

Blurring work-life boundaries: Jung and organizational relationships within South Korean workplaces*

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〈Abstract〉

This study investigates different perceptions towards work-life balance(WLB) in South Korean organizations, in relation to the Confucian relationship structure and indigenous emotional concept of *jung*. We focus on the expectations towards different interpersonal relationships guided by the perceptions of *jung* using qualitative interview data across three different companies. *Jung* is an indigenous term that broadly describes a feeling of care, emotional attachment, and in-group collectiveness between individuals within Korean society. While *jung* is often considered as a unique, supportive characteristic in Korean culture, the idea of *jung* may provide challenges in achieving WLB for organizational workers. Findings suggest that Korean workers accept the extensive connection with work and other organizational members, and also consider that this is a part of maintaining peaceful organizational relationships. Furthermore, such connections are considered to be a signal of *jung* and care. However, due to the different cultural values and perceptions of individuals, organizational members may still desire a separation between work and personal life. This conflict between desire to maintain WLB, but acknowledging that extensive work-life merge is a sign of *jung* from other organizational members, may create a feeling of guilt and emotional distress for individuals. Therefore, *jung* may help to reduce the boundary between work and personal life, but also cultivate negative emotions for individuals who actually desire WLB.

*Key Words: Emotions, jung, organizational relationships, South Korea, Work-Life Balance

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I . Introduction

South Korean(hereinafter Korean) organizations have traditionally operated under a Confucian-based ethics and relationship structure, which emphasize strict hierarchy, interdependency, and harmony(Shim et al. 2008). While these traditional cultural values may help individuals to accept organizational patriarchy(Lee 2001) and engage in constructive collective behavior(Yao & Yao 2000), the young Koreans are experiencing change to move away from traditional norms(Choi et al. 2016; Ingelhart 1997; Kim & Faerman 2013). In accordance with globalization and development of Information Communication Technology(ICT), understanding the changing values of organizational workers in diverse cultural contexts is an important part of managing human resources. One of the changing and perhaps surfacing desires of working individuals is to maintain a healthy work-life balance(WLB).

WLB is an important concept to consider for both individuals and organizations. WLB may influence job satisfaction(Choi & Kim 2012), organizational commitment(You & Son 2009), and innovative behavior of workers(Jung et al. 2016). However, the development of ICTs have extended remote work, influence connectivity expectations for organizational members, and thus blur the boundary between work and personal space(time and physical space) to increase uncertainty for individuals. Within Korean workplace contexts, Confucian value of hierarchy and harmony may heighten this uncertainty by enforcing hierarchical role-based expectations for individuals(Deuchler 1992) in how connectivity may be dealt between organizational members. Extensive interdependency and development of collective identity based on Confucian values may mean that workers are required to merge their work and personal domains. For example, seniors are expected to take care of their subordinates, and subordinates are expected to follow orders silently(Quan 2015). Such expectations may force individuals to socialize and communicate with work colleagues during weekends, and taking on after hours work(Lee et al. 2011; Sung & Jun 2018). Therefore, this cultural and relational inability to separate work and personal time may drive

Korean workers towards work-life integration, rather than separation (where work and non-work aspects of life are kept separate using various boundary management techniques).

While some Korean workplaces have been increasingly focused on improving worker health and wellbeing, these changes are slow and majority of workers in Korea are unhappy with long working hours and lack of WLB (Choi et al. 2016). Korean workers in lower hierarchical positions and younger workers (these two factors usually occur together) rate their workplace health and happiness in particularly negative ways. Older workers, however, find it difficult to relate to the concerns of younger Korean workers as they tend to view WLB and workplace relationships in different ways (Choi et al. 2016). These findings suggest that although there are new policies being integrated in Korean workplaces to promote WLB (such as limiting the number of working hours a week) there might be certain cultural factors that create barriers for WLB for Korean workers (Choi et al. 2016). We propose that *jung* may be one of these cultural factors.

This paper investigates the relationship between WLB, culture, and emotions in Korean organizations. In particular, we attempt to gain insights into the different perceptions towards WLB through the indigenous emotional concept *jung*. *Jung* is a term that helps to define the unique emotional aspect of Korean interpersonal relationships (Chung & Cho 2006). Scholars define the concept of *jung* in multiple ways, meaning that it is highly subjective and the way it is perceived can be unique to each individual. For the purposes of this study, we define *Jung* as an emotional state or a process between individuals to structure a collective mind-set and communal identity within the Korean society. However, *jung* between work colleagues may craft interpersonal responsibility or expectations between individuals involved, making it difficult for individuals to identify work and personal relationships separately. Therefore, *jung* may influence how individuals identify the extent of their WLB. In order to investigate such diverse perceptions, this study uses 46 semi-structured interview data from three different Korean organizations, therefore providing a rich, in-depth insights to WLB in

non-Western organizational contexts, and implications for the emotional aspect of interpersonal relationships in Korean organizational contexts.

II. Literature

1. Korean workplaces

The rapid economic development in Korea has been described to reflect its institutional(Amsden 1992) and cultural efforts(Chang 1988; Kim & Park 2003). Korea is one of the East Asian countries that have been influenced by Confucianism, a system of ethics derived from ancient China(Yao & Yao 2000). Values of interdependency, hierarchy, and harmony are especially emphasized under Confucianism(Deuchler 1992; Yao & Yao 2000), and this is also transferred into the organizational context, and thus cultivating a collective identity and interdependent relationships between organizational members(Rowley & Bae 2003). Therefore, Korean workplaces are often described to have hierarchical relationship structure(Shim et al., 2008), with strict collective work ethics, and intensive work(Datmalchian et al. 2000; Rowley & Bae 2002; Zhang & Seo 2018) which signifies harmonious workplace behavior. In this process, family is considered as the key idea to shape organizational relationships, and thus individuals are expected to uphold their interrelated responsibilities towards one another(Shim et al. 2008).

