTITIES OF
KOREAN TEACHERS OF ENGLISH**

by

EMILY PUCKETT
B.A. University of Central Florida, 2018

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the degree of Master of Arts
in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages- TESOL
in the Department of Modern Languages
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Major Professor: Gergana Vitanova

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ABSTRACT

Despite being an emotionally charged profession, there is a paucity of research on the roles of emotions and emotional labor in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (Khong & Saito, 2014; Kocabaş -Gedik & Hart, 2021; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Zembylas & Schutz, 2009). Furthermore, these concepts and their link to identity formation in nonnative English-speaking teachers (NNEST) have rarely been investigated in local contexts (Song, 2018; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). In order to help fill this gap in literature, this exploratory qualitative study was conducted in Korea with three NNESTs of English employed in private after-school academies. Semi-structured interviews elicited narratives from the participants. The findings suggested that institutional, systematic, and cultural power structures influenced the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of the participants. The emotions felt by participants were heavily instrumented by their institutions when they felt the need to conform to their institution's image of a teacher, when they were forced to engage in duties they believed were distanced from education, and when their professionalism was questioned. Emotional labor was found to be a necessary skill for participants as they had to suppress and conjure certain emotions both inside and outside the classroom. Their use of emotional labor was found to be critical to their job satisfaction as it assisted the participants in aligning themselves as professionals. Moreover, EFL teachers may merge or divide their professional and personal identities in reference to these power structures to protect, strengthen, or develop their identities. Further research is needed in local contexts, particularly those in private for-profit institutions in ultra-capitalist societies to examine the power structures involved and their influence on teacher emotions, emotional labor, and identity.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Problem	3
Statement of Purpose	7
Research Questions	8
Limitations of Study:	9
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	10
Teacher Emotions and Emotional Labor	10
Language Teacher Identity	19
The English Language Learning Context in Korea	26
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	30
Setting	30
Participants	30
Data Collection	32
Data Analysis	33
Reflexivity	35
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS	37
So Mi / Sofia	37
Na Rae / Lian	50
Su Hyun / Nina	64
Universal Patterns	77
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	87
Implications	91
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	94
Initial Interview	95
Follow-Up Interview:	96
APPENDIX B: HUMAN RESEARCH PERMISSION LETTER	98
REFERENCES	101

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CLT = Communicative Language Teaching

EFL = English as a Foreign Language

ESL = English as a Second Language

ESOL = English Speakers of Other Languages

NNEST = Nonnative English-Speaking Teachers

SLA = Second Language Acquisition

TESOL = Teaching English as a Second Language

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For novice Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) teachers, this field may sometimes feel like walking on a tightrope. Encumbered with the knowledge of language-learning methods, administrative restraints, and demands from students or the parents of students, novice teachers juggle many roles. While their teaching preparation programs have prepared them in teaching methods, strategies, and lesson development, the highly emotional aspect of their job has no textbook. Especially for teachers in private institutions or Nonnative English-Speaking Teachers (NNESTs), another layer of emotional turmoil is added when considering the expectations of the consumers and administrators of those private institutions. Teachers who are armed with the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach may find institutional and pedagogical constraints when implementing it, particularly in Asia (Butler, 2011; Nunan, 2003). Students unfamiliar with CLT may perceive it negatively and feel frustrated which again becomes the teacher's responsibility to familiarize the student and encourage positive feelings toward CLT, adding to the emotional aspect of their job. When a language teacher admits to not know a colloquial phrase or cultural quirk, they may face scrutiny from their students, administrators, and the parents of their students, such as the teacher presented in Kang's (2020) study. TESOL professionals play a variety of roles, such as motivators, entertainers, social workers, and care providers to name but a few mentioned in Farrell's (2011) study. These roles demand different identities which further breed certain emotions. Overall, there are a myriad of factors preservice or novice TESOL professionals are taught to consider. While pedagogy skills such as error correction, different approaches, and scaffolding, and the importance of cultural competence, L1 hindrance, and communicative competence, are drilled

into them, emotions are usually placed on the back burner. Negative emotions experienced by students such as demotivation, anxiety, and frustration are seen as teacher issues but with little explanation on how to deal with them. Teacher emotions have further been ignored.

Teachers entering the profession are often confronted with the realities of teaching that may not match their expectations. Individuals entering the teaching profession are motivated to make a change, and when they are unable to live up to their expectations or when their agency and identity formation are constricted, they often leave the profession (Trent, 2017). Britzman (1992), coming from a poststructural perspective, points out that the word 'teacher' itself exerts different meanings and different characteristics to different people. She argues that teacher identity is formed through the order of experience while their identity in learning to teach is usually fixed and positioned. Emotions experienced by teachers have the power to build their confidence in their pedagogy and become more understanding of their students, but they also have the power to cut away their confidence and mask their view of their student problems (Song, 2016). Acheson et al. (2016) investigated the burnout and emotional labor of five U.S. foreign language teachers and found that the use of emotional labor to promote motivation in students when unsustainable led to emotional exhaustion, which led to a severe lack of self-efficacy, which led to more emotional exhaustion. As a teacher descends into this downward spiral, they are more likely to experience job burnout and attrition.

Therefore, in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), preservice or novice teachers may end up in a battle against a riptide of emotions and expectations they were not prepared for. Unable to navigate the stormy waters of their emotions with the lack of discourse in this subject, they are left with little guidance. The amount of emotional labor they employ may

bring little rewards. When they cease to use emotional labor strategies, they may miss out on the emotional rewards entirely (Acheson et al., 2016; Kang, 2020). This can not only cause teachers to leave the profession, but it can have strong implications on learning, educational institutions, and quality of education (Schutz & Lee, 2014).

Statement of Problem

In her plenary speech published in 2013, Swain likened emotions in TESOL to “the elephant in the room” (p. 195) and “poorly studied, poorly understood, and seen as inferior to rational thought” (p. 205). She argued that the field had largely ignored the connections between emotions and cognition, citing the neglected topic of emotions in SLA. Teachers, as Nias (1996) reported, have highly emotional jobs. They are expected to be caring, and some feel morally obligated to instruct not only their subjects but instill morals and values into their students (Cowie, 2011; Loh & Liew, 2016). Teachers are unique in that they heavily invest in their professional identities (Nias 1996). Khong and Saito (2014) concluded that the majority of English as a second language (ESL) teacher issues were usually reviewed at the institutional level instead of the social or personal level. Teacher complaints and issues are usually about their workplace conditions, class sizes, or time constraints that reflect the institution. Personal or private issues such as emotions are rarely addressed. Khong and Saito (2014), alongside many others, have called for further research into English Speakers of other Languages (ESOL) teacher emotions (Liu & Xu, 2011; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Song, 2020) and ESOL teacher emotional labor (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Kocabaş -Gedik & Hart, 2021; Zembylas & Schutz, 2009; Zhang & Zhu, 2008) to name but a few. Song (2018) has stressed the importance of more

research on these concepts with NNESTs, and Zhang and Zhu (2008) encouraged more research on these concepts in different cultural settings.

I would argue that emotions are of paramount importance to preservice and novice teachers. Novice teachers are more susceptible to complex emotions due to their lack of experience managing emotional interactions in school contexts (Schutz & Lee, 2014). When teachers are not able to manage their emotions or accept the way they feel, they are distanced away from their view of a good teacher which may promote emotional exhaustion, burnout, and eventual departure from the profession (Acheson et al. 2016; Nichols et al. 2017). When teachers feel less effective, they are more likely to feel increased frustration and guilt (Lasky, 2005).

In addition, I would also argue that teaching is emotional labor. Emotion labor is a type of labor that requires changing one's feeling by subduing negative emotions and summoning positive emotions (Hochschild, 2012). Emotional labor consists of two main strategies: deep acting and surface acting. Deep acting involves trying to suppress or rile an emotion through mental effort. Surface acting involves changing one's posture or expression to produce the image of the desired emotion. The emotion one tries to produce relies on the feeling rules, which are defined as stance or script towards something as expected or established by a culture. Feeling rules have expanded from only the cultural realm into the labor market. While emotional labor can bring about positives in teaching (Benesch, 2018; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006), when faced with redundant emotional labor, teachers may become overwhelmed and decrease their use of it, which uproots the benefits that it provided in the first place (Acheson et al., 2016 & Kang, 2020). With the lack of emotional rewards, burnout and departure from the profession are more likely to occur in this "downward spiral" (Acheson et al., 2016, p. 531).

For NNESTs, who have been and continue to be marginalized compared to their native-speaking English teacher counterparts, the emotions they experience and the emotional labor they perform may not mirror that of English native-speaking teachers. Song (2018) notes the lack of research into NNEST emotions and comments that the negative emotions such as anxiety, shame, anger, and embarrassment are acquired in their contexts. In other words, NNESTs are taught by their colleagues, institutions, or students that should feel embarrassed or ashamed when they do not know something or that they should feel anxious speaking English in front of others.

Preservice, novice, and NNESTs are much more likely to be susceptible to this “downward spiral” mentioned by Acheson et al. (2016, p. 531). Participants in Miller and Gkonou’s (2018) study indicated that the longer they were a teacher, the more confident and happier they became, potentially due to their on-the-job-training of managing emotions and learning how to utilize emotional labor in order to reap the most emotional benefits. The implementation of emotional labor could be higher in NNESTs as they confront more anxiety and loss of face more often (Kang, 2020; Song, 2018; Yoon, 2012).

Emotions are an integral part of teacher work and teacher identity. Teachers routinely engage in emotional labor, and both understanding emotions and the use of emotional labor are potentially more difficult to preservice, novice, or NNESTs. Yet the emotions, emotional labor, and identity of novice NNESTs has had paltry attention. More researchers are gravitating towards investigating emotions primarily due to their link with cognition and agency. I would like to contribute to the rise of research in teacher emotions and emotional labor. Since most of the research on emotions and emotional labor has been in English Second Language (ESL)

settings, I have chosen an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context instead. EFL settings are unique in that culturally mitigated feeling rules and definitions of teachers vary. I have also decided to select NNESTs to add to the lack of research in that area. Instead of looking at the connections of emotions with agency and cognition, I have chosen to look at the link with identity as NNESTs identity has recently become an area of interest.

Recent research in teacher emotions, emotional labor, and identity have taken on a poststructuralist lens and promoted the use of poststructuralism in exploring these dynamic concepts (Kocabaş -Gedik & Hart, 2021; Liu & Xu, 2013; Norton Pierce, 1995; Zembylas, 2005). McNamara (2012) noted that poststructuralism carries themes of continuous critique, questioning of linguistic signs, and acknowledgement of the irrationality of society. Kramsch (2012) argues for poststructuralism in applied linguistics because it views the world as indefinable and does not attempt to fix or cure but aims for exploration. A poststructuralist approach in SLA is inherently explorational between the relationships and conditions different structural categories interact with. It does not call attention to progress, but it attempts to depict the delicate discourses in an indefinable world. It recognizes the influence of linguistic signs while understanding that they are not all encompassing. Most importantly, poststructuralism recognizes the unpredictable and irrational reality of our world. There is no perfect solution, and even if there was, it may not be utilized due to the many power structures acting as obstacles in the way. I have adopted a poststructural lens into this study to follow the preceding reasons.

My main research goal is to contribute to the discussion of emotions and emotional labor of ELL teachers to “talk about the elephant in the room,” as Swain would say (2013, p. 195). It is my guess that teachers are open -and maybe even eager- to talk about the emotions they feel. By

discussing the good, the bad, and the ugly emotions experienced in the classroom, preservice or novice ESOL teachers may be better prepared for the authentic classroom. Enriched with realistic expectations of emotions, emotional labor, and identity, teachers can be more secure in themselves. When teachers invest in themselves, their investment may be reflected in their teaching practice and their students. The topic of emotions was previously neglected and ignored in SLA. By adding to this uncharted discourse, I aimed to challenge the feeling rules of TESOL professionals and normalize the acknowledgement of emotions. By normalizing emotions, preservice, novice, and NNESTs may alter their expectations of a good teacher. Planting the correct ideals about the importance and legitimacy of emotions in teachers can facilitate the growth of their identity and subsequent their interactions with their students. This growth can spread to ELLs, which may further foster a positive educational atmosphere. Emotions could be viewed as a tool for teachers to flourish instead of an irrational obstacle to avoid.

Statement of Purpose

In spite of the emotionally charged aspect of teaching language, TESOL professionals' emotions have been evaded until recently. To add to the current rise of interest in teacher emotions and emotional labor in SLA, this current study intended to investigate the emotions and emotional labor felt by NNESTs in an EFL setting and how it affected the construction of their professional identities. Relevant literature was reviewed to display the relationships and construe the delicacy of identity construction with emotional conflict and use of emotional labor. The ultimate aim was to unveil the layers of emotion and emotional labor strategies applied by novice NNESTs to address an area in SLA that is underrepresented. By applying a poststructuralist approach, this qualitative study was thoroughly exploratory. Disparate levels of social, cultural,

and institutional power structures in this context was identified and examined. This study sought to recognize the roots of the emotions felt and the emotional labor conducted within these various power structures, and their influence on teacher identity were drawn. Teacher narratives provided routes to understanding the swarms of factors that bore specific emotions and invoked certain emotional labor strategies in NNESTs. These strategies and emotions sparked distinct investments in different identities or teaching roles, which shaped both pedagogy and continuance in the profession. Propagating both the benefits and hurdles that emotions and emotional labor had on novice NNESTs may prove to proffer an accurate portrayal of the job demands and expectations to consider. Furthermore, by mapping the effects emotions and emotional labor has on the relationship between teachers' professional and personal identities, I hoped to provide insight into the emotional elements of these relationships. By unearthing the authentic emotions and emotional labor NNESTs experienced and their interactions with identity construction, my endeavor was to further promote the centrality emotions have on EFL teachers. Contributing to SLA research on teacher emotions and emotional labor, I hoped to assist in the shift from its abeyance in the field to the heart.

Research Questions

The following questions guided this qualitative study:

1. What emotions do the participants in this study experience? Are there any apparent feeling rules or power structures that influence these emotions?
2. What emotional labor strategies (deep acting, surface acting, naturally felt emotions) do participants utilize at work?

3. What are the relationships between their emotions, emotional labor use, and their professional identity construction as English language teachers?

Limitations of Study:

The first major limitation of this study is the lack of triangulation. Evidence was collected solely from interviews, as observations were not readily available from the institutions the participants worked in and journals were avoided due to potential participant fallout. With observations and more longitudinal evidence, the findings of this study could have been more concrete and illuminating.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I reviewed and analyze the relevant literature in the three subsequent categories: teacher emotions and emotional labor, teacher identity, and the English language-learning context in Korea. It is important to note that while the first two sections are laid out separately, they are highly intertwined in reality. I have dedicated a section to investigating the unique setting of English language learning in Korea. Research on teacher emotions, emotional labor, and identity will be presented separably as well as in unison to explore the depth of each subject while illustrating their interconnectedness. The research is predominately from the fields of TESOL and SLA, but I have also chosen a few teacher-based studies from primary, secondary, and higher education of different subjects to both support the current research in SLA/TESOL while delineating the further emotional and identity aspects of SLA/TESOL.

Teacher Emotions and Emotional Labor

Emotions have been defined differently in several disciplines, schools of thought, and movements. Hochschild (1979) argued that emotions differed from thinking, perceiving, and imagining in that emotions are not intrinsically involved. Zembylas (2003) viewed emotions as socially and politically constructed as well as plagued by dichotomies. Emotionality is “an open-ended [process] rather than determine structures between agent and world (Zembylas, 2003, p. 448). In a 2005 study, Zembylas described emotions as neither private nor universal and governed by power relations. Emotions are fluid and complex, not merely biological consequences (Barcelos, 2015). Previous research in teacher emotions has resulted in borders drawn to isolate emotions as individual or purely affective, not linked to cognition or agency,

and focused on purely negative aspects of emotions. For this reason, I have decided to not give a direct definition of emotion, but instead display how the view of emotions in teaching has formed.