However, Korean organizations and the country's culture are also described to be patriarchal, masculine, and as a closed system(Kim & Faerman 2013; Lee 2001). Based on the age and organizational position, creation of clear relational status is believed to provide harmony and peace amongst the members(Shim et al. 2008). Therefore, as a part of the Confucian-based value system that influence the behavior of individuals within Korean organizations(Rowley & Bae 2003), hierarchy is considered especially important to understand the workplace behavior within Korean organizations.

Specific roles are prescribed to individuals according to their (relational) hierarchical status (Shim et al. 2008), and such relational roles include the superiors (senior members) providing guidance and leadership to their subordinates while subordinates are expected to obey orders and comply with their superior's needs, where silence is considered as one of the most preferred forms of communication for subordinates (Barnlund & Yoshioka 1990; Lim 1999; Ollier-Malaterre et al. 2013; Song & Meek 1998).

More specifically, collectivistic ideals (Hofstede 1984), including interrelated identity (Cho 2007), desire for intimate relationship development (Wheeler et al. 1989), and expectations of communal relationship (Matsumoto et al. 2008) may be displayed more significantly within Korean workplaces. Interpersonal relationships are an important part of work. However, interpersonal relationships in Korean organizations seem to heavily influence individuals and their work related behavior. Nevertheless, Park and Kim's (2008) study of 189 Korean companies showed that the quality of interpersonal relationships is even considered as a significant part of performance evaluations, resulting in Korean workers to invest time and effort in managing their workplace relationships, not just because of their cultural values, but also to survive within the organization.

2. Jung, culture, and workplace relationships

Within non-Western contexts, ideas of work and workplace relationships are interpreted upon different cultural assumptions such as Confucianism (Shim et al. 2003) and other indigenous concepts (Kim & Faerman 2013), such as *jung*. Hofstede and Bond (1988) suggest that collective characteristics observed within Korean organizational contexts may be maintained by strong group loyalty and interdependency, unlike individualistic cultures. Chung and Cho (2006) explain that ideas such as group loyalty and face-saving relate to the indigenous term *jung* and that the existence of *jung* between individuals means that unquestioning loyalty is expected as a member of the in-group, extending to all aspects of an

individual's life.

While there are multiple perspectives on and definitions on *jung* as it is a highly subjective concept, *jung* can be broadly defined as an experience of empathy or affection with others, and thus creating a bond through diverse interactions(Yang 2006). This bond focuses on the complex emotional experience of individuals, where Chung and Cho(2006) explains *jung* as “the emotional and psychological bonds that join Koreans; it permeates all levels, dividing the world into different degrees of us/we versus them”(46). *Jung* may also be understood as a psychological element that describes a mixed feeling of attachment, caring, fondness, and bonding(Kim 2009; Lee 1983), extending to behaviors such as being attentive, helpful(Choi & Kim 2006), and display self-sacrifice(Heo et al. 2016) similar to that of family(Choi 2000). Therefore, *jung* may involve both positive and negative dimensions in its impact on individuals involved. Park et al.(2014) explains that *jung* may be the central emotion to construct any interpersonal relationship between Korean individuals, provoking individuals to excessively intervene into other people's personal domains(i.e. asking personal questions to a stranger) in attempt to quickly develop emotional bonding. However, *jung* may not emerge instantly. Instead, it can be viewed as a process that requires accumulating over time(Choi & Choi 2002). Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, we view *jung* is a complex phenomenon that includes emotional state and a process between individuals that may help to develop an indigenous ‘we-ness’(Chung & Cho 2006) specific to Korean culture.

However, this idea of ‘we-ness’ in *jung* development is different to that of collective group in Western contexts(Marshall 2008). *Jung* describes a reciprocated emotion(Kim et al. 2004), and strengthening process of social connection, where it is close to that of affection(Oh et al. 1994). Oh et al.'s(1994) study within the clinical field describes *jung* as a component of social support, where it is an essential factor in private social networks. Therefore, *jung* within Korean workplace contexts is not simply a descriptor of collectivism, but an emotional subject that may help to explain the unique description of interdependent relationship within the Korean context. Violation of in-group expectations and loyalty between those with *jung* based

relationships may be considered as intolerable betrayal, impacting the (betrayed) subject's emotional and psychological well-being (Chung & Cho 2006). This means individuals who intentionally or accidentally violate the expected norms based on *jung* may be perceived (significantly) negatively, resulting in their group membership to be at risk.

3. Work-Life Balance and Korean jung

While traditional cultural values and hierarchical relationship structures still provide important guidelines towards worker behavior within the Korean organizational contexts, Korean society is also experiencing cultural changes across generations (Ingelhart 1997). This includes different generations holding different interpretations towards cultural values such as harmony and interpersonal relationships (Zhang et al. 2005), and recognizing that there is also a value in fostering life beyond the workplace (Koo 2019). However, Korean companies are described to show extraordinary levels of employee effort and commitment, and this is signalled through long work hours and production levels (Amsden 1992; Magaziner & Patinkin 1989). The collectivist values that emphasize effort and commitment for the benefit of the group have also increased behaviors such as presenteeism, forcing individuals to work even when they are sick (Cho et al. 2016). In order to reduce such extensive work hours and increase the quality of life for workers, the Korean government incorporated a work time-limit policy to recommend a work standard of 52 hours per week (Sung & Jun 2018). However, increased amount of connectivity through technological devices (to work) means that such restriction on work hours may not reduce work, but simply change the associated expectations in how individuals connect to work (Park & Koh 2014; Peters & Allouch 2005). One of the implications from the different on-going changes (policy, generational, and societal) experienced by Korean organizations include expectations towards WLB.

Greenhaus et al. (2003) define WLB as the level of involvement and satisfaction an individual experience with their family and work role.

Similarly, Hill et al.(2001) explain WLB as a management between time and emotional needs for individuals. However, Kalliath and Brough's(2008) review suggests that the term WLB is widely employed, and is broadly idealized to discuss the multiple roles(including work related role) of individuals which may relate to family and/or other personal aspects of life. This means that such different roles may not actually be clear and distinct. Work-life blurring is defined as the "experience of confusion or difficulty in distinguishing one's work from one's family roles in a given setting in which these roles are seen as highly integrated"(Desrochers & Sargent 2004, 41). When individuals are unable to separate their work and personal identity, individuals may either attempt to separate these two areas(work and personal life) or accept them as one(fully merged). This process may result in work-life balance or conflict(Yun et al. 2012). Despite such workplace controversies, IT consumerization(by organizations) has influenced the general organizational culture to reflect work-life integration rather than segmentation(Koffler et al. 2015).

WLB is subjective(Kossek et al. 1999) and may be perceived as a contextual and social construct(Drobic & Guillen 2011). This means the idea of balancing the diverse roles of an individual may change across time and space, which may only be recognized by the individual. For example, Bae et al.(2013) suggests that while some Korean workers perceive WLB to involve maintaining work and family related duties(such as looking after their children), other younger or single workers perceive WLB to help achieve both work and personal interests(investing time in hobbies). Regardless of how WLB is defined, Choi and Kim's(2012) study of Korean hotel workers suggest that worker's experience of conflict in maintaining work and family significantly influence job satisfaction and related outcomes. Similarly, You and Son(2009) suggest that low work-family conflict and strong social support leads to greater organizational commitment and job satisfaction. While it is clear that positive interpersonal relationships(both personal and at work) helps to manage a healthy WLB of workers(for the benefit of both individual and organization), it is unclear how culture-specific relationship structures and expectations may influence the construction and perception towards WLB.

Based on the collectivist ideals within Korean workplace contexts, work and personal life is more likely to be considered as integrated than independent (Lee et al. 2011). Therefore, if organizations provide policies to incorporate WLB for its members, workers may show more commitment to the company within Korean contexts (Kim 2014). However, WLB in Korean workplace contexts may be difficult to achieve. Cho et al. (2016) explain that the embedded ‘traditional’ Korean culture may create a barrier to organizational success, where personal lives are expected to be sacrificed, and thus resulting in work-life imbalance. This may be important as organizational expectations and conditions may influence the psychological well-being of workers (Kim & Park 2019). Furthermore, Cho et al. (2016) imply that the different quality of interpersonal relationships (with regards to individual’s marital status and organizational position) of individuals may influence how WLB strategies are developed. This may be a significant aspect to consider in cross-cultural studies, where cultural expectations of organizational members and their WLB may be dependent on the different interpersonal relationship structures, which are context-specific.

Negotiating WLB expectations may be complex, especially within non-Western contexts, such as Korea. In particular, *jung* is described to have significant influence on organizational relationships and managerial outcomes within Korean workplace contexts (Heo et al. 2016). This suggests that exploring the relationship between WLB from a culture-specific perspective may be more meaningful when indigenous concepts such as *jung* is used to understand the theoretical interrelatedness. *Jung* may help to explain unique emotional linkages between individuals which affect how individuals perceive their work and personal domains, and the complexities involved in finding the right ‘balance’ for organizational workers. Therefore, the Confucian-based hierarchical relationship structure within Korean organizations, along with the existence of *jung* between organizational members, may create difficulties for individuals in developing a constructive WLB. This leads to our overarching research question: How do the perceptions of *jung* within Korean workplace relationships influence individual work-life balance outcomes?

III. Methodology

1. Multi-voiced interpretivist approach

This study adopts a qualitative research methodology to investigate the relationship between WLB and *jung* within Korean workplace contexts. Perceptions towards WLB may be contextual and interpreted differently by each individual(Xiao & Cooke 2012). Furthermore, the idea of *jung* is subjective and is difficult to define especially due to the indigenous nature of the concept. We attempt to examine these diverse interpretations of WLB and its impact on organizational members within Korean workplaces, by adopting a multi-voiced interpretivist approach(Alvesson 2010; Cunliffe et al. 2014). Multi-voiced interpretivist approach(Alvesson 2010; Cunliffe et al. 2014) may help to explain diverse stories and perspectives of the research participants. The interpretivist approach states that individuals create knowledge in particular contexts, and that realities can be subjective and multiple(Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This research uses an interpretivist approach with the underlying assumption that there are multiple realities which are constructed by individuals(Orlikowski & Baroudi,1991). This means that there is no single objective reality and that every interpretive study produces unique findings that cannot be replicated by others(Walsham, 1995). By using this approach we do not attempt to generalize the findings from our data, instead, the intention of this study is to provide insights to the complex relationship between WLB, culture, and *jung* by providing descriptions of unique situations and perceptions within the studied Korean companies(Bryman & Bell 2015).

2. Data collection

The study involved using purposeful sampling, which included recruiting participants with specific characteristics while ensuring they are heterogenous by deliberately including cases that vary widely. This type of sampling

enables the researcher to identify themes that cut across a variety of people (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). For this study, convenience sampling was used to recruit organizations. Potential participant organizations were identified through personal contacts and organizations known to the researcher. Data collection was conducted in three Korean companies, from March 2014 to June 2014. These three companies have been re-named Truscene, Mintrack, and Wisepath. Each of the three participant companies showed unique culture and characteristics, and operate within different industries of manufacturing, gaming, and Information Technology (IT). Companies from diverse backgrounds were intentionally selected for this study, under the assumption that diverse stories may allow for the greatest learning about the phenomena of interest (Stake 2013).

The researcher was introduced to the participants at the beginning of the data collection period, to be accustomed with the potential participants and gain consent for interview participation. Participation was voluntary, and semi-structured interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis and implemented questions about individual perceptions towards WLB and *jung*. Furthermore, impromptu questions were asked to gain deeper insights for certain ideas during the interview. Duration of each interview was generally between 1 to 2 hours. Interviews were recorded using a voice recorder, and hand-written notes were also made during the interview to capture non-verbal language and gestures of the participant. Individual participants were also given pseudonyms for confidentiality and anonymity purposes. Member-check was also conducted after the research period, in order to check whether participants agree with the conversation recorded, and some participants provided further information to clarify certain ideas within their interview data. A total of 46 interviews were conducted across the three participant companies, where these interviews are not (proportionately) representative of the participant companies. Initially we also intended to collect data through document collection, but none of the participant companies had documentation with regards to WLB. However, senior manager(s) from all three companies provided a brief description of activities that their company organizes officially and unofficially) for the intention to

provide happier and healthier(work and personal) life of its employees. These brief descriptions were obtained through interviews. The descriptions of each company will be explained in the context section(section 3.3) below. Table 1 provides a summary of the three participant companies in terms of company size, organizational hierarchy, and age range of its organizational members.