Nias (1996) commented on the lack of research in teacher emotions which highly conflicted with how deep emotions are embedded in the teaching profession. She made three important points on why emotions are intricately linked to teaching: the level of passion of teachers, the idea that emotions are inseparable from cognition, and that feelings are shaped by social and political factors. She argued that in researching emotions, teachers will better collectively understand and potentially change their emotions. Van Veen and Lasky (2005) echoed this by pointing out that most research on teachers' response to change was rooted in the cognitive, often ignoring "the layers of emotion that seem to be involved" (p. 895). Golombek (2015) added to this argument, stating that language teacher cognition must be remapped to include emotions. In her study reflecting on journals written in a teacher learning class for future ESL teachers, she found that when she felt the same as her teacher learners, she felt more successful in her mediation of those teacher learners who mirrored her experiences or emotions. When she did not feel the same as the student, she blamed the student instead of considering the different emotions and experiences they both may have brought to the table. She argued that by further studying how cognition and emotion are involved in the learning-to-teach process, we can foster the professional development of teacher learners. Schutz and Lee (2014) also noted that teachers, who usually take on the role of caregivers, are more prone to emotions when taking on this role. Teachers may feel sympathy or caring for students taking tests. In their review of previous studies conducted on teacher emotion, emotional labor, and teacher identity, they

emphasized the emotional aspect of teaching, the emotional labor required, and how language teaching carries a particular emotional weight. This confirmed Zembylas's (2003) statement that as teachers act as caregivers, they are susceptible to unique emotions while expecting to appear professional. Emotions were also found to influence teacher identity, student-teacher relationships, and professional development (Zembylas & Schutz, 2009). Adding to the factors mentioned by Nias (1996), Zembylas and Schutz (2009) highlighted the effect that cultural structures had on teacher emotions. Emotions may be learned in social contexts and culture, not naturally ingrained (Song, 2020). Benesch (2018) noted how emotions were "conceptualized as physically-manifested, but socially constructed" (p. 61). Barcelos (2015) emphasized the significance in power, norms, rules, and standards that construct emotions and that emotions developed within classroom interactions and school discourses were unique. Therefore, it can be surmised that emotions are a fundamental part of the teacher profession and that emotions are not only developed intrinsically but are molded by extrinsic social, political, and culture structures in local and global contexts.

Furthermore, early research on teacher emotions found how influential emotions were on teachers' professional identities. For example, in Lasky's (2005) study which focused on professional vulnerability, she found that vulnerability was "a multidimensional, multifaceted emotional experience that individuals can feel in an array of contexts" (p. 901). Vulnerability was not inherently negative and was found to be connected to risk-taking. Teachers that fostered open vulnerability and trust were more adaptable to new reforms. This was found to be translated in the EFL context by Song (2016) whose study of Korean teachers of English found that while some participants were found to be protective of their vulnerability, other teachers were able to

open their vulnerability which helped build their identities and relationships with their students. Nias (1996) argued that since teachers highly invest in their professional identities, their self-esteem and satisfaction rely heavily on the quality of their work and interaction. Some teachers were more likely to write off student problems and bad emotions as personal or the result of their home-life instead of reflecting on how classroom discourses could ignite bad emotions, potentially in order to secure their professional identities (Hargreaves, 2000).

In language teaching, emotions have been found to be “a valuable resource, rather than a source of incompetence” (Golombek & Doran, 2014, p. 110) in the professional development of teachers. They advocated for the importance of shifting the focus of the professional self from thinking to feeling and by doing so, could potentially foster novice teachers’ professional growth. Emotions, therefore, are a stimulant in the development of professional identity, whether it be positive or negative. While language teachers reported more positive emotions in their interactions with students, they also reported the majority of negative emotions were associated with their colleagues and institutions (Cowie, 2011; Song, 2020; Nias, 1996). When negative emotions derived from student interactions, they were found to be shorter and less intense than those from the institutions (Cowie, 2011). However, aligning certain emotions as inherently positive or negative is not so simple. As mentioned above, vulnerability can both demote and promote the development of professional identities. Emotions are also intertwined with cognition and agency that can provide a wide variety of consequences that can be perceived in different ways (Benesch, 2018; Golombek & Doran, 2014).

Emotions, while previously studied due to their so-called negative effects, are now being investigated in different lights. Wolff and De Costa (2017) reported that the emotions of a

NNEST were able to influence her identity construction at first negatively but later positively. The participant in their study, a NNEST teaching for the first time in the U.S., was found to experience negative emotions at the beginning of the study. Interestingly, these negative emotions stemmed from expectations from her home country, furthering Song's (2018) claim that negative emotions are socially constructed for NNESTs. As the teacher was uplifted by her colleagues and was able to navigate teaching roles as a helper and friend, the positive emotions she experienced served as a building block for confronting challenges and building her identity (Wolff & De Costa, 2017). The researchers pleaded for a new perspective of NNESTs emotions and identity growth. While previous studies focused on how to reduce the negative emotions, the researchers encourage future research to investigate positive emotions. Furthermore, negative emotions may influence reflection, which may later produce actions that are perceived more positively. Emotions are not permanent fixtures. The point here is that emotion cannot be viewed in a one-dimensional perspective; it cannot be separated into binary categories. Instead, emotions should be freely explored in different discourses.

The naturally felt emotions teachers feel are not the only emotions they have. Teachers routinely have to suppress or force certain emotions through the workday, engaging in what is called emotional labor. Emotional labor, originally coined by Hochschild (2012), is:

Labor [that] requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others... This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feel, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and internal to our individuality (p. 35).

In other words, one engages in emotional labor when they manage their emotions to meet the work expectations of what emotions should be displayed. Hochschild (2012), for example, investigated the emotional labor of flight attendants who were advertised to always smile and make the passengers feel at home, safe, and respected. They were expected to do this at all times, no matter the sexist, racial, or disrespectful comments thrown their way by unruly passengers. Flight attendants were able to do this by employing one of two strategies: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting is changing one's expression or posture to display a certain emotion. It is purely physiological. A server smiling to a rude customer is surface acting. Deep acting, on the other hand, involves trying to actually feel the emotion one should display by making mental effort to feel a certain way. A server imagining a rude customer had a bad day and got fired from his job in order to convince himself or herself to be nice to the customer is deep acting. Naturally felt emotions were the rarest when interacting with unruly passengers in their line of work, but it was also found to be liberating.

Both deep acting and surface acting are usually in response to feeling rules, the rules that guide how one should feel and are culturally constructed (Hochschild, 2012). An example of a feeling rule would be that on the last day of class, a teacher should feel sad to see her class leave. It would be unacceptable, socially, for a teacher to be happy or joyful for this occasion, or to be angry at the students for leaving. In the past, feeling rules were managed in private from person-to-person or in specific cultures. However, with the rise of capitalism, industries have capitalized on selling emotions, creating feeling rules, and the universalization of expected social exchanges. In return, those who do emotional labor as a living are more likely to experience identity

confusion. In particular, those who do emotional labor may feel they are phony or unable to draw their individual identity away from their professional identity.

The teacher profession can be included as an occupation that engages with a high level of emotional labor. Hochschild (2012) found that emotional labor jobs were mainly occupied by a majority of women, highly interactional, and compromised of emotion work. Emotion work, similar to emotional labor, is the changing or regulating of emotions in a situation. The difference is that emotional labor is sold and profited when successful, but emotion work is more about the act of changing the emotion, not the compensation or success (Hochschild, 1979). Researchers investigating emotional labor in TESOL have delineated the emotional labor present in the profession. Zembylas (2005) used a poststructuralist approach on his ethnographic study of a teacher. He concluded that emotional rules were dependent on the history of the teacher and that identity is constructed in relation to the emotional rules found in that setting. He advocated for a poststructural approach to trace feeling rules back to their roots. Song (2016) highlighted the need for “language teacher education to recognize that language teaching requires constant emotional labor” (p. 650). Zembylas (2007) warned us that by comparing teachers’ emotions to economic theory in educational research, there is a risk of more boundaries been drawn on the acceptable and unacceptable. In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the emotion work and emotional labor of teachers.

The success and emotional consequences of the different strategies of emotional labor have been studied in a variety of education contexts. Näring et al. (2012) found that grade schoolteachers indicated that emotional demands and emotional labor were significantly related to emotional exhaustion. Deep acting played an important role in teaching, and it was found to be

particularly taxing. In a mass survey of grade schoolteachers in China, only naturally felt emotions were found to significantly influence teaching satisfaction (Yin et al, 2013). Lee and Vlack (2018) reported that participants felt more positive emotions after engaging in deep acting rather than surface acting. English instructors in Chinese high education were found to enact in deep acting the most and surface acting the least (Zhang & Zhu, 2008). The use of surface acting was a clear influencer on teacher burnout and satisfaction.

Emotional labor in TESOL is not unconditionally negative (Benesch, 2018; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Miller & Gnokou, 2018; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). In a study of significance, Benesch (2018) revealed that emotional labor can influence change on the individual level and with proper organization, influence can change on the institutional one. In her study of the role of emotion in language teachers' decision making, teachers were less likely to report plagiarism to their university to avoid draconian measures against their students. Instead, they engaged in emotional labor when not sure what to do or when conflicted between professional expertise and empathy. This emotional labor was a sign that change was needed at the institution. Furthermore, Miller and Gnokou (2018) found that language teachers invested in emotional labor for the return of emotional rewards. By managing their emotions to cater to the 'teaching-as-caring' role, they were able to reap more emotional rewards given the amount of emotional labor involved. In an action research case study by Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006), teaching-as-caring improved the teacher's self-esteem and job satisfaction. The authors argue that emotional labor is connected to the most rewarding parts of teaching, so it cannot be viewed only in a negative light. Zembylas (2007) commented on how emotional capital can be used to transform emotional resources into

social and cultural ones, citing strengthening relationships in the classroom and feelings of empowerment in the school community.

However, there may be negative consequences of emotional labor to English language teachers. Despite the positives depicted in Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006), emotional labor was found to affect the teacher negatively when suppressing her emotions around colleagues or students she could not help. Teachers of English in Singapore described a higher burden of emotional labor due to the disparity between their personal beliefs and expectations of parents and the schools (Loh & Liew, 2016). They also indicated having to employ more emotional labor than other subject teachers while grading because they had to manage their emotions when grading written responses. Kang (2020) explored a Korean teacher of English at an elementary school in Korea and found that the more the teacher had to engage with emotional labor, particular in hiding her emotions during times of loss of face, the more she considered quitting teaching.

In this section, I have aimed to paint the intricacy of emotions and emotional labor in teaching. Emotions and emotional labor are seen as catalyst for burnout and emotion exhaustion, but they also provide emotional rewards, professional development, and agency. Emotions are fused with cognition, agency, and identity, and the amount of emotional labor employed by teachers can build or conflict with emerging identities. In the next section, I will explore the concept of identity, teacher identity, and how identity interacts with emotions and emotional labor.

Language Teacher Identity

Like emotions, identity is not so easily defined. Sarup (1996) believed that identity was a “convenient ‘tool’ through which to try and understand many aspects- personal, philosophical, political- of our lives” (p. 28). Unlike roles, which involves functions, identities involve investments or commitments (Britzman, 1992). Learning to teach and becoming a teacher are not the same. Norton (1997) viewed identity in terms of how people perceived their relationship with the world, how that relationship had been constructed in time and space, and how the possibilities of the future were understood. Literature in language and identity has “rejected simplistic notions of identity” (p. 419). She viewed identity as constructed by language, dynamic with transitions, and molded by relations of power. Norton Pierce (1995) adopted a poststructural approach in her 1995 study on social identity, investment, and language learning to portray identity as multiple, in conflict, and susceptible to change over time. She also emphasized that relations of power play a rather influential role. In terms of the language learning classroom, Varghese et al. (2005) emphasized themes of language teacher identity, including that identity was “multiple, shifting, and in conflict,” “crucially related to social, cultural, and political context,” and “being constructed, maintained and negotiated primarily through discourse” (p. 35). The authors also found the concepts of marginalization, positioning of NNESTs, status of the profession, and the relationships between teachers and students to be of interest. Political and social contexts play a profound role in molding teaching identity (Lasky, 2005). What is important to note is that when teacher identities are not allowed to be freely explored, and agency is restrained, novice teachers may isolate themselves and eventually quit as seen in Trent’s (2017) study of Hong Kong ex-teachers. Pennington and Richards (2016) referred to

identity as based on values and beliefs. They reported that when faced with conditions that detach their goals and ideals from the classroom, teachers may lose motivation as their identity drifts away from their values. When values and beliefs about language learning conflict with others' expectations, a higher burden is placed on teachers to either conform to the standards and betray their beliefs or to isolate themselves (Trent, 2017). When teacher identities match their ideal identity, they are more likely to engage socially or invest in their professional selves (Liu & Xu, 2011).

In the ESL context, learning to teach and identity formation were discovered to be inseparable (Yazan, 2017). The participants in Kayi-Aydar's (2015) study positioned themselves around others, particularly their mentors and ELLs, to construct the identity they wanted. Certain identities may be instructed to protect the ideal identities of respective teachers, such as the teacher in Reeve's (2009) study who positioned ELLs as the same as native speaking students in order to deflect from the fact that he lacked the training and resources to teach them accordingly. Identity was revealed to evolve over time and in national, regional, and school culture, reaffirming that identity is formed by those around us (Pennington & Richards, 2016). Recognizing how teachers create their identities with students and in teacher education programs can help us understand teacher identities (Varghese et al., 2005). Research shows that classroom experiences not only shape identity, but newfound identities also shape teaching practice (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). Novice teachers in this study originally had a hard time accepting and identifying themselves as teachers. They felt as though they were playing a role. The researchers indicated that identifying as a teacher was not instantaneous but took place over time. Teaching

identities are formed through experiences in the local classrooms, wider institutions, and teaching programs. These identities influence teaching practice in return.

One study of significance in ESL teacher identity is Farrell's (2011) exploration in the different roles of ESL teachers and how these roles contribute to identity construction. The investigator unearthed 16 different role identities of ESL teachers, including three categories of teacher as manager, teacher as acculturator, and teacher as professional. Teacher as manager roles included roles that centered around control such as vendors selling English, entertainers telling jokes and stories, and motivators. Teacher as acculturator roles helped students adjust to life outside the classroom by socializing, offering advice and support, and playing the role of a care provider. The teacher as professional role invoked dedication towards work and knowledge toward teaching and subject material. I chose to highlight this study because of the role of the teacher as acculturator as it is unique to language learning and potentially linked to identity and emotions. Furthermore, the adoptions of these roles may fluctuate between teachers due to their past experiences with stronger investment in some roles than others (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Kocabaş -Gedik & Hart, 2021)

A prominent theme in teacher identity research is in regard to reform and institutional expectations (Hargreaves, 2005; Kelchtermans, 2005; Lasky, 2005). For EFL teachers, the adoption of CLT has specifically affected their teacher identities. Tsui's (2007) study followed a Chinese teacher of English that climbed his way up from being a perceived outsider of his university to being the director of the CLT program at his school. While his professional growth benefited him in some ways, he found himself at odds with his identity as he associated the liberal CLT program with that of his university which originally contributed to his alienation.

The researcher argued that access to practice was not enough for identity construction. Another study of a teacher of English in China found that when involved in the liberal reform group for English teaching, the participant was confronted with a loss of identity (Liu & Xu, 2011). After questioning the new reform and advocating for more traditional approaches, she was excluded from the group. Once released from the group pursuing the liberal ideology, the participant was able to explore the method alone and better adapt it to her style. In another study of an English teacher in China, Liu and Xu (2013) depicted how the teacher being forced to adopt a similar liberal reform also resulted in identity loss and eventual retraction from professional opportunities. As for institutional constraints, novice ESOL teachers in China were found to largely abandon their imagined identities when challenged with the reality of teaching (Xu, 2012).

A theme in NEST/NNEST identity is that of the marginalization and boundaries that limit identity construction. Being professional working women, not looking or talking like the ideal native speaker, and subjected to different work due to native/non-native speaker status were some of the factors that were shown to influence identity in EFL teachers in Japan (Simon-Maeda, 2004). Non-white ESL teachers were not recognized as native speakers by students in Amin's (1997) study. If they were non-native speakers, the students would invest in them less, disturbing the construction of the professional identity of a NNEST which then affected their pedagogy. Similarly, Lee and Kim's (2021) study found that excellent Korean English-speaking teachers indicated race as a qualification of a native speaker in Korea. The participant in Gloria Park's (2009) study, despite living in three different countries and speaking multiple languages, also perceived race as a characteristic of English speaking. The investigator in this study noted

that this contributed to even more marginalization as it reinforces ELLs view of race and language ability and hampered linguistic identities. Expectations of NNEST speaking ability and knowledge of idiomatic language, specifically that in their home country, can also contribute to identity struggle of NNEST (Kang, 2020; Song, 2016; Wolff & De Costa, 2017). A study of English student teachers in Korea concluded that English proficiency was the main hindrance in their insecurity or doubts in becoming English teachers (Lim, 2011). Fluent or near-fluent teachers in Korea who had spent sufficient time abroad in their youth rejected identifying themselves as native speakers despite their ability and years abroad as a child (Lee & Kim, 2021). Creese et al. (2014) found that native speakers were not always perceived as superior and that local contexts construct what is important of a language teacher in the classroom. Park (2012) argues that by offering the option to claim multiple linguistic identities, not just non-native, which can be viewed as the other to native, the field of TESOL can be more inclusive and help foster the construction of multilingual identities. This is mirrored by Pavlenko's (2003) study in how classroom discourses can foster or hinder the formation of teaching identities. As Reeves (2009) mentioned, teachers hold more power over their students in positioning their identity. When NNESTs were able to shift their self-view from NNEST to multilingual or bilingual, they pass on these views to their students, fructifying a multidimensional view of ELLs (Pavlenko, 2003).