〈Table 1〉 Summary of participant companies

Company	Industry	Size	Levels of organizational hierarchy	Age range
Truscene	IT	49	7	20's to 40's
Mintrack	Online Gaming	33	8	20's to 60's
Wisepath	Manufacturing	63	10	20's to 60's

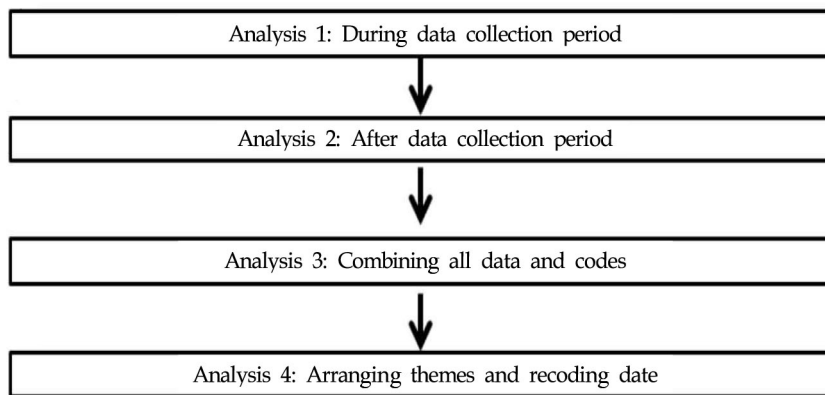
Interviews were conducted in Korean language in order to help participants to engage in the discussion process comfortably by using their native language(Temple & Young 2004). Participation to this research was voluntary, and all potential research participants were provided with detailed information about the research. Information sheet and consent form were provided to the participants, and interviews commenced only after the full approval by the participant. Questions about organizational relationships, perceptions towards WLB, being connected to work, and their emotions and feelings with regards to these ideas were asked during the interview. This process was conducted ethically, under the consent of the Human Ethics Committee of the affiliated institution. Table 2 provides a summary of the interview participants within this study.

〈Table 2〉 Summary of interview participants

Company code name	Truscene	Mintrack	Wisepath	Total
Industry	Information Technology	Online Gaming	Manufacturing	
Gender				
Male	20	10	5	35
Female	5	4	2	11
Age group				
20-29	12	7	0	19
30-39	9	6	1	16
40-49	4	1	1	6
50-59	0	0	3	3
60-69	0	0	2	2
Organizational hierarchy				
Level 1 (Junior staff)	10	6	4	20
Level 2	5	1	0	6
Level 3	3	2	0	5
Level 4	3	3	0	6
Level 5	2	1	0	3
Level 6	1	1	0	2
Level 7	0	0	2	2
Level 8 (Senior manager)	0	0	1	1
Level 9 (Vice-CEO)	0	0	0	0
Level 10 (CEO)	1	0	0	1
Tenure				
0-2	17	9	3	29
3-4	0	3	0	3
5-6	3	0	1	4
7 and beyond	5	2	3	10

Thematic analysis was used to generate themes and categories that reflect patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke 2006). Similar key words were grouped together, with a focus on perceptions on organizational relationships and associated emotions, WLB, and its impact on individuals. Sometimes, alternative perceptions to a specific theme were investigated to deepen the understanding of the particular concept, thus providing an in-depth perspective

towards WLB perceptions and organizational relationships. This analysis process was repeated in different stages. First analysis was conducted during the data collection period, then again after the data collection period. Codes from all three companies were combined, and reorganized into new(and existing) codes, categories, and themes. NVivo 12 Plus was used to organize and categorize data effectively. Figure 1 provides an illustration of this process.



[Figure 1] Stages of analysis

3. Context

Context is an important part of understanding WLB, and how organizational relationships may be constructed between individuals. None of the three participant companies had formal documents or policies that discuss WLB of its employees. However, senior manager(s) within each of the participant companies described various formal and informal activities arranged for their employees, which may(or may not) contribute to understand the WLB of workers. We acknowledge that as the three participant companies operate in different industries and organizational culture, these differences may influence the perceptions and behaviors of participants within this study. Yet, acknowledging these differences and describing the context of the participant companies is believed to provide rich

in-depth data on the phenomenon of interest, and thus provide value to understand *jung* and WLB in the studied workplaces.

The three participant organizations displayed different organizational culture and characteristics. Truscene is an IT company with diverse official events arranged by the company. These include morning ‘mind-sharing’ sessions, that involve group exercises and informing each other about their daily lives (often personal), book reading groups, monthly ‘mind-reading’ training to educate individuals to further understand communicative (and emotional) signals of each other, and role playing sessions to further support ‘mind-reading’ training. Other events include yearly Christmas party for the employees and their family members, drinking sessions and karaoke, and occasional lunch-time events. These events were formally arranged by the company and considered compulsory for all organizational members to attend. Wisepath is a manufacturing company, and is divided into office and factory departments. Employees within each of the departments are physically separated, and workers within the office department (excluding senior management) were generally younger in age (20’s to 30’s), while factory based employees were older on average (40’s). Senior management at Wisepath explained that their company provides official yearly events, which includes overseas trip for employees over 5 years of tenure, and end of the year prize-giving party. Furthermore, drinking events are arranged as needed and hiking activities for the older organizational members, those mainly from the factory department. Mintrack is an online gaming company where most of its employees are generally young in age. Managers at Mintrack explain that there is a yearly ‘workshop’ which involves a drinking and partying at a holiday location. Weekly drinking and karaoke events are arranged unofficially amongst the workers, and monthly movie nights for certain teams. However, participants at Mintrack explained that these events are not official events approved nor arranged by the management, but individually prepared by specific organizational members and their team. Examining these contextual elements (formal and informal events) helps to understand individual perception and experiences of WLB within the studied Korean workplaces, and its impact on employee behavior.