Now that the relevant literature of teacher emotions and identity have been laid out, I would like to describe the links between the two. Before I do, I would like to note that almost every study I read for this literature review contained some link between emotions and identity, whether explicitly stated or not. For example, in the previous mentioned studies of Chinese

English teachers' conflicting identities with the implementation of CLT, emotions were not explicitly mentioned but implied to coincide with identity construction. Ostracization was mentioned in Tsui (2007) and Liu and Xu (2011). Being ostracized from a group could have led to negative emotions toward the group, pedagogy, or institution which could lead the language teachers to cease their professional identity development. Similar in Liu and Xu (2013), the lack of recognition fostered negative emotions that also caused the participant to stop investing in her professional development. As Cowie (2011) discovered, isolated relationships with colleagues were viewed negatively. For NNESTs, anxiety (Song, 2018; Song, 2020; Yoon, 2012) and vulnerability (Song, 2016) may be experienced when having to speak English in front of the class or answer questions about colloquial English, potentially causing them to question their professional identity. NNESTs in Korea were found to have high levels of anxiety about their English-speaking ability when their students did not understand them and when they made English errors (Yoon, 2012). Anxiety is also not constructed naturally in this context, but anxiety is learned by NNESTs in prominent social, cultural, and political structures (Song, 2018). In addition, the use of emotion as capital might be more limited in NNEST as they are already marginalized. This further disturbs the construction of NNEST identities as it strengthens the marginalization in different contexts. ESL instructors may position themselves comfortably as to not have to deal with the emotional fallout of their inability (Reeves, 2009). In EFL settings, language teachers may invest in certain roles, such as the ones mentioned by Farrell (2011), that evoke positive emotions or align with their beliefs, such as the participants in Simon-Maeda (2004) or Duff and Uchida (1997). This is not to criticize the previous researchers on not focusing more on emotion, but to illustrate how omnipresent emotions are in teaching and the

effects when tied to identity are potentially limitless. Therefore, I will now review specific research that has focused on the entanglement of identity and emotions.

Several scholars have commented on the link between emotions and identity, suggesting that they are inextricably linked (Barcelos, 2015; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Zembylas & Schutz, 2009). The emotions felt while teaching steer changing identities (Schutz & Lee, 2014). Since teachers invest strongly in their professional identities, so strongly in fact they sometimes merge their personal and professional identities, teachers feel “particularly profoundly about their work because they invest heavily in it” (Nias, 1996, p. 297). Positive emotions are tied with the alignment of the expectations of teacher, and as a result, strengthen teacher identity while negative emotions do the opposite (Nichols, et al. 2017). Kocabaş -Gedik & Hart (2021) argued that navigating emotions was an internal part of language teacher identity since it affects teacher investment and participation in certain communities. Barcelos (2015) further commented on the relationship between identities and emotion by stating that “we are shaped by the emotions we feel (fear, desire, joy, love), and these in turn shape the kinds of identities we construct of ourselves” (p. 312). The emotions that teachers feel about themselves and their students reflect their identity development. When teachers view themselves as their imagined identity of teacher, they are more likely to feel positive emotions, which then may further promote their professional identity development.

However, when language teachers are forced to engage in emotional labor, they may face a loss of identity as they picture themselves as phony (Hochschild, 2012). Those who do emotional labor for a living may view their real-self as “an inner jewel that remains [their] unique possession no matter whose billboard is on our back or whose smile is on our face” (p.

75). As an individual becomes protective over their real-self, they begin hide this real-self more inside of them. Tracy and Trethewey (2005) argued for a poststructural view on identity as the creation of dichotomic identities, such as the fake-self versus real-self, allowed institutions to capitalize on the idea. By doing so, they are able to create their ideal identity of an employee and promote the use of the fake-self to ‘get the job done.’ The authors argue that these dichotomies are hurtful to our identities as by acting fake for a job is still part of our identity construction. Moreover, by not matching their identity of an ideal worker, they are persuading us to blame ourselves. Additionally, emotional rules may manipulate identity construction. Certain identity roles such as teacher as a motivator may be more susceptible to burnout when met with a lack of rewards (Acheson et al., 2016). Yet, emotional rewards may not be available without the identity role of a caring teacher and emotional labor (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Research of the connection of emotional labor and teacher identity is scant despite the notion that teaching language is emotional labor and that emotions are inseparable from identity.

The English Language Learning Context in Korea

As emotional labor is a symptom of capitalism, I believe it is pertinent to describe the economical, societal, and cultural effects English education has had on Korea. In a 2003 study on the impact of English education in the Asia-pacific region, large financial investments in English education were reported in Korea (Nunan). It was reported that Korean families spend one-third of their income on education in English, art, and music. Korea spent almost three times more on English education than Japan despite having lower TOEFL scores (J. Park, 2009). Other findings included: parents sending their children to foreign countries (particularly in the inner circle) to learn English, linguistic surgery to improve accent, local governments opening English-only

towns, and fallacies in native speaker teaching and first language hindrance in second language learning. Lee (2021) observed that for parents in Korea, English is not only purely academic but solidified belonging in the middle class. Race and English-speaking ability are seen as inseparable in a multitude of studies in Korea (Cho, 2012; Lee & Kim, 2021; G. Park, 2009). Students in Korea are usually sent to hagwons, private after-school academies, for continuous learning and preparation for exams after school. While the government has changed towards a communicative approach, lack of proficiency in English and the methodological skills to instruct in CLT has resulted in little real transition towards it (Nunan, 2003).

In one study, Lim (2011) used a mixed-methods approach to investigate professional identity formatting in preservice and novice Korean EFL teachers. The participants in this study expressed that a good English teacher was caring and passionate about their students and teaching, possessed the knowledge and skills to engage students, and gave continued effort to increase their English proficiency and integrate teacher approaches. This exhibits the teaching-as-caring role and the emotions that go with it are commonplace for Korean teachers of English.

As English education is heavily invested in, whether financially or by other means, it can be theorized that the emotional labor of English teachers in Korea is potentially higher than other EFL settings. As race seems to be falsely tied to English ability, Korean teachers of English may experience more marginalization and questioning of their professional identity. In one study of particular relevance, Song (2016) interviewed English teachers at public schools about their emotions when confronted with returnee students who had previously spent time abroad in foreign countries. She found that the majority of teachers tried to hide their self-doubt and anxiety around the returnee students with better speaking abilities. When these returnee students

did not participate in class, participants perceived it as having a bad attitude or were being disrespectful. When regular students did not participate, participants perceived this as they were nervous or did not understand. The teachers in this study had to constantly engage with emotional labor to maintain their status as the expert. It also seemed that the teachers projected their own emotions onto the regular students as they perceived their lack of participation a result of nervousness or a lack of understanding. Returnee students, on the other hand, were perceived negatively as the teacher distanced them from themselves again projecting their negative emotions from loss of face or insecurity by positioning the returnee students as having bad attitudes. In another study by Kang (2020), an elementary EFL teacher was also observed to constantly employ emotional labor with parental interaction and loss of face. However, when she stopped employing emotional labor as much and started expressing her anger in the classroom, she seemed even more depressed and considered leaving the teaching profession. It was not until she illustrated her feelings to her students and invited them to acknowledge her feelings that she realized she did not always have to use emotional labor. This balance helped improve the classroom atmosphere, and it persuaded her to reconsider leaving the profession. Lee and Vlack's (2018) study on 127 English teachers in Korea investigated the use of emotional labor strategies and the emotions that derived from them. They found that deep acting was related to experiencing positive emotions, which in turn was positively related to classroom management self-efficacy. Surface acting was related to negative emotions, which then related negatively to classroom management self-efficacy. These findings suggest that teachers who engage in deep acting have more self-efficacy in classroom management and experience more positive emotions.

These studies depict the vast amount of emotional labor that teachers of English in Korea partake in. Considering that hagwons are private academies, which may apply their own feeling rules and expectations of emotional labor to collect more profit, it can be speculated that the emotions and emotional labor may differ from public schools in intensity and manner. Hagwons are private for-profit educational institutions that prioritize profit (Beach, 2011). It is this reasoning on why I have selected hagwon Korean NNESTs as participants to explore the emotional labor in such a setting that involves a heavy capitalist strain. Korean parents spend an extraordinary amount of money on their children's English education to provide them a better future but also to cement their class status, such as one of the participants in Lee's (2021) study who reported spending more than three-quarters of their income on their children's education. Korean NNESTs questioned about their English ability due to their race, L1, and status may be forced to employ more emotional labor to prevent loss of face and vulnerability as the ideal teacher in Korea is positioned as masters of their field (Kang, 2020; Song, 2016). The exam-driven culture may also demand more emotional labor than teachers can afford, similarly seen in Loh and Liew's study (2016). Moreover, the profit-driven nature of these hagwons may pose certain pressures related to customer satisfaction that are irrelevant in other educational institutions.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Setting

The interviews conducted for this study were completed in South Korea. The participants were selected through convenience sampling and interviewed individually. Each of the participants was either a previous colleague or acquaintance of the researcher. The participants were sent a message on the popular Korean messaging app Kakaotalk along with a consent form to inform them of the study. The researcher and each participant selected the place of the interview together with the majority of the interviews conducted in cafes near the participants' homes.

The interviews were conducted in English although the participants were encouraged to express themselves in Korean when they felt it better relayed the message they wanted to articulate. The interviews consisted of two rounds, which were roughly two weeks apart. The first interviews were approximately one and a half hour long. The second interviews, which asked questions written after the first round of interviews, lasted approximately one hour. A few follow-up questions were sent via messaging application to participants during the coding process to ensure understanding by member checking. The questions which guided the interviews are listed in Appendix A.

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of three female Korean EFL teachers currently working at hagwons (privately-owned after-school academies) in Korea. All of the participants were novice teachers, and none of them were in positions of power. They all reported having

both instructional and administrative duties, such as calling parents to report progress. The participants are identified by pseudonyms, one in Korean and one in English. Their English names, which are the name used at their workplace, represents their teaching identity while their Korean name represents their personal identity. Details regarding the three participants are below.

So Mi / Sofia

So Mi was 31 years old at the time of the study. She has about six years of teaching English experience, which varies from kindergarteners to elementary school students to adults. While she has six years of experience, some of her positions consisted of more admin work than teaching, so she still considers herself a novice teacher. She also recently completed a graduate school level certificate in TESOL. Her undergraduate degree was in Spanish. Her current job is at a small elementary school hagwon where she teaches almost 100% in English. She spent part of her high school years in the United States, giving her a native-like American accent, which she said made some students think she is American. She has mainly worked in an affluent suburb of Seoul. She was raised in the same city as her workplace. Her current hagwon is in an upper-middle class neighborhood.

Na Rae / Lian

Na Rae was the newest teacher out of the participants with a little over a year of teaching experience. She was 27 years old at the time of the study, and she had recently completed her TESOL certificate at a university. Her undergraduate degree was in journalism, and she had also received a certificate to be a tour guide before becoming a teacher. She has worked at two hagwons. The first one was a small English Kindergarten that required her to speak and teach 100% in English and for her to take care of her students by feeding them lunch and snacks. This job was in a highly affluent suburb of Seoul where she also grew up. This hagwon was a small

individually owned business. Her current hagwon is a franchise and is located in an affluent neighborhood in Seoul. She teaches elementary school students and middle school students in a mixture of English and Korean. In both Na Rae and Su Hyun's cases, they use more Korean in middle school grammar classes and primarily English with the younger elementary school students. Na Rae also has volunteer experience teaching English at her church for small children for several years.

Su Hyun / Nina

At the time of the study, Su Hyun was 25 years old. She has been teaching English full-time for two years, and before that, she had experience teaching English as a part-timer while completing her college degree. Before she started teaching full-time, she applied for English-related non-teaching jobs, but ultimately, she became a teacher. She has an undergraduate degree in English Literature. She went to university in Seoul, but she returned to her hometown, a medium-sized city, to work. She has been at two different hagwons, with both being franchise hagwons. She taught some elementary school students and some middle school students at both hagwons. The first hagwon was smaller. Her current hagwon is the largest hagwon in her town. Being one of the newest teachers, she described herself as being at the bottom of the Korean staff but has earned their trust and proven herself. She also indicated being closest to the native English-speaking teachers at her hagwon.

Data Collection

A qualitative approach has been selected as it aligns with the exploratory nature of this study. An insider perspective is needed to understand the feeling rules, power structures, participants' emotions, and various other variables in this study (Dörnyei, 2007). A poststructural

lens was applied to this study as to analyze the structures of power and feeling rules, and their effects on identity formation (Britzman, 1992; Norton Pierce, 1995; Tracy & Trethewey, 2005; Zembylas, 2003; Zembylas 2005). Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gather teacher narratives and in order to provide the participants the opportunity to go in depth while still using guiding questions to elicit specific stories involving emotions, emotional labor, and identity. Content questions and probes were created before the interviews. During the interviews, I was an active interviewer who utilized creative interviewing to encourage the participants to open up about their experiences and emotions without fear of judgement or loss of face (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). I designed this interview process that allowed “mutual disclosure” (p. 199) by self-analyzing my own emotions, emotional labor, and identity formation before the interviews. This self-analysis prepared me to share my own “secret-lived stories” (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996, p. 25). Clandinin and Connelly displayed teachers’ use of cover stories to position themselves as experts that fit into the role of a teacher. I wanted to be able to identify these cover stories and provide a safe space for participants to share their secret stories, so by employing a creative interviewing process, I was able to share my own emotions inside of my secret stories to encourage the participants to do the same. Furthermore, “In telling stories, participants are performing themselves; they are doing their identities” (Barkhuizen, 2011, p. 399).

Data Analysis

In order to analyze these secret stories, the interview questions were designed to elicit narratives. Narrative research in SLA is rather new and not strictly defined (Barkhuizen, 2011). Narrative knowledging, which encompasses the meaning making, learning, and knowledge gained through narrative research, is a cognitive and social process. Meaning making is an active

and fluid process. Researchers are active participants, involved in the (co)construction of the narratives. Narratives have been used previously in social science research to examine representations of the self, to empower participants to steer the direction of themes, and to view the process and change of a phenomenon (Elliott, 2020). Narratives are more than a means to report information; they can also provide spaces for transformation and agency for the participants (Vitanova, 2016). Narratives start on the personal level but can provide insights on social and cultural discourses. I used an analysis of narrative process to code and organize themes. I then looked for patterns or relationships between the themes. Codes were taken from focusing on the form of narratives and the different narrative contexts (Watson & Mcluckie, 2020). Coding was conducted inductively to ensure all emotions were captured and not only specific predetermined ones (Saldana, 2021). I used emotion coding to identify the explicit and implicit emotions of the participants. I also used emotion coding to code the major narratives I extracted from the transcripts. I applied versus coding to identify themes with identity, positioning, beliefs, and power structures. After the initial coding process, I coded again to further connect evidence between the participants.

The narratives shared by participants revolved around interactions with their students, their administrators, and the parents of their students. Narratives about their interactions with their students took place mainly in the classroom during lessons, although some took place after or before classes. Narratives regarding their administrators were connected with student, parent, or coworker incidents that required mitigation. Narratives involving parents were most commonly interactions through routine phone calls to update parents on student progress. These phone calls are presented as procedural tasks that hagwon teachers must perform for their job.

Some parent narratives were retellings, such as complaints made to the participants' bosses that were later shared with them.

Reflexivity

Holmes (2010) defined reflexivity as “an emotional, embodied and cognitive process in which social actors have feelings about and try to understand and alter their lives in relation to their social and natural environment and to others” (p. 140). Interviewing is an emotional procedure for both the interviewer and interviewee. When researchers exercise reflexivity, they may gain a deeper understanding as they empathize with their interviewees (Fitzpatrick & Olson, 2015). Furthermore, reflexivity can help “bridge the power differentials that may exist when carrying out teacher identity research” (Wolff & De Costa, 2017, p. 87). While interviewing, I shared my own experiences and emotions with my interviewees. As a novice in TESOL, the prevalence of emotions in my daily work was unexpected. While a lot of the emotions I experienced when teaching were positive, I found myself starting to feel detached from identifying myself as a teacher when I experienced negative emotions. For the longest time, I felt guilty about my negative feelings toward some students. I found myself faking interest, smiles, or understanding. This is not to say I do not have any positive emotions during teaching, but the emotional rewards of teaching are more prominent in the discourse of this field. It is the negative emotions that I felt guilty about, and by forcing a fake smile or enthusiasm, I felt even more guilty because I was portraying myself as fake. I felt this because I viewed being emotional as a weakness for teachers. As Barcelos (2015) pointed out, by being isolated away from cognition, they were viewed as an outlier of little importance. Similarly, as mentioned by Swain (2013), emotions are seen primarily in the negative as they are perceived as the antithesis to cognition.