IV. Findings

1. Themes and categories

Analysing the data from the three participant companies developed two themes and seven categories. First theme, integration and embracing harmony, suggests that individuals perceive that *jung* is a traditional value that most Korean people have, and this helps to signal care and positive emotions, and thus promote harmonious relationships between individuals. Second theme, conflict, questioning emotions, and desires, suggests that although individuals recognize *jung* as a positive process, individuals also perceive *jung* to hinder social freedom. Individuals may desire to maintain their personal domain separate from their work domain, but such conflicting desires may also create frustration and guilt. Table 3 below provides a summary of these themes and categories.

〈Table 3〉 Themes and categories

Themes	Categories	Category description
1. Integration and embracing harmony	1a. Traditional and authentic value (21 sources, 42 references)	Individuals perceive <i>jung</i> as a traditional value that influence behavior of Korean people
	1b. Harmony and peace (9 sources, 11 references)	Harmonious workplace atmosphere is perceived to relate to <i>jung</i> amongst workers
	1c. Developing and maintaining relationships (25 sources, 35 references)	<i>Jung</i> is perceived to develop and maintain positive workplace relationships
	1d. Merging personal boundaries (35 sources, 94 references)	Extending work relationships into personal domains is perceived to signal <i>jung</i>
2. Conflict, questioning emotions and desires	2a. Hindering social freedom (11 sources, 30 references)	Individuals perceive <i>jung</i> to hinder their social freedom, and desire to disconnect from work colleagues and separate their personal sphere more
	2b. Frustration (21 sources, 33 references)	Constant connection to work and work colleagues creates some stress and frustration for the individual
	2c. Guilty feelings (20 sources, 32 references)	Wanting WLB creates a feeling of guilt for the individual

2. Integration and embracing harmony

Many of the research participants describe *jung* as a constructive idea that helps to promote positive emotions and foster integrating relationships within the workplace. In particular, 21 participants suggest that *jung* is a traditional value that most Korean people hold, and that *jung* may strongly influence the organizational behavior of Korean people. Participants below provide examples of how *jung* is perceived as a Korean authentic value:

Koreans have a lot of jung, and I think it's one of the sources of maintaining harmony between people

Chrysocolla, 34, Mintrack

I think it's good to have it(jung). For most old people, like me, anyway. Koreans have jung and it makes us behave in a considerate way, take care of others, give them an extra chocolate[laughs]

Larimar, 55, Wisepath

Both Chrysocolla and Larimar describe *jung* as a value that Koreans hold('Koreans have a lot of jung', 'Korean have jung'). *Jung* is also implied as the source of maintaining peaceful relationships between individuals('it's one of the sources of maintain harmony'), and also influence individuals to behave in a 'considerate' manner. While what these participants perceive as 'considerate' behavior is unclear, it seems to relate to taking 'care' of others, and providing small gifts('give them an extra chocolate') to maintain positive workplace relationships. Therefore, *jung* may be considered as an underlying value of Korean people which may evoke caring and harmonious behavior.

Another participant explains the idea of *jung* and harmony, in terms of lowering the level of aggression within the workplace:

Naturally you develop jung, and having jung means you may restrain yourself from saying bad things to other workers, and not argue with them[...]. Like some people, if it wasn't for jung, I would just bury them alive [growling sound] you know?

Iolite, 36, Mintrack

Iolite suggests that *jung* is a natural process that occur between individuals(*naturally you develop jung*), and it may help to maintain peaceful relationships(*restrain yourself from saying bad things to other workers*). Iolite also suggests that *jung* is the reason why Iolite does not behave aggressively to other workers that he may dislike(*like some people if it wasn't for jung, I would just bury them alive*). This implies that *jung* may help individuals to maintain harmonious relationships(at least on the surface) and restrain direct conflict between workers, even between individuals that dislike each other. This also suggests that the reciprocated emotions(of *jung*) between individuals create a sense of obligation to maintain collective group membership, and thus avoiding any(aggressive) behavior that may violate the harmonious workplace atmosphere, constructed through *jung*. This implies that *jung* may be developed between individuals in different state of interpersonal relationship(positive or negative), and promote harmonious behaviors amongst workers to create a peaceful, collective workplace atmosphere.

Similarly, 35 participants suggested that *jung* may help to develop and maintain organizational relationships. One of participants describes the idea of *jung* and workplace relationship development as a cumulative process, that escalates over time:

We spend a lot time at work, and we mingle during most of the daytime. That develops jung. And jung develops(intimate) relationships, and that builds up with time as well.

Onyx, 41, Truscene

The respondent suggests that *jung* may develop as individuals interact, and this is suggested as inevitable as workers are obligated to spend time together within the workplace(*We spend a lot time at work, and we mingle during most of the daytime*). This suggests that *jung* is a relational process that may help to develop workplace relationships over time(*builds up with time*), regardless of the intention of the workers. However, another participant also explains that *jung* may be lost quickly, and thus affecting the quality of

workplace relationships between individuals:

If you drop (lose) jung, that's kind of the end I wouldn't want to talk to that person again, nor work with them[...]. You can lose jung in an instant, but I guess that point (of 'losing' jung) is different for everyone. In my case, if I see someone being really rude, it usually makes me lose my jung

Zircon, 41, Mintrack

Individuals may have a subject experience of *jung* ('I guess that point (of 'dropping' jung) is different for everyone') and how it may affect relationships ('If you drop (lose) jung, that's kind of the end'). As Zircon implies 'dropping' or 'losing' *jung* may negatively affect workplace relationships, *jung* may be considered as an important part in managing relationships within the workplace, but this may not be concurrent between individuals involved. Furthermore, suddenly losing *jung* may not be fully recognized by the other workers, and thus may also affect the work process negatively ('I wouldn't want to talk to that person again, nor work with them'). This may be because perception towards *jung* is also linked with work-specific qualities such as trust and reliability. One participant provides an example of how *jung* and reliability may be related:

Korean people have this jung, and I don't think foreigners quite understand it. But it's something that makes Koreans, Korean, and you can rely on people that you have jung with

Alexandrite, 42, Truscene

Alexandrite describes *jung* as 'something that makes Koreans, Korean', to suggest that it is a culture-specific value that identifies the unique relationships between individuals. Alexandrite describes individuals that he shares *jung* with as reliable ('you can rely on people that you have jung with'). This implies that while *jung* may help to develop and maintain positive workplace relationships, this is not simply based on personal favouritism (such as just liking other people), but involve other factors such as reliability and trust which can also influence performing work tasks. Therefore, *jung* may

influence both social and work related processes within the workplace, as it may change the perception of individuals and their quality of workplace relationships.

Jung may also be signalled by attempting to extend work relationships into personal spheres. 35 participants suggested that expanding work relationships into a more personal domain is considered as a signal of *jung*. However, participants described behaviors that signal *jung* may differ depending on the hierarchical position of individuals. For example, one of participants suggests that connecting with other workers outside the working hours is an important part of performing a good managerial role:

I buy alcohol to my team members quite often, and after a big work related event [...] I can give them advice on work, on life, marriage[laughs] I have worked longer, lived longer. So I try to take on that role. It's necessary to keep the team going, having everyone on the right page.

Rubelle, 34, Truscene

This participant suggests that connecting with other organizational members is an important part of his role as a senior('I have worked longer, lived longer. So I try to take on that role'). This implies that he tries to 'give advice' based on the organizational role('on work [...] I have worked longer') and societal role('on life [...] lived longer'), and that this is considered crucial to 'keep the team going' and maintain a collective group norm('having everyone on the right page'). This also implies that by sharing personal stories with subordinates('advice on work, on life, marriage') may be considered as a part of showing *jung* as a superior, as it shows that they wish to maintain good relationships. Another participant elaborates on this idea further, and suggests that a feeling of care may be signalled by merging work and personal areas of life:

Personally, when I have a drink with workers here, I could ask about their personal lives, family things[...] Then you tend to care more about them, feel for them

Obsidian, 59, Wisepath

Similar to the idea of *jung*, Obsidian explains that drinking with his co-workers helps him to learn more about their personal lives (*I could ask about their personal lives, family things*), and this leads to other emotional feelings to *'care more about them*. This suggests that spending personal time and sharing personal stories with work colleagues that merge their work and personal lives may increase the level of emotional attachment between individuals, such as developing a feeling of care.

Participants in subordinate positions also suggested that spending personal time with co-workers may signal *jung*. One of the participants provides an example of how sharing personal time is an important part of developing and sharing *jung*:

We go for coffee, have dinner, drink soju (Korean style vodka), watch movies[...]. Spending time together like that (with colleagues) is important because we have jung. Doing things together develops jung, and not asking to do things together would be so sad, and against jung.

Emerald, 28, Mintrack

Emerald elaborates on the reason why she perceives spending personal time with work colleagues (*spending time together like that is important*), and that the concept of *jung* is central to maintaining positive interpersonal relationships. She explains that socializing with work colleagues (*we go for coffee, have dinner, drink soju...*) shows that their relationship involves *jung* (*we have jung*), and that this is also a process to *'develop jung'*. She also emphasizes that not inviting work colleagues to social activities would be *'against jung'*, and perhaps signal a problem on the quality of their interpersonal relationship (*not asking to do things together would be so sad*). Another participant further elaborates on the relationship between the use of personal time (for work colleagues) and *jung*:

I recently got married, and I invited all of the managers and colleagues to my wedding. Korean weddings tend to be grand, and we try to invite a lot of people to

show that we have a good network of people good relationships. Plus, not inviting your colleagues to your wedding would show such lack of jung

Pearl, 29, Truscene

Pearl suggests that that not inviting work colleagues to her wedding(a personal event) is considered inappropriate, and would show a '*lack of jung*'. Although a wedding is a highly personal event, Pearl implies that there is a need to include all of her work colleagues, in order to maintain '*good relationships*'. This also implies an expectation that the invited work colleagues should invest their personal time to attend her wedding, for the sake of preserving '*jung*'. Therefore, extending work relationships into personal domains may be perceived as a signal of *jung* regardless of whether individuals enjoy the outcomes of such *jung* exchange.

3. Conflict, questioning emotions and desires

While most participants suggest that there is a need to connect with other organizational members to maintain good workplaces relationships, some participants in subordinate positions also explained the emotional distress derived from having conflicting desires- to disconnect from work colleagues and separate their personal sphere, but also feeling guilty for not returning *jung* related expectations to others. For example, one of the participants explained how he would like to separate his work and personal sphere more:

Although I usually eat lunch with my team members, sometimes I do want to have lunch with other people - friends, you know[...] I could see that he(manager) didn't like the idea.

Morion, 29, Truscene

The above respondent explains his desire to spend non-work hours(lunch time) freely, and perhaps away from his work colleagues('I do want to have lunch with other people - friends'). However, he also implies that this is difficult, as his manager prefers his team members to spend time together('I

could see that he(manager) didn't like the idea). A few participants suggested that one of the reasons behind the desire to socially disconnect is due to the risk of increased work, especially from superiors:

He(manager) doesn't always do that, but when we gather after work for a drink, I sometimes end up getting extra work. Since we have jung, I can't just say no, that's too harsh[sigh] what can I do? [laughs] I just have to take it up.

Ivory, 25, Mintrack

Ivory suggests that because of *jung* and *jung*-related expectations, she is unable to reject the extra work given to her (*I sometimes end up getting extra work*). The after-hours social gathering seems to create extra work obligations, rather than simply enjoying the social event. Therefore, socializing with work colleagues (and superiors) after hours may not mean that workers switch from work relationships to personal (social) relationships, but somewhere in between. Ivory's example suggests that her superior talks about work and gives her extra work, which may have not occurred if they only interacted during work hours. Ivory also suggests that *jung*-based relationships create an expectation that she is able to take up more work regardless of her job description, since the two interacting individuals are perceived to be in a relationship beyond that of work colleagues, and thus refusing may be perceived as being *'too harsh'*. In this process, *jung* and the emotions involved between individuals may remove or reduce work boundaries by pressuring individuals to continue working during their personal time, and individuals may feel forced to maintain the *jung* created with other members, regardless of its cost (i.e. extra work). Therefore, individuals may accept such disruption to their work boundaries, as they do not wish to violate the *jung* expectations, which may incur negative consequences (such as extra work or being perceived as a *'harsh'* person).

However, 21 participants suggested that some stress and frustration is experienced from the constant connection they have to work and other organizational members, and 11 participants acknowledged that they desire social separation from their work colleagues. This difference in respondent

numbers may be because participants find it difficult to directly express their desire to socially diverge from their work colleagues, which may be perceived to damage their group membership. However, regardless of whether individuals verbally acknowledge their desire for social separation, many participants suggested that they experience some frustration in being constantly connected to other workers:

I like my job, don't misunderstand me. But the frequent company events during the weekend do take up time. It's not too stressful or anything, but I'm single, and I want to meet women, date, be loved, and be happy. But sometimes company events do get in the way, which can be frustrating at times, just a little.

Biron, 29, Truscene

Biron explains that spending time at company events, especially those held during the weekends creates some frustration. He suggests that the need to spend time on such company events during his personal time(i.e. weekends) creates problems in terms of dating(*I want to meet women, date, be love-love and happy. But sometimes company events do get in the way*). This implies that his inability to achieve WLB(his work-life and dating-life) contributes to some stress(*it's not too stressful or anything*) and frustration(*which can be frustrating at times*). However, he also implies that this is not too significant(*just a little*), and thus not significantly influence his overall job satisfaction(*I like my job, don't misunderstand me*).

Some of the participants suggest that a feeling of guilt may emerge in this process, which conflicts with the feeling of frustration and stress(from inability to achieve WLB). In particular, 20 participants explained that feeling of guilt is experienced as they find it difficult to return the *jung*-based expectations and connections with their work colleagues. For example one of the participants explained why he may feel guilty for wanting to achieve WLB:

I've lived in Canada, so this might be a non-Korean thing, but I do want to

maintain my personal life, personal. I like my seniors and colleagues. They are nice people, I like all of my team brothers. So when I reject their offer to meet after work, I feel bad, because I know they are being nice and trying to include me in their circle

Garnet, 29, Mintrack

Garnet suggests that his desire to separate his work and personal life (*I do want to maintain my personal life*) and effort to maintain such separation (*I reject their offer to meet after work*) leads to negative feelings (*I feel bad*). Although he explains that his desire to separate work and personal life may be based on his Western background (*I've lived in Canada*), he suggests that such negative feelings he experience is from the fact that he knows that his colleagues are trying to be inclusive (*being nice and trying to include me in their circle*). Therefore, a feeling similar to that of guilt is implied in the above example. Similarly, another participant explains the idea of guilt and WLB, from a work and family perspective:

I'm married, so I have family to take care of. I'm thankful to my company for giving me an opportunity to work, even after marriage, because in Korea, it's difficult for a married woman to keep her job. So I try to work hard. But it's also hard for me to join all the drinking events, late night stuff, since I have to go home and cook dinner, care for my husband. I feel sorry to the CEO for this, and to other seniors as well.

Ruby, 35, Truscene

Ruby explains that her status as a married woman limits her ability to join company social events (*it's also hard for me to join all the drinking events, late night stuff*) due to her family obligations (*I have to go home and cook dinner, care for my husband*). However, she also explains that she feels 'sorry' to the senior management for such inability, which implies that she feels guilty for not being able to fully participate and merge her work and personal life, as expected by the senior managers. This suggests that while it is not a part of Ruby's formal duty (or obligation) to join such social events after work hours, the emotional and relational connections that she has with other senior

members may craft a sense of responsibility to maintain such social expectations. She also implies that such feeling of guilt is more significantly experienced as she is indebted to the CEO for being able to stay employed, even though she is married(*because in Korea, it's difficult for married women to keep her job*). This suggests that a combination of interdependent relationship between organizational members, and creation of some emotional feelings(care, indebtedness) may lead to the experience of guilt for individuals, which may be perceived as a form of violation against *jung* connections and expectations with work colleagues. We attempt to answer our research question in the next section, by discussing these conflicting emotions and desires based on *jung* and WLB.

V. Discussion

WLB have been investigated from diverse perspectives, and the increase in connective technology and distance work have highlighted the need to examine the idea of WLB for individual workers. WLB is important in organizational studies, as good WLB may lead to reduced levels of stress and depression, higher performance, and improved quality of life(Greenhaus et al. 2003). However, WLB is contextual, and expectations towards what is work and life may be interpreted differently according to the cultural values of the individuals involved(Ollier-Malaterre et al. 2013; Woo & Kwak 2018). In particular, relationship dynamics and the associated cultural expectations towards the different interpersonal roles may influence how work and life may be balanced, if at all.

Indigenous concept of *jung* may be an important part of understanding organizational relationships and how it influences WLB expectations. Findings from the studied Korean workplaces suggest that the emotional exchange of *jung* between organizational members may create multiple social linkages(both professional and personal), which may have a number of interpersonal outcomes(Choi & Kim 2006; Heo et al. 2016). First, *jung* may help to improve

the quality of interpersonal relationships between individuals, and promote harmonious relationships. This linkage between *jung* and organizational behavior is exemplified through one of the senior members from Wisepath, who explains that *jung* may be the reason why he may treat others more nicely and in a ‘considerate’ manner, regardless of the hierarchical differences. While being ‘considerate’ to others may incur diverse interpretations, it may be assumed that *jung* helps individuals to show some optimistic attitude towards others. This supports past studies such as Kwon and Chung(2008), where they suggests that *jung* helps to develop trust, commitment and satisfaction between individuals, and thus improve the quality of interpersonal relationships.