Emotions are perceived as unpredictable, irrational, and unprofessional. As a novice teacher striving to do my best, I wanted to avoid being unpredictable, irrational, and unprofessional. Instead of facing my emotions head-on, I buried them underneath to project the identity I wanted as a teacher.

This study did not only provide me with a deeper insight into my participants, but also into myself and my own identity. I also strongly believe that it encouraged my participants to also exercise reflexivity as my questions guided them to reflect on their emotions, what caused these emotions, and their identities. Therefore, reflexivity benefited this study in multiple motions: it enabled the participants and myself to better understand our own emotions and identities, it assisted me in sharing my own feelings which encouraged the participants to open up, and it helped create balance between researcher and participant to diminish power differences.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The findings painted an intricate picture of each participant including their emotions, use of emotional labor strategies, and the relationship between their professional and personal identities. Below, I have mapped these for each participant as well as the power structures that mitigated their identity construction and application of emotional labor strategies. While all participants had unique relationships with their personal and professional identities, they were also bound together by overarching themes. I have outlined these unprompted themes to portray the agnate experiences of the varied participants and to demonstrate the connected strands between them.

So Mi / Sofia

Emotions

The first emotion So Mi expressed throughout the interview was frustration. While all the participants expressed frustration in one way or another, its presence was particularly notable in her narrative and seemed to indicate that the feeling of frustration usually unraveled other emotions as well. The frustration she felt also sparked an array of other negative emotions such as self-doubt, regret, and burnout. In the majority of instances that she expressed frustration, whether explicitly or inexplicitly, the feeling was embedded within her own perception of her teaching ability, and, thus, her professional identity. Part of why frustration was such a significant emotion for So Mi was because of the level of investment she put forth to build her professional identity. When the investment she gave did not result in the return she desired, her frustration and subsequent emotions grew.

The most common instance that prompted frustration in So Mi was when her teaching effort did not yield the results she wanted, specifically, when students did not exhibit the skills she taught them or do their homework. These incidents incited feelings of anger, being ignored, and that her efforts were worthless. When she described how she felt when a student did not do their homework, she said, “They just do not get it. They just do not do it. And it just makes me so upset...like sometimes I feel like are they just ignoring me? That is the point where I start to get mad.” Here, So Mi was not upset at the lack of homework only; she was upset because her effort to convince students to do their homework has been rendered as useless and has made her feel ignored.

Later, she described why she felt frustrated when the result of her students’ work deviated from her expectations:

But I see like- nothing that I taught! I have spent so much time, and my voice and everything, you know? And I feel it is all worthless. That is just really frustrating, you know? So that is when I cannot control myself, not because my students are stupid but- where is my effort? What have I done for so long? You know?

Not only did she feel her effort to teach had been wasted, but her voice in a literal sense had been compromised. She earlier indicated that she had routinely suffered from chronic sore throat.

Furthermore, when students did not recognize the amount of effort she put forth for her job, her frustration advanced. In one instance, her students thought she was playing on her phone when she was actually sending messages to their parents before class and were surprised when she told them she was working. While So Mi commented that she knew her students were just kids and that they were not to blame, she still felt frustrated that they did not think she was working. She

also indicated that parents might perceive her as not working hard when they see their children's results. Additionally, when students or the parents of her students expected her to take on roles or responsibilities that are more of a caretaker role than a teaching role, Sofia expressed her frustration, "I just want them to take my job seriously."

For So Mi, her students' results and her perceived efforts reflected her teaching ability. She exhibited here such a heavy investment in her job that any outcome would have had an emotional consequence. Certainly, in some instances, when her investment yielded a result she desired or even more than she expected, she felt immense satisfaction. When illustrating the moment her students showed understanding, she said, "It is probably the happiest moment while you are teaching. That is what you teach for, you know?" She later described when students use the English vocabulary or grammar she taught as: "That is when I feel 'oh! It is so good to be a teacher.'"

So Mi also shared her satisfaction when her students expressed their gratitude in her teaching ability. For example, when a student, who she admitted could be a troublemaker, showed gratitude and expressed that he wished So Mi would teach his younger sister in the future, So Mi described this moment as, "so sweet," "great," and that it "made her day." She further detailed that while this student can make her mad with his behavior, she "cannot stay mad longer. [she] just cannot." Similarly, despite her reporting a high level of stress that calling parents caused her, a task she had to complete regularly, she remarked that when she received positive feedback from parents, it gave her job satisfaction. This proved that the frustration she felt can be overpowered when she received feedback from either students or parents. However, unfortunately for So Mi, there was a paucity of opportunities to receive this kind of positive

feedback as she had no way to prompt it. With this lack of feedback, her frustration incited self-doubt.

Several times during her interview, So Mi mentioned the questions she asked herself during her periods of self-doubt. These questions included: “Am I really good at this?” “What am I doing?” and “What is wrong with my skills?” For example, when I asked her if she ever considered quitting teaching, she responded:

Pretty much every day because I’m tired... and when I feel like, ‘Am I- Am I really good at this?’ And I start to question myself, that is when I feel like, what am I doing? That is- that is the really, yeah, frustrating one. That is the moment when I want to quit, but it does not last long, so that is a good feeling.

Almost all of her periods of self-doubt arose after her students’ work did not meet her expectations. She even imagined how parents might have perceived her during her spells of self-doubt, commenting on what they might say about her as:

‘Well maybe you are just teaching wrong’ they did not say that directly, but they could say things. Who knows what they are thinking? Maybe they listen to what I say, then they say to their wife or husband ‘oh, teacher sucks.’ Who knows? I am not afraid they do not like me, but you know.

For So Mi, the perception others might have of her professional identity was more important than the perception others might have on her personal identity due to how much she invested in it (Nias, 1996). She expressed strongly, both with her students and the parents of her students, that she did not care if they liked her personally. In other instances, she clearly demonstrated her desire to be perceived as an effective teacher, similar to the participants in Cowie’s (2011) study,

which possibly indicates that she is gaining a stronger sense of her professional identity. While she noted that her feelings of self-doubt were short-lived, it seemed that these emotions have a particularly heavy weight on her as she referenced the burnout that derived from it.

While So Mi indicated more emotions than just these three, these three emotions deemed to have the most profound effect on her professional identity development, job satisfaction, and health. Particularly, she suffered from a spiral of self-doubt that stemmed from frustration when her effort seemed worthless. This spiral occasionally led to burnout. Although these feelings were referenced as short-lived, they were repetitive and intense. On the other hand, her job satisfaction relied on perceiving her efforts substantiated either through her students' results in learning or positive feedback given by either students or the parents of her students. While her frustration was reported more frequently and her self-doubt was reported as more intense, her satisfaction was illustrated as the validation that kept her teaching. That validation was not fleeting but a long-lasting motivator for her.

Emotional Labor

Throughout So Mi's narratives, different emotional labor strategies appeared in different instances. It did not seem as though So Mi favored one emotional labor strategy over another, but instead chose the emotional labor strategy based on criteria such as efficiency, effort, and duration of emotion.

For fleeting emotions, she usually applied surface acting to efficiently do the emotion work. Through her narratives, she displayed engaging in surface acting in class when hiding her frustration at students or laughter when they said something funny. With the parents of her students, surface acting mainly took place during routine phone calls. However, she indicated

that surface acting was not always successful or sustainable. She commented that she was able to repress her frustration with students, “eight out of ten times” and that, “teach[ing] them with [a] fake smile on, that’s still emotionally difficult.”

In one narrative, she explained a situation in which a parent, who earlier complained that she was not an American teacher, apologized to her by bringing a cake. For So Mi, the original complaint had not made her upset, but when the parent brought the cake as an apology, So Mi showed irritation with having to engage in surface acting to sell her gratitude. When I asked her if she had to act happy when she received the cake, she responded:

Yeah, well, I had to fake it! That cake- I did not even like the flavor! So, I just like , well, no one asked you to buy the cake for me. You know, I never asked for it. She just brought it because she felt better- she felt bad about this. Obviously, I do not care, and I just- I do not know. I was just, okay, whatever. But I said like ‘Oh thank you so much! I will share this with my colleagues’ and everything and ‘I will try harder to be a better teacher’ and stuff, you know. I did not really mean it.

When the parent apologized, it was So Mi who had to make the effort to conjure the correct emotions. Furthermore, So Mi herself did not register the gift as an effort to please her, but she considered it as the parent’s attempt to make herself feel better. When prompted if she had to pretend often in front of parents, she answered with “all the time. All the time.”

Interestingly enough, for So Mi, wearing a mask during the COVID-19 pandemic was a resourceful tool when it came to emotional labor. With the mask, she felt less of a need to surface act. It was a relief for her, as she could invest her effort elsewhere than constantly having to surface act. She stated, “So you know, I try to hide my emotions, and thank God for the mask,

I can.” She also mentioned: “Like I can really hide how I feel, I can try to not express my mood so much. Mask helps so much, yeah, I cannot imagine teaching them with [the] mask off.” As she previously noted that she was not always successful at controlling her emotions, the mask also could be used as a safety net when needed.

While So Mi tended to employ surface acting in the minutiae of her everyday work, she employed deep acting when generalizing students or parents. For example, when prompted about dealing with her students’ parents, she showed understanding, stating, “They are just curious about their child” and, “All they want is an honest opinion.” As for students, she described understanding them when they could not focus or did not recognize her for her efforts. She emphasized that they are “just kids.” By referencing these understandings, she was encouraging certain emotions of sympathy and tapering other emotions of irritation. Similar to surface acting, deep acting was not impermeable to failure. Her attempts at deep acting failed in moments of intense emotions. Despite acknowledging that kids were “just kids,” she still recalled instances where her frustration or irritation leaked through, such as when they did not notice her effort:

They are young, they are little kids, so I understand. But the way they think I do not do work so much, that is just [hurtful]! I am like dudes! Guys! I am working so hard! You know? I even have to like- I mean, no one forced me to do it- to encourage them I bought them these cute stickers, so I give it to them whenever they get a perfect score on their quiz or if they behave, I offer them a little treat. [That] [is] all my [money], you know? I do not have to give to them, but it helps to encourage them. They just do not notice! They think it just pops up somewhere. So I bought [these] new chocolates and one of the students said ‘hey! Where did you get it?’ And I said ‘Oh, I bought them.’ ‘Oh you

bought them? I did not know that! I thought someone gave it to you or-‘ ‘No! I buy these things for you guys.’ They did not know. Not because they are ignorant, they are just kids, you know? They do not even know where all the food and money comes from. You know, I understand, but sometimes it is annoying. I am trying so hard to teach you guys, and they are like ‘oh you work?’ Of course I work! Teaching is my work!

Despite reiterating the fact that they were young and “just kids,” So Mi still expressed feeling hurt. As deep acting conjures fake feelings into real feelings (Hochschild, 2012), it seemed that her use of deep acting has failed here as her words of sympathy did not promote overarching feelings of sympathy.

Out of all the participants, So Mi seemed to show the most naturally felt emotions in the classroom inadvertently. Despite not having to invoke emotional labor in these instances, allowing her naturally felt emotions to stream through sometimes solicited more stress. In one narrative, she described a time at a previous workplace when she was not successful in surface acting with a student (an adult learner) and then was punished by her hagwon for it. She described the memory as “so painful,” “sad,” and “the worst moment ever.” She emphasizes she, “tried so hard” to “keep [her] friendly attitude,” but that she is “not AI not a robot.” Here, So Mi perceived her flaw as being human, which meant being emotional. She also described instances when she cannot force positive emotions in the classroom and the subsequent feeling of guilt when students noticed that she was upset.

For So Mi, naturally felt emotions in the classroom were not beneficial. These emotions were evidence to her that she was failing to display herself as a professional. Emotional labor is labor, and being an integral part of her job, her failure to employ it correctly further prompted

her to question her capability as a teacher. Her ability to suppress or to force emotions, in her perspective, displayed her professionalism. When she failed to use emotional labor, she felt distanced from her ideal professional identity as her personal identity was seeping through, unwarranted.

Relationship of Professional and Personal Identities

Specifically, in So Mi's case, the division of her professional and personal identity was vital. She stated that, "As a teacher, I just consider myself as a totally different person," and that it was, "easier for me. That [it] works better." She illustrated herself as being a completely different person as a teacher, describing it as "acting" and "not the real me." When I mentioned also having a different identity as a teacher, she commented: "You have to, to work. And to survive, you have to! You know? I do not know how people can do it as like one person. Just me, I cannot do it. I am just too exhausted."

So Mi invested heavily in her professional identity. The more she invested in her professional identity, the more her personal self-esteem and her job satisfaction may have relied on her work performance (Nias, 1996). The only ways So Mi knew how to measure her work performance was by witnessing progress in her students' learning and positive feedback from her customers or administrators. However, she indicated that these were sporadic. Without affirmation that she was succeeding in her job, she began to feel more self-doubt. To enshroud this self-doubt, she resulted to surface acting and deep acting. Similarly reported with others who conduct a plethora of emotional labor for a living, she aimed to build a separation between her professional self and her personal self (Hochschild, 2012). This separation was not inherently

natural as she indicated herself actively working to separate her identities, partially to ensure the protection over her personal identity.

There were three different means she used to divide these identities. The first, was that she actively positioned her teaching identity as acting. She commented that: “I kind of think of myself as an actor. I have to- like, there is a light, so I have to turn it on when I am working and turn [it] off when I am done.” She later mentioned that she is good at acting, at faking, and for her job, it is a “basic skill.” She later depicted her work voice and real voice as different. She claimed that she does not necessarily want to “act,” but that she “[has] to” and that, “[She] [does not] really get stressed with that, [she] just feel[s] like that is what [she] should do.”

Secondly, she constructed different identities based on using English and Korean. She remarked that in the same way she viewed her personal identity different from her Korean identity, she viewed her English voice differently from her Korean voice. As language teachers’ identities relate to language background, it seemed that her division of language identities served as a model for her division of professional and personal identities (Pennington & Richards, 2016).

Thirdly, she further divided her identities by using different names. She noted, “I was happy that I get to use the English name because I just think of it as a different identity like I said. So [Sofia] me and [So Mi] me, that is two different people, you know?” and, “I have so many fake English names! I just keep making [them] up! It is fun, you know? It is [a] new identity!” Using different names helped her to distinguish the role she played as Sofia from her personal identity. It also allowed her to conceal her Korean name, further perpetuating the boundary between her identities and granting her personal discretion. So Mi utilized discretion to hide her personal identity in an effort to protect it.

In this study, So Mi was the participant who most actively attempted to sever her professional and personal identities. Her professional identity was delineated as the fake identity in which she must present to survive. Her personal identity, on the other hand, was the “inner jewel that remains [her] unique possession” (Hochschild, 2012, p. 75). As So Mi became more protective over her personal identity, she hid it more. When she discussed why she preferred using English names at work, she commented, “I just would not want them to know my Korean name.” At another point, when talking about how much she liked wearing a mask to work, she said, “But [students] were a little curious about how I look. I do not care. I just cannot show them- not my face.” So Mi highlighted here the significance of hiding her Korean name and her face in an effort to conceal her personal identity from her students. By protecting her personal identity, she showed a desire to save her real self from blending with her fake self. So Mi does not want to become Sofia; Sofia is a construct to merely get through the working day. When questioned about whether So Mi felt she was becoming more like Sofia or if teaching has changed her own personality, she responded that she did not believe Sofia had any influence on her personal identity.

As mentioned earlier, So Mi’s heavy investment in her professional identity made her vulnerable to a spiral of self-doubt when her investments yielded little return. During the interview, several of So Mi’s narratives had a similar storyline. First, So Mi began to question her teaching ability when students’ work did not match her expectations. Despite having the most experience out of all the participants in this study, she mentioned still learning to be a good teacher. She described not minding the stress that comes along with pushing herself, as she viewed it as part of the process to becoming a good teacher. Her main stressor was when she

started to question her teaching ability. This stressor was mainly triggered after her students failed to show understanding or improvement. Next, this questioning of her ability was exacerbated by her frustration, which turned into self-doubt. These emotions are powerful as they relate to self-esteem (Zembylas, 2005). They also carry the ability to influence identity development (Schutz & Lee, 2014). Thus, as So Mi began to doubt Sofia's teaching ability, she did not only see the effort she put in the classroom go to waste, but the effort she put into creating Sofia also seemed futile. When she perceived her effort as not being realized, she then began to question how parents perceived her. She questioned whether she is "[a] good enough [teacher] because [she] did not major in English Education." Even with her describing her periods of self-doubt as fleeting, she also mentioned that it "just starts over and over again" signaling a repetitive and unavoidable process. This infinite loop of self-doubt can wreak havoc on her identity development as she may feel stuck in the endless rut of building her professional identity, only for it to be chipped away again and again. This cycle may tunnel her vision as she may not be able to explore other means for identity development.

Power Structures at Play

The power structures affecting So Mi's identity were institutional. Teaching requires a remarkable level of risk-taking (Zembylas, 2003). Without structure to help her "continuously re-construct and re-affirm [her] [identity]" (p. 228), So Mi was constantly questioning her teaching ability. Similar to the teachers in Hargreaves's (2000) study, feeling positive about her relationships with students relied on their respect. She became frustrated when she felt "ignored" or when students did not recognize her efforts. Unable to convince her students to consistently do homework or study, she constantly felt the need to take on a role of motivator. At her current

hagwon, there was no opportunity for feedback or evaluation. So Mi desperately wanted to grow, she detailed how much she wants to be a “good teacher,” but without regular feedback to help her re-affirm her identity, she was unable to see herself as such. Her job satisfaction relied on this affirmation of her teaching ability as she heavily invested in her professional identity. She invested so heavily in it to find satisfaction, but most of the time found herself in a spiral of self-doubt. As she descended in this spiral of self-doubt, she utilized surface acting as a band-aid to temporarily mask her emotions until it became impossible, allowing her naturally felt emotions to creep in. Once they did, she felt guilt and failure that further contributes to burnout (Acheson et al. 2016).

So Mi told me multiple times during her interviews that she could not just ask her students or parents of her students for feedback. Instead, she relied on unsolicited remarks to help her re-affirm her professional identity. Unlike the self-doubt and frustration, she felt, this satisfaction served as concrete that cemented her the affirmation of her professional identity. Self-doubt and frustration, on the other hand, slowly yet continuously weathered the formation of her professional identity.

Working at a hagwon, So Mi had little opportunity to re-affirm her professional identity. With no evaluations, no student feedback, and little evidence of student progress, there was no system in place to help her develop or even know how she was perceived. She can only rely on unsolicited feedback, which she expressed in her interview as predominately positive. Despite this, she continued to question herself as unsolicited feedback was scarce. Furthermore, she alluded to dividing her identities “to survive.” This is because as she spirals into self-doubt, it affected her personally. Her professional identity was the outer shell designed to succeed in work

performance so her personal identity can be hidden beneath. As she was emotionally affected by her work performance, she attempted to segregate her personalities even further to protect her personal identity from the same self-doubt. Instead of allowing her identities to conflict and influence each other, she actively dissected them to protect her real self, the precious identity that does not rely on others' affirmation (Hochschild, 2012).

Na Rae / Lian

Emotions

Throughout her interview, Na Rae showed her strong passion for English, teaching, and children. She mentioned several times that she loved children. For example, she said, “ So you know I love children, and [teaching] makes me happy,” and, “When they feel happy, I easily can tell, looking at their face. So, it makes me happy.” She also added “I love kids. That’s why I [chose] this job.” A major source of happiness and job satisfaction for Na Rae was the happiness of her students. Another major source of job satisfaction was encouraging students to love English. She viewed her role as a teacher as a motivator, and she felt rewarded when she was able to execute this role. In one narrative, she described a student who was shy and soft-spoken when he first joined her class. As time went on, the student began to become more outgoing and used English outside of the class. Na Rae noted that: “The boy use[s] English as a tool so, I think it is very rewarding.” Na Rae, who is passionate about English, yearned for her students to use English as a tool. She encouraged students to focus on their individual development, not the standard they were usually evaluated on. She claimed multiple times that her goal was to make them study on their own, be motivated, and utilize English in the real world.

Na Rae is also passionate about methodology. She talked at length about the different methods she used with different ages. She preferred to use the Total Physical Response (TPR) method with younger students, and she advocated for the effectiveness of rote learning for older students. She explained that when she was a student, she also hated rote learning, but now realized it is the most effective way to learn. She talked about this in depth, seemingly trying to convince me or possibly herself that rote learning is not as terrible as it seems. This passion showed how her beliefs are intertwined with methodology, and if challenged, she may take it personally as well. Nias (1996) asserted that the more passionate teachers are about their beliefs, the more they will personally react to it if challenged. While she still showed an openness to try different methodology, she seemed fervent on her current approach.

Na Rae constructed herself as passionate about children, English, and teaching methodology, but her work reality was far from her ideal atmosphere. Particularly, her first teaching job's requirements conflicted with her personal beliefs and passion. Her first job at an English kindergarten hagwon required students to study in English from early in the morning to mid-afternoon. The students, who were all young children, were not given opportunities to play and had to sit in their seats learning all day. Na Rae sympathized with these students on the inside, but she did not show them these feelings of sympathy. In one narrative, Na Rae said:

They told me very often 'teacher, I do not want to study! I want to play!' But I agree! But, as a teacher, I could not say that I agree, so I [said] 'you have to! You have to! No Korean!' At the time, all day-one full day, I just [said] 'No Korean' 100 times. But they want to speak Korean! I understand because they do not know how to speak English!

Na Rae felt that as a teacher, she could not show that she agreed with the students. Instead, she engaged in emotional labor to hide her sympathy.

In a different narrative about her current hagwon, Na Rae showed her empathy for the middle school students that she related to. She understood their stress and lack of motivation to study because she experienced the same feelings at their age. When I asked her about an important characteristic for teachers to have, she responded, “Emotional is most important when I teach something because the kid[s] get very easily affected by teachers. So, we need to treat them with emotional feelings because I do not want them to get emotionally hurt.” Later, she added: “I hope most of teachers are emotional for [students]. Just their social or teaching ability is not everything for them.” She also described being “wounded in the heart” when she was in middle school and high school by her teachers who were harsh to her.

At one point during the interview, Na Rae commented about a recent news story in the town she and I worked in. This news story was about a high school student who went missing and was later found to have committed suicide. I remember it being a big news story at the time, as the student went missing after a seemingly normal afternoon at the bookstore. The neighborhood was also plastered with signs looking for her. Na Rae talked about the incident with deep emotion. She shared:

I [was] very sad at the time because I know that feeling. We [understood] why she decided to end things like that because [our] grades [are] everything. Except for that, [there is] nothing in their life. Teachers have something to do with this, teachers [are] related.

Teaching, in Na Rae's opinion, requires emotional sensitivity. Na Rae demonstrated her sympathy and empathy for her students throughout the interview, but when she felt that she could not show enough of her sympathy to students or could have emotionally hurt them, as she was hurt, a new emotion began to emerge, guilt.

For instance, Na Rae told me about a student at her English kindergarten hagwon who did not adjust to the system easily. She described the situation:

It [was] very stressful because one of my kids at the time, she was 5 years old, she could not read the letters. A-B-C, like the single letter, but she stressed a lot every day. 'I do not want to study. I do not want to study.' She repeat a lot, and I heard that from [her] mom, she cannot sleep well because of the stress. She told me 'I want to play' and I thought she is not dumb, not stupid. Is it right? Just she does not want to study. So she just deny, studying, and when we study something she just stand up and want to walk or run in the classroom. So [native English speaking] teachers cannot communicate with the kids just [they said] 'sit down! Sit down!' It makes her-it made her more stressful, very frustrated, I think. So, but at the time, I did not say-I did not tell her mom honestly. 'She likes studying English in this place! She needs to learn more, if you quit studying, if your daughter quit studying this time, it is not good way.' Yeah, like this. So, every time I say like this. I felt [stressed] a lot because I think my- my student wants to play because her character, her personality is not suitable for like this system.

Here, Na Rae showed her sympathy for the student. She acknowledged that the child is just a child who wants to play. She also portrayed her beliefs as different from her actions. She did not believe that the student should stay at her hagwon, but she did not share this belief. Instead, she

tried to convince the mother not to remove her child from the hagwon. As the teacher at a hagwon, her beliefs have no importance. She is effectively a salesperson selling the hagwon's English program, and she had to turn against her beliefs to perform her responsibility.

It was in these kinds of situations that Na Rae's guilt transpired. Despite her own feelings and personal beliefs, she had to lie for the financial well-being of her company. Out of all the participants, Na Rae was the one that seemed the most passionate about teaching and children, but she emphasized that when she had to teach stressed children, her passion seemed to fade away. When describing these situations, she remarked: "Every time I feel this way, I do not want to teach. I cannot understand why I have to! What am I doing?" She also shared that she was worried about having an adverse effect on motivating students, that she could make them hate English. She stressed that there was "no choice" for her or her students in certain situations. English is a core subject in high school and college entrance exams, so for the parents of her students, her customers, academic performance is significant. Her beliefs conflict with how she must perform her job. For example, at her current hagwon, when students underperform, she had to make them stay after class. She commented: "[I] make them stay [after class]. But they get stressed- I feel the same feelings but, I do not- they do not have [any] choice." In certain classes, she had to teach strictly per her hagwon's instructions. She admitted that she did not like being strict, but it was the "only method" she could use. As her guilt festers, her passion fades, and the empathy and sympathy she so strongly felt was hidden as she employed emotional labor to become the teacher she was forced to be.

Emotional Labor

Na Rae employed surface acting regularly in her interactions inside and outside the classroom. As mentioned in the above section, Na Rae is a highly passionate teacher with strong emotions of empathy, sympathy, and guilt. However, Na Rae rarely showed these emotions to her students. Instead, she portrayed herself as a professional and emotionless teacher in the classroom. When students complained about studying, she claimed to nag them automatically, without thinking. Even though she mentioned earlier that she understood her students and empathized with them, she felt forced to use surface acting to hide this. When she had to lie to parents, which is against her beliefs, she felt even more stressed. Similar to the participants in Loh and Liew's study (2016), she may feel a higher level of burden with emotional labor due to her own personal beliefs.

She acknowledged the importance of hiding her emotions, stating: "Hiding emotion is very important, especially teaching. How much- how ever hurt I am, I pretend be okay, especially for teaching" and later: "I pretend to be okay when I teach. I [can] very easily hide my personal feelings. It has nothing to do with teaching skill or ability." She pointed out here that emotional labor had nothing to do with teaching skill in her opinion, but she also emphasized how important it is in the profession. At one point, she likened herself to a comedian when teaching unmotivated students. She stated that she acted "like a comedian make a show like this" in order to engage students in the classroom. When students became more engaged, this surface acting turned into reality, and Na Rae claimed to feel more energetic and enthusiastic. This mirrors the findings suggested in Isenbarger and Zembylas's (2006) study that emotional labor can bring about positive rewards.

Na Rae tended to deep act in the classroom with emotions such as enthusiasm, energy, and happiness. When she engaged in deep acting, and her students respond similarly, she began to believe these emotions and really feel them. She noted: “Even it makes me happier, and it makes me better when I have a very bad feeling or very sad or upset, teaching make[s] me better.” She reported feeling more rewarded and energetic after deep acting. This “fake energy” she exerted usually seemed to become real energy.

While for the most part deep acting seemed to benefit her, she also mentioned feeling exhausted after engaging in deep acting, particularly when her students’ enthusiasm or energy did not meet her own. Her experience echoed the use of emotional labor the participants in Acheson et al.’s (2016) study who reported experiencing similar emotional consequences. Similar to those participants, Na Rae regarded the use of deep acting as crucial for her students, but at her own cost. Further, she claims that she “cannot catch [her] feeling in the middle of teaching,” which left her with a rush of emotions after work ends.

When prompted about how she hides her feelings, Na Rae answered: “no way, [I] just pretend. I do not know how to pretend, but I think it is [a] natural thing. I do not know how to, but it is my workplace, and I am a teacher.” Emotional labor, then, is not just a strategy, but in Na Rae’s perspective, it is a requirement in the workplace. Moreover, she specifically named her profession, indicating that emotional labor is routine.

The most harmful case of emotional labor happened to her when she worked at the English kindergarten hagwon. She had already planned to quit, and a few weeks before her last day, she reported fainting in the hallway due to exhaustion. Instead of going home, she felt responsible to finish her classes for the day. In this particular event, she utilized a combination of

surface and deep acting to get through the day. While she did finish her workday as planned, she later experienced panic attacks and anxiety in the aftermath. In her perspective, her anxiety disorder was a consequence of this day. Nonetheless, she still claims to apply emotional labor in the classroom on a daily basis, as for her it is an integral part of teaching with both benefits and consequences.

Naturally felt emotions were scant in Na Rae's narratives. The only instances she referenced showing her naturally felt emotions were outside of work or when she was too burnt out in the classroom to enact in emotional labor. In these cases, the lack of emotional labor further exacerbated her feelings of exhaustion, guilt, and burnout. This was also indicated in other studies where the participants reaped negative consequences after relinquishing their use of emotional labor (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Kang, 2020).

Relationship of Professional and Personal Identities

For Na Rae, Lian is not just her teaching identity. Her personal and professional identities were found to be merging into one, as teachers often do (Nias, 1996). When I asked her how Lian has influenced Na Rae's personality, she answered with, "I lost my personality. Where is Na Rae?" She did not seem to feel upset about this; she actually embraced it. For Na Rae, Lian is more energetic, enthusiastic, outgoing, and responsible. Lian carried positive personality traits that Na Rae wanted to adopt. As her identities continued to merge, the boundaries of her professional self and personal self were dissolving. This merger was painted earlier by her personal beliefs infusing with her professional ones, and her professional beliefs influencing her personal ones. The latter is especially important as her hagwon may begin to inexplicitly influence her personal beliefs or desires (Zembylas, 2003).

This merge of identities, however, is not without consequences. For one, Na Rae's ability to act on her beliefs and values are constantly challenged or inhibited by institutional and systematic constraints. Beliefs are seen as an essential part of identity (Pennington & Richards, 2016). For example, while Na Rae believed that children should have fun learning English and not be stressed, the hagwon she worked for forced her to act as a harsh teacher, going against her beliefs. She made a point to prove how stressful and exhausting it was for her to not only go against her own values and beliefs but to sell it with emotional labor. For example, she commented, "I had to scold [a student] yesterday, but it [was] very, [exhausting]" and, "Automatically, [I] just [said] 'no speak[ing]!' or 'I will call your mother.' I use this way... It's very stressful." She then added, "When I [taught] the kindergarten- the kids, it is very difficult to feel [rewarded], it is, as I told you, they feel- my kids [got] stressed a lot." When Na Rae had to go against her values or beliefs, she felt more exhaustion and stress. She also suffered from a loss of job satisfaction. Her personal beliefs and values may begin to fade as she feels pressure to match the expectations of a good teacher not just to herself but to the parents of her students, her customers, and her institution, her employers (Loh & Liew, 2016).

Na Rae also felt forced to punish or push students to study, which she also claimed was a heavy stressor for her. When she shared a story about a student that she regretted scolding, she said: "I just very treat[ed] him emotionally. I think I should treat him as a teacher, but I did not, so it makes me exhausted because I wonder in case if I could have made him wounded in the heart." Her perspective her of a teacher was very telling, because in her ideal image of a teacher, a teacher is understanding and empathetic, but does not let her emotions show. In this situation, Na Rae believed she showed too much of her constructed emotions, potentially causing

emotional distress to the student. When she believed she did not live up to her ideal image of a teacher, she felt guilty.

Similarly, Na Rae seemed to feel the most guilt out of all the participants about lying to parents. She directly stated that she liked communicating with parents, but when she felt the need to lie, especially at the expense of the student, she was burdened with stress. As mentioned earlier, she felt immense guilt when she lied to a mother about how her daughter was adjusting to her English kindergarten hagwon when the child was visibly stressed. At one point when talking about discussions with parents, she remarked: “[Honesty] is [an] unnecessary feeling when I consult with parents.” From this quote, Na Rae exhibited that honesty is to be blocked and ignored when consulting with parents. While the other participants seemed more stressed at the prospect of speaking to parents, Na Rae seemed comfortable with speaking with them, but uncomfortable with the notion of lying. She comments:

Especially for the parents, honestly, when I thought ‘this kid is not suitable in this system’ I have to lie. ‘Your son or daughter [has] to study! Your son has a sense of language.’ Yeah, lying. But I- I made it to hide my emotion.

Na Rae had to lie to parents because if they pull their child out of her hagwon, she may suffer more consequences. For example, in one narrative, Na Rae described a parent who was an English/Korean translator that pulled her child out of the hagwon where Na Rae worked because she did not correct all of the student’s grammatical mistakes in a workbook. Na Rae admitted to missing the grammar mistake, but she also stressed that she believed correcting every mistake was demotivating. In spite of it, she understood that it was her fault as the parent, her customer, equated grammatical knowledge with teaching ability. Na Rae’s professional belief conflicted

with that of her customer. However, her choice to exercise this belief was stripped away when her hagwon lost this customer. While she did not mention any punishment from her boss, she mentioned intense emotional consequences: “Her mother, is, yeah, [the student] stopped studying because of me. Yeah, at the time I [was] stressed a lot. I [could not] eat or I cannot sleep, at the time.” Na Rae took this incident very personally, and while she later mentions focusing more on grammar in light of the situation as a positive, the fact that she could not eat or sleep after the incident exhibited her emotional distress when she believed she was perceived as an inadequate teacher. With the proximity of her professional and person identities merging, this incident could have hampered her self-esteem (Nias, 1996).

Furthermore, when Na Rae’s beliefs and practice about methodology were challenged, she seemingly turned away from her personal beliefs and latched on to institutional ideals (Zembylas, 2003). For example, she detailed the methods she learned in her TESOL certificate program and enthusiastically illustrated how she used them, such as when she mentioned using TPR earlier. Yet when she discussed beginning to embrace rote learning as a teacher, it seemed that the effectivity of rote learning was more for the parents of her students, her customers, than her own beliefs. She disclosed how parents only see English as a skill for exams but emphasized that she views English as a tool. She claimed that parents “only focus on competition.” Later, she explained her teaching method in her previous job as: “I made them memorize the sentences; the parents were very satisfied.” She reflected on her TESOL program, stating: “So I learned in TESOL there are two ways to study English exposure and learning. But, at the time, I trust the exposure is better or a good way. In Korea, now I think, is it possible?” During the follow up interview, she mentions methodology again, sharing:

Before working, I thought enjoying is a best way, but I realized, I want to know a good method to enjoy studying English. But after working, I realized, it is impossible, only enjoy, because after getting used to studying words, after we memorize words, we can enjoy. But first, it is very hard to enjoy.

She also mentioned how she now believed that the Korean college entrance exams were fair for all kids and that “[her] mind has changed” signaling that her beliefs and values had been altered about methodology since becoming a teacher. While she has gained many positive attributes from merging her personal and professional identity, she may prove to be susceptible here to her institution influencing her beliefs and values, particularly with methodology (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005).

While Na Rae’s beliefs, values, and ideal image of teacher have conflicted with institutional and systematic constraints as well as her beliefs of methodology, she perceived these conflicts as obstacles that train, not hurdle, her developing identity as a teacher. For instance, in the incident regarding the parent who was a translator removing her child from Na Rae’s hagwon, Na Rae initially expressed her intense emotions immediately following the incident. Later, she viewed the incident as beneficial as it motivated her to improve her own grammar. When describing her frustration when teaching unmotivated students, she ended with: “It is just [a] very short feeling, and [it] go[es] away, and then- and then I will be thinking how to make [my students] focus on my class because it also makes me improved. My feeling also makes me improved.” Later she stated, “But I want to learn- I want to be a [better] teacher in the long run.” She also displays her satisfaction with her job, noting: “So now I am very satisfied with my job. I do not need anything other than teaching.” As Na Rae’s ideal teacher identity contorted due to

institutional and systematic influences, she still aimed to shape herself to fit that mold. She remained optimistic and readily looked for the good in even the worst experiences. For instance, when discussing her previous job, the one that stressed her greatly and contributed to her anxiety, she made a point that the experience has made her appreciate her current hagwon. Even losing her own personal identity has not proved to be detrimental, as she has completely accepted Lian as a part of her new identity.

Power Structures at Play

The primary power structures that influenced Na Rae's identity development were institutional and societal. Feeling rules that govern what a teacher can express emotionally instilled the need of emotional labor. Her feelings of empathy and sympathy, which seem to be intense and common, were hidden under a veil of a harsher teacher desired by parents and her hagwon. In the effort to hide these emotions, Na Rae engaged in surface and deep acting. Her surface acting became normalized. When she acted contrarily to her beliefs and values, she began to feel guilty. This guilt was occasionally due to her acting differently to her own ideal image of her teaching identity, and sometimes this guilt was due to her acting differently to the ideal image of a teacher of her students' parents. The latter is an especially powerful power structure as she simply cannot ignore it. Her job and livelihood depend on her work performance, and while she works mainly with children, her customers are their parents. What she personally believes her students need or what she has learned through her TESOL program that might be beneficial for them is irrelevant next to the power of the customer. In this situation, she has the choice to stray farther from their ideal image of a teacher, her own ideal image of a teacher, or begin to fuse them. She became more accepting of methodology contradictory to what she

learned and experienced as unsatisfactory. Her ideal identity as a teacher fluctuated as well as it absorbed institutional ideals of an effective teacher. As suggested by Tracy and Trethewey (2005), identity is molded by the many power structures that interfere it. This is not always inherently negative as if the institution's influence is extracting the personal identity away, rather than it is merely unavoidable. Instead of viewing her changing identity and beliefs as negative, Na Rae showed acceptance and openness. She allowed Na Rae to be "lost" as Lian, and, in her opinion, changed herself for the better.

Additionally, Na Rae resigning from her previous job that required her to use more emotional labor to hide her empathy, sympathy, and subsequent guilt showed that she understood that these circumstances were incompatible with her beliefs and values. When Na Rae resigned from this job (the English kindergarten hagwon) she was not alone. All the teachers resigned at the same time, signaling the need for reform possibly due to the immense emotional labor needed to perform their duties. The use of emotional labor can indicate the need for reform and ignite collective action as suggested in Benesch's (2018) study. Emotional labor was the trigger that brought them together to politically fight against an institution so against their beliefs.

There is no stopping institutions from leaking their images of ideal teachers into their workers' beliefs, However, other powerful influences are also at work. Barcelos (2015) stated that: "We are shaped by the emotions we feel (fear, desire, joy, love), and these in turn shape the kinds of identities we construct of ourselves" (p. 312). Na Rae's own emotions shaped her ideal professional identity as well. The strong empathy she felt for her students powered her identity development similarly to how her institution shifted her beliefs and ideal teacher identity. If only the institutional and systematic influences on Na Rae's identity had taken force, Na Rae would

be striving to be a harsher teacher. Instead, her own emotions influence her to deviate from the image of a strict teacher and construct her professional identity as a passionate teacher. While she did act harsher to match the expectations put forth by her institution and parents, she did not completely abandon her beliefs that teachers should be empathetic to their students. Na Rae did not become Lian for the sole purpose of her job, but to allow a merger between her own beliefs and how she must perform as teacher for occupational purposes.

Su Hyun / Nina

Emotions

Similar to findings in other studies on teacher emotions, Su Hyun exhibited vulnerability which proved to be multifaceted (Lasky, 2005). Especially in interactions with students, Su Hyun displayed open vulnerability which required risk-taking. This risk-taking could be profitable as it could assist her in developing her professional identity and her relationships with students (Song, 2016). While teachers in Korea may feel the need to depict themselves as masters of their subject, some teachers choose to have open vulnerability as a teacher. Su Hyun, who is already a young, female, NNEST, expressed feeling insecure about her grammar knowledge and her speaking skills. However, she also viewed her position as a NNEST as a means to connect with her students. Instead of drawing boundaries between master and student, she built a bridge between herself and her students. For example, Su Hyun described wanting to portray herself as a model for development, not perfection, to her students. She stated:

I do not want my kids to think of a teacher as the perfect English speaker. They should know that Korean teacher[s] [have] studied and that teacher[s] too [have] put so much effort in their entire life, and that is why they could become a teacher. I [would] more like

to give these kids, [the lesson that] I was a bad kid, I was a bad English learner, but at some point, I [began] to love it, so ‘kids look! I am a teacher now! So if I can do it, you can do it! I am not still perfect, but you are studying English a lot earlier than I did, so you can be a lot better than me kids.’ I want to be seen like that.

She also explained being honest to her students when they asked her a question that she did not know the answer to. Instead of concealing the fact that she did not know, she invited them to “look [it] up together.” When prompted about how she dealt with admitting her instruction on a certain grammar point was wrong, both emotionally and logistically, she reported being honest and explaining her mistake to her students. While she confessed that she felt slightly embarrassed at these times, she chose to view it as a learning experience. She focused on preparing a better lesson and on explaining to her students why she got it wrong and how they could learn from her mistake. She also indicated that she rarely felt negative after work about how her classes went. When her classes did not go as expected, she took it as a learning experience or simply a bad day. The only time she shared feeling truly embarrassed in front of students and deliberately trying to hide it is when she was unprepared for a class. In these rare cases, she alluded to having to surface act to cover her lack of confidence, yet these attempts to force confidence were not always successful.

In addition to having open vulnerability about her knowledge and instruction to her students, she also claimed to have open emotional vulnerability when students’ words or behaviors challenged her as a teacher or disrespected her. This seemed as a recent development though as at one point she mentioned: “Sometimes I feel ridiculous about myself getting upset at kids.” When I ask her why she felt this way, she responded:

I just have this idea ‘they are just kids! Why am I upset about it?’ but later I just try to just accept like, adults can get hurt from kids too, right? Yeah, it is nothing like childish, it is nothing immature. Kids can hurt your feelings too, and they should know about it. They should know that adults do get hurt by [their] words.

This implied that Su Hyun’s belief had changed. Before, she felt that allowing herself to get upset at her students was immature, childish, the opposite of the professional identity she wanted to portray. Now, her view has started to change to accept that she should be allowed to feel her natural emotions. This feeling rule that adults should not be hurt by children’s words was taught to her as feeling rules are socially constructed, yet she chose to challenge this notion ingrained in her (Hochschild, 2012). Not only did she choose to challenge this feeling rule for herself, but she chose to also teach it as a lesson to her students utilizing open vulnerability. She stated:

I just want to show them teachers can feel hurt too by your rude words or behavior. So, like your words right now, your behavior right now, is hurting me. It can hurt your teacher’s feeling, and like, I am your teacher, but teachers can get hurt too. Like teachers do not have like [a] reason to understand your every word, every behavior, so it is a lot easier to show them how I am feeling.

By showing her students that their words can hurt her, she is instrumenting open vulnerability. This open vulnerability that challenges a feeling rule allows for Su Hyun to develop her identity while embracing her beliefs. Her vulnerability also encourages her students to challenge the feeling rule too, furthering the claim that vulnerability is to be embraced (Klechtermans 2005). It can also potentially decrease her need to employ emotional labor in the future as her students may learn and react to her confession.

Although Su Hyun demonstrated her open vulnerability with her interactions with students, her interactions with her students' parents and her administrators was a different shade of vulnerability. In one narrative, she described a traumatic experience when she was forced to call a parent about a student problem, which she had no first-hand experience with. Her boss demanded her to make the phone call, even though Su Hyun was very uncomfortable with the situation. She remarked that it was her first time to make a call of this nature since it usually was her boss's responsibility to do so. She also detailed how uninvolved she was in the situation as the incident they were addressing happened on the school bus and not in the classroom. Su Hyun prepared a script, but the call resulted in her "being vulnerable" and "[bursting] out [in tears]." The parent she called demanded to speak to her boss and complained that Su Hyun was too young, being biased, and speaking robotic. Later, the parent apologized, but Su Hyun did not blame her for the incident. It was her boss that she blamed for forcing her to make the call. In another narrative, she delineated how she sometimes cannot meet the call quota, the number of calls to parents she was required to make in a certain timeframe, as she feels anxious calling in front of her boss and coworkers. They all work together in the same office, so she feared that they will judge her when they hear her making her calls to parents. Later, when I asked Su Hyun how she felt about wearing a mask to work due to the COVID19 pandemic, she described the mask as a piece of armor, protecting her from revealing her emotions to her bosses and coworkers while she is in the office making phone calls. She shared:

When parents [are] complaining, and they are quite angry, and then awkward and embarrassing feeling[s] [appear] on my face. I do not want my bosses to read [my face],

but because of the mask, I can act like I am staying calm. Still, obviously [I am] not, but I can feel less nervous.

This indicated that showing her vulnerable emotions to her bosses prompted further emotional distress. Appearing to not be emotional, however, is less anxiety-provoking. Exercising open vulnerability with her students, then, was significantly more comfortable for her than doing the same to her bosses. Feeling the need to protect her vulnerability in front of her bosses indicated that Su Hyun felt the need to present herself in a different light to her bosses. This revealed that Su Hyun may portray multiple professional identities, and these identities react differently to her emotions.

Although Su Hyun did not report feelings of shame herself, she did share many experiences of the parents of her students criticizing or discriminating against her due to her age and level of experience. She commented that many parents were “hypocrite[s]” who preferred younger teachers, but they were quick to point out their age or lack of experience when they discussed student issues. She remembered times when parents were upset with her for explaining their child’s behavioral issues. She said: “Then they change their attitude. ‘You are younger than me teacher! And you do not have any kids either. What do you know about having kids? What do you know about kids’ emotions?’” The parents here positioned her as inexperienced because of her age. She also recounted parents calling her “biased” and that their children were “not like that.” As the youngest Korean teacher at her hagwon, and still being in the introductory position, parents calling her out for her age and experience were blows to her constructing professional identity.

In the narrative shared earlier about the parent phone call that left her in tears, Su Hyun depicted how the mother was quick to point out her age and experience by her voice alone. However, Su Hyun admitted this to be true in that at that time; she did not have any experience in managing these conflicts. In her perspective, being shamed in this situation was merited, even though it was not her idea to address the situation. It was her supervisors' order, yet it is Su Hyun who accepted the shame.

Su Hyun also expressed that she felt more comfortable talking to her students' mothers as it is more common and familiar. Fathers, on the other hand, she stressed tend to shame her more, especially when they find out she is "the young woman teacher." She stated, "I can feel the mansplain." In these cases, she did not seem to accept the shame, but she must still employ emotional labor and maybe even to a greater extent to appease her customers, in this case the fathers of her students.

When feeling shamed, Su Hyun may choose to acknowledge these feelings or not. Song (2018) pointed out that emotions are taught and socially constructed. I would argue here that Su Hyun was being taught shame. She was being coerced into believing that her age and experience level should make her anxious or insecure. At a glance, it appeared that Su Hyun was resisting these persuasions of shame. The degree of which these coerced feelings had on Su Hyun is not evident. What is apparent is that it is a common occurrence. While she may not feel directly ashamed of herself, the constant ebb of questioning her age and experience may disrupt her identity construction as she tries to assert herself as a professional. It may also increase her use of emotional labor, and it may further propel her to protect her vulnerability as these conversations may incite feelings of embarrassment in front of her bosses.

Emotional Labor

Su Hyun, like the other participants, was found to use all three emotional labor strategies: deep acting, surface acting, and naturally felt emotions. However, she was found to speak more frequently and in more detail about utilizing deep acting. Surface acting and naturally felt emotions seemed to be on the fringe, reserved for times when deep acting was not efficient or effective. Surface acting was found to be most commonly employed in front of bosses. She commented at one point: “We never show how we feel.” Following this comment, she explained that her bosses and more experienced coworkers were able to express emotions more confidently in front of parents or each other, adding: “But for me, I am not...like I do not think I am not allowed enough to do that, to show how I really feel.” The experience they had conducting emotional labor allowed them to know when revealing their naturally felt emotions to parents was reasonable. As Su Hyun was positioned as the youngest and least experienced, she was taught that she does not have the experience yet and must resort to surface acting or deep acting. She noted: “If I showed my feeling in a wrong way, I will be pointed out about it from my bosses.” She exhibited a pattern of feeling uncomfortable with showing her emotions to her bosses and the parents of her students. The only time she conceded to showing her natural emotions, was when she filtered them in front of students, possibly during the times she wanted her students to understand that teachers are affected by their words. She stated: “I do not want to say I show my emotions. I show my emotions to kids as an adult, as a teacher.” This implied that while she was openly vulnerable to her students in regard to her emotions, she still exhibited some control over her emotions. Her emotions were filtered “as an adult,” meaning she still instilled a level of professionalism on her natural emotions. This occurred only in specific

situations as she clearly protected her vulnerability in front of her bosses and the parents of her students. Her filtered naturally felt emotions were only on display when in front of students, particularly in times she wanted to show them the power of their words or behaviors. Her naturally felt emotions, therefore, were not the result of failed emotion work, but they were a tool for her to use open vulnerability.

Deep acting was found to be employed in a variety of situations with students, bosses, and parents. She reported exerting confidence even when she did not feel particularly confident, and that this fake confidence turned into real confidence once the others around her believed it. One narrative revealed that Su Hyun used deep acting to respond to a student acting out in class. She recounted the emotions the student must have felt, and why, in her opinion, he was acting out. By painting a portrait on why a student was acting a certain way and responding to it through understanding, she was implementing deep acting as a way to deflect how the student felt about her personally. Instead, she focused on describing his inner turmoil and how he was feeling on the inside, which she seemed to have created. In the narrative about the traumatic parent phone call mentioned earlier, she originally blamed her boss. Shortly after, she envisioned that her boss wanted to give her the experience or teach her. This sort of reflection seemed to be an exercise of deep acting as she relived the experience telling the story. Even with parents, whom she attributed most of her stress to, she was shown to perform deep acting. She admitted: “To be fair, yeah, most of times if [parents] complain, [it] makes sense from their point of view as a mom and dad. If I was [a] mom, I would be like, really sensitive too to be honest.” While these applications of deep acting seemed to happen retroactively, it could also be wielded during current interactions with her bosses or the parents of her students. As they are reflective, they

also could point to being utilized more with experience, as deep acting can be instructed (Hochschild, 2012). With gained experience, Su Hyun has begun to experiment with naturally felt emotions. Thus, it is feasible that with experience she may have also experimented with deep acting. Even more, she may explore different emotional labor strategies as she develops her identity, such as when she started filtering her natural emotions to her students to present that teachers have feelings.

Relationship of Professional and Personal Identities

The relationship between Su Hyun's personal and professional identities was found to be less forced than that of the other participants. While So Mi actively divided her identities and Na Rae encouraged the merger between her identities, Su Hyun's division seemed natural. She claimed that, "the separation is pretty clear for me," and thought of her professional identity as very different from her personal identity. When asked about how her personality has changed, specifically how Nina has influenced Su Hyun, she claimed that Nina only had minor influences on her. She described her personality outside of work as sillier, dorkier, and childlike. She reported that her bosses saw her in different terms: smart, hard-working, and diligent.

Su Hyun was very open about how "fake" she perceived herself being at work. At one point, she said: "It is my job, being fake." When describing her interactions with parents, she emphasized, "Being fake is my job! Seriously!" However, she did not seem adverse whatsoever to being "fake." She accepted it as part of her job. At one point in the interview, she went on a spiel on how comfortable she was being fake, asserting: "I think it is just my nature. Some people, if they act fake, they feel depress[ed] about themselves being fake. 'Oh, it is not real me, I do not want to do this.' But I do not mind doing it." Su Hyun expressed a very similar

sentiment that Hochschild (2012) did, that perceiving oneself as phony or fake could produce emotional distress. Su Hyun, however, painted herself as indifferent to it. Furthermore, she recognized it as a skill, noting: “I realized I am good at being fake.” She delineated how in Korean work culture being fake to your bosses is a part of the job, a skill she possessed but realized others do not. This depicted her not only as being comfortable with being “fake,” but that it is a skill she excels at. Thus, she did not feel the need to protect her personal identity. The relationship between her personal and professional identities may fluctuate, but there is always a strong boundary dividing them, cementing them in their respective spaces.

While the separation of her identities was bound into place, Su Hyun’s professional identity was not without disturbances. Specifically with her bosses, Korean coworkers, and the parents of her students, Su Hyun was constantly reminded that she is the youngest and least experienced teacher at her hagwon. As described earlier, parents were quick to call attention to her age. She expressed deeply her adoration for her foreign coworkers, insisting that she “[loved] these guys so much.” She illuminated her Korean coworkers in a different light by telling me “I like working with foreign teachers. I have good relationship with my bosses, but it is Korean relationship. We can be never friends.” In one narrative about a new Korean coworker with whom she did not care for, she implied that there was a natural trial period before being included with the others. Su Hyun recalled being lonely for the first year of her work and eating her meals alone. She indicated being part of the Korean staff once she proved herself to them. She described Korean work culture as:

You should be super fake in front of your bosses. Even if you think something is not funny, you should laugh. And then, yeah, you have to put another mask on your face, but some people are not good at it.

She alluded again to being fake here as well as her skill in presenting her fabricated herself. Moreover, she described putting on “another mask” on as if she wears different masks with her different professional identities. One identity, in front of her students, is the openly vulnerable yet comfortable Nina. The other identity that she portrays to her bosses and the parents of her students is a professional one, protective of her vulnerability as she was constantly forced to prove her professionalism.

The attack of her professionalism, unfortunately, did not stop at work. When I asked Su Hyun what she wished others knew about her job, she replied with:

Yeah, some people who do not know enough about this work, this job, will think being [a] hagwon teacher is easy. Like just stand, and just give them lecture, but it is so tiring. Maybe because of that my dad thinks -still thinks- being a teacher is not, like compared to my sister who is working in a company, like just typical office job, I do not know why my dad thinks this is easier. It is not!

Later she shared a similar sentiment expressing that her parents liked the job for her because they saw it as stable and a “right thing to do for a young girl.” She expressed her irritation with her parents’ opinions, which included sheltering her and viewing her as “always little, weak.” At this point in the interview, she got emotional, confiding in me that:

My parents still have this tendency that being a hagwon teacher is the right job for a woman, you know? Because there are not many men, and then it is around kids, it can be

stable. My parents always been like, if we- like me and my sister- if we want to try [something] that requires like socializing with more genders, more ages, more diversity, they have been always like it is too tough for you, for vulnerable girls like you. Like, what if something dangerous happens to you? Just conservative, and I understand. If I were a mom, and like, I always see my girl always little, weak, I would have the same concerns too, but it does not support me at all. So, I do not feel any negative things about being a hagwon English teachers, but every time I talk to my parents, I feel like I am underrated. I feel like I am doing it because it is safe... Yeah, they think it is easy to do, which is, it makes me really annoyed. Hello? It is not easy! Like the way they speak is I am still doing this job because it is easy, and it means I cannot do any tougher, difficult job.

Su Hyun did not express feeling inexperienced or too young for her job, but the parents of her students, her customers, were quick to remind her of their opinions. She did not feel negatively about her job. She even seemed proud of herself, but she was torn down by the views of her parents. She felt “underrated.” Her profession was being undermined, and while she did not seem to take these unwarranted comments as direct hits, it must have been exhausting for her constantly hear. The emotional labor to induce or suppress feelings is a mere addition to the effort she must continuously exert to solidify her professional identity. The classroom is her safe space. She does not feel undermined by her students even when she is vulnerable with them. Rather it is how she is perceived outside of the classroom that requires her to build walls and become “fake.”

Power Structures at Play

The power structures affecting Su Hyun tended to be cultural and institutional. She deliberately pointed out components of Korean culture that affected her identity development and required the use of emotional labor. Her young age was seen as a both a benefit and a disadvantage, depending on the current moods of the customers of her hagwon. The internal structure of her hagwon also positioned her in place. Wading at the bottom of the structure reminded her of her lack of experience compared to her coworkers. This lack of experience influenced her use of emotional labor, particularly discouraging her from revealing her natural emotions. Sharing an office with her bosses and colleagues constantly compelled her to engage in emotional labor.

The concept of gender roles also altered her ability to assert her professional identity. Due to the views of her parents, she felt “underrated” and that her job was safe, deemed appropriate for a woman. Her parents’ influence to stay in her current position and not seek out other opportunities with “more genders, more ages, more diversity.” Their perspective may have constrained her development of her professional identity as their views have made her feel less of a professional. Furthermore, as they have discouraged her from seeking out other opportunities, she may lack motivation to search for a teaching job elsewhere. Constrained in her current position at her current hagwon, Su Hyun does not have many routes to explore professionally.

Feeling rules, such as being upset at children was a sign of immaturity, made her question her natural emotions and encouraged her to disregard them. While she was able to counter these feeling rules later, it only came after learning through experience on her own.

Su Hyun described herself out of work as dorkier, sillier, and childlike. She illustrated a professional identity, her “fake” identity, to her bosses and customers of her hagwon. This was because Su Hyun felt she was being constantly evaluated and constantly judged by her bosses and the parents of her students. She even projected this on to other coworkers that she complained were not professional enough. As she felt immense pressure to be professional, she expected others must do the same. She was content and confident in the classroom, but she never indicated a growing more comfortable with parents, once claiming: “With [students’] parents, no, I [have] never been confident and felt like I am doing good. I am nailing it. I have never felt like that with parents.” A potential explanation on why she felt this way is because even when she prepared her best, parents criticized her on facets beyond her control: her age, experience level, and even the tone of her voice. These evaluators are customers, and in this ultra-capitalist society, the customers will always have a voice. She has no choice but to confront these customers, her bosses, and even her own parents who render her powerless and insignificant.

Universal Patterns

We Are Humans, Not Robots

All participants during their interviews alluded to being compared to robots. In their perspectives, robots were endlessly working, emotionless entities. In So Mi’s case, these attributes were sought after by her hagwon and her hagwon’s customers as they preferred a quality of service with specific feeling rules. When questioned about whether her negative emotions could affect her teaching ability, she answered, “I am a human being, not AI or robot.” Similarly, when she discussed her physical health and how it affected her teaching ability, she noted: “I am a human being, I just cannot control my feeling.” When discussing about her

previous job, she described answering the same questions repeatedly and the toll it took on her, “I am not AI. I am not a robot, so it is really [tiring] to answer all these students all the time.” From these quotes, So Mi painted an image of a perfect teacher being robotic and having the foolproof ability to conjure certain emotions and suppress others. Additionally, she adamantly positioned herself away from the image of a robot, repeatedly emphasizing that she is a human being with emotions that sometimes cannot always be controlled. This displays the pressure So Mi, and other teachers like her, might feel to present themselves as in a constant state of emotions deemed sufficient for their position by their customers and employers.

Na Rae likened herself to a robot with automatic reflexes for certain situations. For instance, when students complained, spoke in Korean, or misbehaved, she had to respond “automatically” as with no thought or emotion. She stressed that she empathizes with students and disagreed with the harsh procedures she must use, yet she must suppress these feelings and act efficiently with a forced response. This emotional labor was exhausting for her as she continuously enacted surface acting. Na Rae felt that she was expected to be a robot forcing strictness repeatedly while suppressing her empathy.

Su Hyun, on the other hand, was criticized for being too emotionless and speaking like a robot by parents specifically in situations involving student behavioral problems. When discussing a few complaints from parents, she commented, “at first I was pointed out about speaking too robotic” and later, “I look emotionless, I speak too robotic.” Su Hyun was successful in subduing her own emotions while talking to these parents, but she subdued emotion so much that she failed to conjure the emotions needed. While being robotic was seen as a qualification for a teaching in So Mi’s perspective, it proved to be a detriment to Su Hyun. This

suggests that while teachers may feel the need to portray themselves as robotic and emotionless, they may still be criticized if they present themselves as too robotic. The desired teacher in this setting is not truly emotionless, but a worker that only emits specific unsolicited emotions preferred by customers.

“[Honesty] Is [an] Unnecessary Feeling When I Consult With Parents”

All three participants shared the same technique when having to report student issues to their students' parents. They each described a strategy in which they must compliment the student's behavior, academics, or learning ability before delicately introducing the problem. Su Hyun used the word “detour” multiple times when describing parent interactions. She described being fake as a job requirement specifically for dealing with parents. She also shared that as she gained more experience, it became easier for her to talk about student problems without knowing the student well. Parents wanted to hear individual feedback for their students, but Su Hyun's heavy workload and large number of students made this a burden. For her, student problems essentially were ubiquitous:

Now at this point, it is easy even if I do not know the kids well enough. Because as an English learner, and as a kid, they all share basically the same problem, not practicing enough and have to spend more and more time [studying] even at home... Eventually, their problems are all the similar.

Su Hyun became more confident in her interactions “detouring” with parents as she gained more experience. It also seemingly became an ordinary procedure. In addition, she indicated feeling comfortable with “being fake,” which did not show an adverse effect on her identity development.

When answering who she felt she had to act more with, parents or students, So Mi responded: “Parents, I think it requires more acting, you know. More smile and yeah, speak nicely, you know? Only nice things about your students first.” When prompted to describe in more detail how she talks to parents on the phone, she stated: “In the beginning I always compliment- give a compliment to the students, and you know, what they are good at. Then I start to talk about things they need to improve and things they need to fix.” Same as Su Hyun, “detouring” with parents was a commonly practiced procedure. Considering the following quote, it was a safety measure as well to portray herself as an effective teacher:

Talking to parents especially when the kids are not doing well, that is like the frustrating moment. I have to tell the fact that your kid is not doing well, and some parents, they accept it. But some parents are like ‘well maybe you are just teaching wrong.’ They did not say that directly, but they could say [those] things. Who knows what they are thinking? Maybe they listen to what I say then they say to their wife or husband ‘oh, [that] teacher sucks.’ Who knows?

Since she already battled with self-doubt as a teacher, So Mi imagined that parents would think even less of her when she delivered delicate information about student progress. While it was not clear how often she chose to convey this volatile information, what is clear is that, So Mi expected the worst: the questioning of her teaching ability. Distorting the truth then was not just a procedure but a safety net from herself projecting her own self-doubt.

Na Rae echoed Su Hyun and So Mi in that being dishonest to parents was procedural. She revealed multiple times that lying was not a strategy but a must. At one point, she claimed, “If one of my students is not good at focusing on my class, I have to lie to their parents.” By

using the modal “have to,” she was signaling that she had no agency. She did not reveal why she felt she had no choice but to lie to parents, but she did indicate that she learned this strategy from her coworkers. This furthers the idea that dishonesty to parents is procedural for hagwon workers. She later explained her strategy when discussing student issues with parents, saying :

Yeah, and I just try to explain or to their parents in a very simple or kind way. Yeah, [not] honest. Sometimes one of my kids is very disobedient or shout or yell, but I just say, ‘Oh I think- mom, I think it can take some time to adjust to this environment, but, however, the kid can read very well’ and then try to compliment.

Su Hyun and So Mi also shared similar strategies, from “detouring” from particularly sensitive matters to stating compliments first.

A particularly compelling quote from Na Rae was: “[Honesty] is [an] unnecessary feeling with I consult with my parents.” She shared here that honesty is moot. It could be that since she felt as though as she must be dishonest, honesty was not something to be considered. It could also be that in her opinion, if she were to be honest, it would have no significant impact. In either situation, it was clear that Na Rae viewed honesty as not even choice to consider when consulting with parents.

All the participants were trained to say what the parents, their customers, wanted to hear. Add in the possible trigger of angering parents, gathering complaints, and facing the subsequent consequences, it was clear why all participants chose to follow this procedure.

“We Teach! That Is It!”

Another theme was that each participant felt parents, students, or their hagwons tried to issue roles and responsibilities to them that did not align with the teaching profession. When

teachers feel their responsibilities are pushed from their primary role of educating, they tend to feel guilt or frustration (Nias, 1996). So Mi expressed her distaste for when students treated her like a babysitter, stating: “I just want them to take my job seriously...Like I am a teacher, who do you think I am?” Since So Mi was so focused on establishing her professional identity as a teacher, being treated as anything but a teacher threatened her.

Na Rae resented her institution for forcing her to plan and carry out special activities such as art, decorating, graduation speeches, etc. She also conveyed great relief that her current hagwon did not require teachers to be caretakers. With such a passion for teaching and methodology, Na Rae viewed decorating and caretaking as a waste of her efforts.

Su Hyun detested it when parents of her students asked her to get involved with their personal lives, particularly when it came to social situations outside of the hagwon or encouraging students to take more classes. She described an instance when parents demanded that she intervene in a situation when students argued outside of the hagwon. Despite not being involved, the parent demanded that she mend the situation, even going as far to come to her hagwon to speak to her about it. When expressing her irritation, she exclaimed: “I wish parents knew that we are just teacher[s]. We teach, that is it!” This sentiment, I believe, would be agreed upon by all the participants. All participants have worked extraordinary hard to establish themselves as a professional teacher. So Mi works exerting herself as professional despite feeling inadequate at times. Na Rae wishes to utilize the methodology she has learned to create the ideal English learning atmosphere. Su Hyun actively tries to portray herself as an experienced, qualified teacher to enshroud her age, which others may discriminate against. Having their

professional identities respected is a notion they all greatly need. When they feel they are issued roles that demote them, they feel as though their professional identities are being dismissed.

More Comfortability with Students Than Parents

Each participant expressed comfortability and confidence in front of students, but each also indicated feeling more stressed, less confident, or less comfortable when interacting with the parents of their students. Su Hyun felt very strongly about this, stating: “With my parents, no, I [have] never been confident and felt like I am doing good, [that] I am nailing it.” She also asserts that the students that she teaches are “just kids” and that they do not have any faults. After this, she claims, “it is all the parents,” meaning the majority of stress-induced incidents resulted from the parents.

Na Rae shared feeling very satisfied with her job when she is with her students. She stated, “When I deal with parents or boss[es], that makes me stressed.” She also revealed finding her students to be honest compared to adults, indicating that she may not trust the parents of her students or others working at her hagwon.

So Mi, who did show understanding to both students and parents, also revealed feeling pressure and stress when interacting with parents, particularly when having to call them. She also showed a pattern of imagining parents judging her teaching ability, which she did not show the same concern for her students. This potentially pointed to her feeling more confident with her teaching ability around her students than their parents. When prompted whether they feel more comfortable showing their emotions to parents or students, all three participants responded that they felt more comfortable showing their emotions around students.

Other studies have proven that teachers feel more positively in their interactions with students than their interactions with their colleagues, bosses, or customers (Cowie, 2011; Song, 2020; Nias, 1996). Given that teachers spend significantly more time with their students, it is understandable that they feel more comfortable and confident around them. What is significant is that most of the stress reported by the participants was drawn from interactions with parents or their bosses. Interestingly, even though So Mi and Su Hyun do not show the same affinity towards children as Na Rae did, all three still indicated parents being the most stressful part of their job.

Physical Side Effects

Without prompt, each participant commented on the physical side effects they experienced since becoming teachers. So Mi mentioned experiencing chronic sore throat and having to receive injections for relief. Su Hyun also experienced chronic sore throat to the point of medical attention. She also cited having frequent back pain and headaches. Na Rae recalled fainting at work before from exhaustion. She also stated that she suffered from anxiety since the incident.

The use of emotional labor may increase during periods of health issues as teachers try to conceal their physical pain (Acheson et al. 2016). In order to appear their normal selves, all three participants reported hiding their feelings during these health issues. Na Rae went straight back to teaching minutes after fainting and detailed her emotional labor, claiming: “Four hours I just teach and pretend to be okay but in a very- at that time I was very bright, very energetic, [I] pretend[ed] to be very bright.” So Mi detailed trying to appear normal when she has a severe cold, and when she noticed that the class atmosphere has changed as students were aware that

she was not in a good mood, she felt guilty. Her failure to employ emotional labor promoted further emotional consequences. Su Hyun echoed this. She voiced her concern on making her students feel uncomfortable on days she felt unwell and how she tried to rectify the situation. These experiences display that in addition to teachers needing to exert more emotional labor, when they feel physically or mentally unwell, failing to do so may cause them more emotional distress such as guilt.

Fleeting Emotions and Long-Lasting Emotions

Na Rae and So Mi reported that the emotions they perceived as negative were fleeting, but Su Hyun indicated the opposite. Specifically, Su Hyun commented that negative emotions lasted longer as she tended to reminisce on them more. However, it is unclear to whether these emotions stemmed from interactions with students or others. So Mi, on the other hand, referenced feeling angry in the classroom as “just for an instant” and that she “cannot stay mad [long].” She indicated the same sentiment when discussing burnout, referring the feeling as temporary. Na Rae described her feelings of frustration as “process” that is short-lived and ends with her reflecting on how to improve. Na Rae and So Mi’s short-lived negative emotions in interactions with students mirror Cowie’s (2011) findings that negative emotions from student interactions were shorter and less intense.

Emotions, then, and the emotional labor used to suppress the feeling, vary individually. Su Hyun, who portrayed herself as having a deep separation of personal and professional identities, held on to the negative emotions in her personal identity as well. This suggests that a strong division of identities does not necessary result in the ability to *not take your work home*

with you per se. Thus, a merger of identities such as in Na Rae's case, does not necessarily imply a weaker ability to separate work and personal emotions.

The Roles We Play

The participants mimicked some of the roles the participants in Farrell's (2011) study were found to assume as teachers. So Mi compared herself in multiple instances to an actor, and she also referred to thinking of herself as "a clown" when entertaining younger students. Na Rae labeled herself at one point as a "comedian" who entertained, motivated, and appealed to her students. Su Hyun confessed to being "fake" as if she was playing a part. By playing parts and assuming roles, different influences on their professional identities may form. They also may invest in some roles over others. So Mi and Su Hyun seemed to intentionally paint themselves as just acting or faking their professional identities. By doing so, they could be attempting to drive their professional identities away from their personal identities as they perceive them as illusions. This could be due to the immense amount of deep acting they engage in, and in the effort to save their self-esteem, to try to distance themselves from their professional identities (Hochschild, 2012). Na Rae, on the contrary, did not show the same distancing despite labeling herself as a comedian. In my perspective, while an actor only pretends to be others, a comedian can be both an impressionist and their own self. This illustrates the essence of Na Rae's merging identities. Her impressions became a part of her identity. These impressions may sometimes imprint on her, steering her identity in a direction she may not have intended. They may also challenge her beliefs. Instead of resisting the influence her profession had on her personal identity, she welcomed it. Therefore, the roles teachers may take on and how they view these roles may show insight to the relationship between their professional and personal identities.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This explorative study was conducted in order to add evidence to a scant realm of literature in SLA and to illustrate how emotions, emotional labor, and identity interacted in a local context. The emotions experienced by participants and the feelings rules or power structures that provoked these emotions were investigated. The application of emotional labor strategies was also examined to illustrate to use of emotional labor by the participants. Finally, the relationships between participants' emotions, use of emotional labor, and development of their professional identities were drawn to map the intricate yet potent connections and influences they had on each other. The evidence was inspected with a poststructuralist lens to trace the overarching power structures that shaped the participants emotions and identities.

The findings of this study contributed to the notion that emotions are socially, politically, and culturally constructed (Benesch, 2018; Song, 2020; Zembylas, 2003; Zembylas & Schutz, 2009). Power structures were instrumental in the construction and emergence of the three participants' emotions (Barcelos, 2015; Zembylas, 2005). Su Hyun felt shame due to the culturally constructed idea that age construed ability. The vulnerability that she felt was socially constructed as her supervisors and customers were deemed in a high position of power. So Mi's self-doubt was politically constructed as her lack of feedback was due to her institution's practices. Na Rae's guilt when she portrayed an unempathetic, strict teacher was an outcome of both her institutional and cultural ideals of a teacher's role and the enforcement of portraying such a role. Institutional drive for profit provoked guilt in Na Rae when she had to lie to parents, frustration in all participants when they had to preform duties outside of teaching, and stress in

all participants when they had to interact with parents. Perceived negative emotions derived from students were found to be less intense and shorter than the perceived negative emotions derived from interactions with parents, bosses, and institutions. These findings echo other studies in which teacher emotions were reported to be less intense when involving classroom or student interactions (Cowie, 2011) and more negative emotions towards colleagues and institutions (Song, 2020; Nias, 1996).

All three participants engaged in emotional labor, which was an important theme throughout the study. This study's findings agree that language teaching requires constant emotional labor (Song, 2016). For private after-school academies such as the hagwons the participants worked at, emotional labor does not end in the classroom. In fact, only a sliver of it appeared to be applied in classrooms. The vast majority of hard emotional labor reported by the participants happened with interactions between the students' parents or with other staff employed at the hagwon. However, the rewards associated with their emotional labor mainly derived from their classroom experiences. This points that while teachers may receive emotional rewards by conducting emotional labor, not all instances of emotional labor may provoke emotional rewards. In fact, most instances of emotional labor applied by the participants in this study received little to no emotional rewards as they were performed for supervisors or parents. Yet, employing emotional labor was found to not be inherently negative, similar to other studies findings (Benesch, 2018; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Miller & Gnokou, 2018; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Particularly, participants felt more satisfied when their emotional labor was successful. Na Rae felt satisfied when her emotional labor encouraged her students to be motivated and involved in class. Both So Mi and Na Rae preferred wearing masks as it helped them to hide

their emotions. When they hid their emotions, they were able to maintain the professional identity they desired to exert. This assistance not only required them to use less emotional labor, but it also ensured the success of hiding their emotions. On the other hand, participants reported having further emotional distress when their emotional labor was unsuccessful. So Mi recalled being punished for failing to hide her emotions. Su Hyun felt more vulnerable when her supervisors or parents saw her true emotions. Therefore, while emotional labor employed in instances with parents or supervisors did not bring emotional rewards such as when applied in the classroom, its success was still important to participants. Emotional labor was not only a strategy for the participants; it was a necessary skill for teaching. When participants felt they were performing well, they felt more satisfied. Despite the lack of emotional rewards, the use of emotional labor was still significant in participants' job satisfaction.

The participants mainly used a variety of emotional labor strategies. Deep acting seemed to bring more benefits as some participants were able to convince themselves to feel a certain emotion, which aligns with previous research (Lee & Vlack, 2018). The participants did not seem to necessarily prefer one emotional labor strategy over the others, but instead, they used a variety to fit their needs.

Feeling rules, which either derived from Korean culture or institutional interference, were present as well. All the participants seemed to have bought the idea that professional teachers do not share their emotions. Only Su Hyun eventually challenged this by exhibiting open vulnerability to her students. Su Hyun and So Mi were taught to feel indifferent about lying to parents while Na Rae, who also dishonest to parents, felt guilty. Thus, while feeling rules were present, the participants were able to challenge them.

The findings illuminated the power structures that influenced their identities and the relationship between their professional and personal identities. The emotions felt by the participants and the emotional labor they employed were found to affect their identity development, which contributes to other research in the field suggesting that emotions shape identity (Barcelos, 2015). So Mi's self-doubt led her to question her ability as a teacher and need affirmation. This caused her to focus on building her professional identity and actively diverge it from her personal identity. She viewed herself as playing the role as a teacher. Participants in Kanno and Stuart's (2011) study also reported feeling as though they were playing a role of a teacher instead of being a teacher. Na Rae's values and beliefs were integral to her identity, which corroborates other research (Pennington & Richards, 2016). As her values and beliefs were manipulated by institutional and systematic influences, she morphed closer to the ideal teacher by their standards. However, she never completely abandoned her values and beliefs, and she felt guilty when she was forced to be stricter to students. In order to suppress her feelings of guilt and empathy, she had to conduct even more emotional labor. She eventually began to adapt her beliefs and values in order to feel less guilty and thus use less emotional labor. In doing so, she also began to merge her two identities. She invested in roles that made her happier and more satisfied, like the role of a motivator. Investing in certain roles to increase job satisfaction or to build identity were reported in a number of studies (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Kocabaş -Gedik & Hart, 2021; Simon-Maeda, 2004). Su Hyun who was shamed for her age and experience level felt vulnerable, especially with parents and supervisors. In order to appear professional, she had to use emotional labor to try and hide her vulnerability. Like So Mi, she prioritized portraying herself as professional and also hinted at playing a role. Because of the shame she suffered at

work and at home, she felt limited in her profession. The relationship of her professional and personal identity had a natural boundary, but her ability to develop her own professional identity was constrained.

Each participant emphasized themselves as a human being. This emphasis suggests that they felt dehumanized in the teaching profession, particularly by their institutions and customers. The participants had to engage in emotional labor to hide their emotions when their physical health suffered, and they were supportive of wearing masks in the classroom for protecting themselves from COVID19 and assisting in their emotional labor. They also highlighted their passion for teaching and their disdain for being forced to complete duties outside of education, similar to the findings of Nias (1996).

Similar to other significant work in this area, the identities of the participants were found to be “multiple, shifting, and in conflict” and “crucially related to social, cultural, and political context” (Varghese et al., 2005, p. 35). Political and social contexts contributed to the sculpting of their identities (Lasky, 2005). The participants had to conform to their customers’ and institutions’ ideal image of a teacher in order to provide for themselves financially. Deterring from social, cultural, and political definitions of a teacher would cost them their job and potentially their livelihood. Social, cultural, and political factors cannot be ignored when considering language teacher identities, especially for language teachers employed in the private realm, and even more so for language teachers working in ultra-capitalist societies.

Implications

I would argue that the foremost implication of this study is that teachers want to be educators. They do not mind engaging in emotional labor, particularly when in the classroom.

They want to be effective (So Mi), motivational (Na Rae), and role models (Su Hyun) for their students. The majority of their satisfaction comes from when they perform their job well in the classroom. The majority of the stress they receive is when they are forced away from their ideal identity as a teacher: when they are belittled to do duties outside of education, when they have to manipulate their emotions to please parents and supervisors, and when they have to present themselves more closely to the cultural or institution's image of a teacher than their own image. While emotional labor is a skill that promotes learning in the classroom, it is also exploited for customers. With little opportunity to become their ideal image of a teacher, they may merge their identity to recreate a new identity that meshes with the cultural and political definitions of a teacher or divide their identities to protect their personal identity from institutional interference.

The evidence of this study suggests that emotional labor is not only a strategy, but a necessary skill in the profession of language teaching. Pre-service or novice language teachers should be aware of the emotional component of teaching, including the necessity of emotional labor. Emotional labor should be presented as a skill, not a necessary evil, as emotional labor can bring about emotional rewards and contribute to job satisfaction. Furthermore, it is the responsibility of educators in language teacher preparation programs to prepare language teachers for the realities of their career. Instead of treating emotions as the "elephant in the room," emotions should be treated as a centrality in the profession (Swain, 2013, p. 195). In addition, the curriculum used in language teacher preparation programs should reference the significance and role of teacher emotions in the field. The more teacher emotions are ignored, the more future novice language teachers will enter the profession unprepared.

As an emerging topic in the field of second language acquisition, more research is needed to depict the emotions of language teachers, particularly those in local contexts. More research is needed in specific contexts to examine the power structures that create feeling rules for language teachers. More research in how feeling rules are defied by language teachers would also assist in widening the lens of the influence of these power structures in local contexts. Further research into the relationships of teacher identities in for-profit institutions may help explain the impact they have in ultra-capitalist societies.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Initial Interview

1. How long have you been teaching English?
2. Tell me about your teaching experience at institution X.
3. How do you describe yourself as a teacher?
4. How has being a non-native speaker of English influenced your teaching? How has it influenced your relationships with your co-workers, administrators, and students?
5. As a non-native speaking teacher, are there any responsibilities or roles that you have that are not expected from the native speaker? What do you think about these responsibilities/roles?
6. How has being a non-native speaker affected your relationships with the students? How do you feel they perceive you?
7. Describe a positive experience you had while teaching.
8. Describe a negative experience you had while teaching.
9. Tell me about a time you worked very hard to control your emotions in the classroom.
 - a. Why did you need to control your emotions?
 - b. Were you successful?
 - c. How did you feel after controlling your emotions?
 - d. Are there any feelings you have toward teaching or your students that are more forced than others?
10. Does teaching match the expectations you had before you starting this career?
11. Does teaching make you feel burnt out? If so, what parts of the job make you feel this way?

12. What is something you wished your students, or the parents of your students knew about teaching?
13. Do you think that your appearance affects the way your students/parents of your students perceive your English teaching ability?
14. Do you feel as though some roles or expectations of your job depends on your gender?

Follow-Up Interview:

1. How much do you teach in English vs. Korean? Can you give me a guessed percentage?
2. How many classes do you teach on the average day, and how long is each class?
3. Do you think you show your emotions naturally in the classroom often?
4. Do you feel more comfortable showing your emotions in front of students or parents?
5. Have you ever considered quitting teaching? Why?
6. Talk about something that is annoying for you at work.
7. Do you think the person you are as a teacher is the same person you are outside of work such as with your friends or family? If not, how about these personalities different?
8. Has teaching changed your personality?
9. Does the way you feel when you teach affect your teaching in your opinion?
 - a. When do you 'pretend' to be okay? How do you do it?
10. Would you say teaching is more emotional, social, or physical?
11. When do you feel emotionally/socially/physically exhausted after teaching?
12. How has wearing a mask in class make you feel? Does wearing a mask help you to hide your emotions?
13. What emotions do you experience the most while at work?

14. What emotions are the hardest for you to hide? (Tell me when and how you hide this emotion)
15. What emotions do you have to force yourself to feel at work? (Tell me when and how you force these emotions)

APPENDIX B: HUMAN RESEARCH PERMISSION LETTER



UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

Institutional Review Board

FWA00000351
IRB00001138, IRB00012110
Office of Research
12201 Research Parkway
Orlando, FL 32826-3246

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

June 16, 2022

Dear Emily Puckett:

On 6/16/2022, the IRB determined the following submission to be human subjects research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Emotions, emotional labor, and the professional identity of Korean teachers of English
Investigator:	Emily Puckett
IRB ID:	STUDY00004325
Funding:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cultural memo scott leefe.pdf, Category: International; • Emily_IRB_FacultyForm (1).pdf, Category: Faculty Research Approval; • Interview Questions edit.docx, Category: Interview / Focus Questions; • Korean Consent Form, Category: Consent Form; • Korean interview questions, Category: Interview / Focus Questions; • Study 4325 HRP-254 UPDATED2docx.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Study 4325 HRP-255 UPDATED2.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Translation Verification.docx, Category: Translation Verification;

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made, and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please submit a modification request to the IRB. Guidance on submitting Modifications and Administrative Check-in are detailed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the IRB Library within the IRB system. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request so that IRB records will be accurate.

UCF IRB approval is not a substitute for international requirements to conduct research. Investigators are responsible for obtaining documentation of local IRB, Ethics Board or equivalent body or committee review of the research or documentation that local ethics review is not required.

Please visit the 2019 Edition of the International Compilation of Human Research Standards at: <https://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/sites/default/files/2019-International-Compilation-of-HumanResearch-Standards.pdf> for laws, regulations and guidelines that govern Human Subject Research in 104 countries.

If you have any questions, please contact the UCF IRB at 407-823-2901 or irb@ucf.edu. Please include your project title and IRB number in all correspondence with this office.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Kristin Badillo".

Kristin Badillo
Designated Reviewer

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