Second, participants from the current study suggested that merging work and personal life may be embraced in order to maintain harmonious organizational relationships. Participants explained that attempts to merge work and personal relationship may be considered as a form of performing *jung* amongst studied Korean organizational members, and develop interpersonal relationships beyond that of work colleagues(or superior-subordinate relationships). In this process, organizational members may interact after work hours, and discuss issues that may not relate to work, such as personal or family related problems. Interview example with Pearl from Truscene, discussing how she invited all of her work colleagues to her wedding for the sake of *jung* suggests that *jung* may involve sharing personal information, events, and activities with workers with *jung*. *Jung* may be an emotional exchange that not only encourages positive behavior and attitude towards others, but display that their *jung* based relationship is special, by openly sharing the personal sphere with other organizational members. This implies that *jung* exchange between organizational members may promote work-life integration.

Our study extends Cho et al.(2016)’s research, where Cho et al.(2016) emphasizes the role of traditional Korean culture which expects individuals to sacrifice their personal lives for work. *Jung* may help to quickly develop interpersonal relationships by intervening into other people’s personal domains Park et al. 2014), but this also helps to craft a sense of

we-ness(Chung & Cho 2006). Sharing of personal information and events may be a form of displaying *jung* and its reciprocated process(Kim et al. 2004), allowing individuals to prove their shared *jung* by allowing other organizational members(who display *jung*) to enter into their personal spheres. As *jung* may be built over time(Choi & Choi 2002), individuals may be able to accumulate *jung* by opening up more of their personal lives, and thus may ultimately lead to work-life integration. From a *jung* based perspective, work-life integration may be considered as a part of developing positive workplace relationship which is necessary to maintain group membership within the workplace, as violating *jung* based expectations may incur significant(negative) consequences(Chung & Cho 2006).

Even though individuals recognize the negative consequences of violating *jung* and WLB expectations, individuals may still hold differing perceptions towards WLB(Woo & Kwak 2018). Therefore, the emotional expectations based on *jung* may be questioned, due to the varying desire to socially disconnect from work colleagues. Participants from the current study suggest that negative psychological outcomes such as experience of stress, frustration, and guilt may be derived when workers perceive that they are unable to return the *jung*-based expectations of other organizational members, and in particular, feeling of guilt was experienced as they desire a separation between work and personal life. Participants explained that they are aware that their inability to achieve WLB is due to their work colleague's *jung* or good intention to socially include the participant, and maintain positive interpersonal relationships. Therefore, emotional distress may not be derived from their incapability to achieve WLB, but from two conflicting perspectives-wanting WLB but also understanding the(good) intention behind their work colleague's attempts to connect or integrate with them. This finding provides an alternative interpretation to Heo et al.'s(2016) study, where they suggest *jung* may lead to organizational citizenship behavior, and also diminish workplace deviant behavior. Our study implies that on the surface, *jung* may promote such positive behaviors of organizational members, but this may be derived from individual's guilty feelings, and thus creating emotional distress which may not be immediately evident.

Jung is generally perceived as a positive emotional process within Korean workplaces (Yang 2006), but it may serve as a sociocultural pressure amongst the participants within studied workplaces. This extends Nwagbara's (2020) study, by providing a Korean indigenous cultural interpretation to the role of sociocultural and institutional pressures and worker's ability to achieve WLB. As the idea of *jung* is commonly considered as a favourable process to build stronger bond between individuals (Chung & Cho 2006; Kim 2009; Lee 1983), such expectation to maintain *jung* may force individuals to believe that their desire to achieve WLB is socially incorrect. Therefore, development of *jung* and related expectations may escalate work-life conflict experienced organizational members, and especially by those in subordinate positions.

In our introduction we highlighted that different generational groups in Korea hold different values in assessing work and personal life, where the younger generation (30's and below) value freedom in separating their work and personal domain, and attempt to protect their personal time more eagerly (Choi et al, 2016). The different perceptions and expectations towards *jung* and how *jung* may be performed in term of merging one's work and personal domains may be dependent upon the age of individuals, signalling generational differences. Findings suggest that many participants regardless of age perceived constant communication and intervening into individual's personal lives is a sign of *jung*. However, most of the participants who described their desire to achieve WLB and experience frustration and guilt were those in lower hierarchical positions and younger in age (similar to findings about work happiness in Choi and colleagues 2016 report). It is unclear whether these differences in perception are due to the age or organizational position, as all three participant companies operate under a seniority system like most other Korean organizations. However, Korean society is experiencing cultural changes (Inglehart 1997), and different generations are believed to hold dissimilar perceptions towards WLB (Choi & Lee 2019; Oh & Jeong 2019; Woo & Kwak 2018). Our current study further extends Woo and Kwak's (2018) work, by suggesting that while there may be generational differences in how individuals perceive WLB, this may be also affected by individuals' perception of *jung*. *Jung* may remove work and

personal boundaries by enriching the emotional linkages with work colleagues, making it difficult for individuals to perform psychological distancing(Sonnentag et al. 2010). Individuals may experience different outcomes through *jung* depending on their perceptions towards WLB. Therefore, while there may be a need for both the organization and individuals to be conscious of constant connection with work and other organizational members, and control the level of connections if necessary(Ga & Yoon 2019), this may be highly difficult in situations of *jung* based relationships.

VI. Conclusion and implications

This study suggests that individuals within the studied Korean organizations may find it difficult to maintain a clear WLB due to the Korean indigenous concept *jung*. As *jung* is usually described as a positive emotion between individuals(Yang 2006), participants from the studied companies find it difficult to violate *jung*-related expectations, and disconnect from their work colleagues. Constant connection and merging work and personal boundaries were considered as an expression of *jung* within the studied workplaces. This was suggested to create psychological distress for individuals, especially those in younger age group, in not only about their inability to cultivate their desired WLB, but more from the fear of violating the *jung* expectations of others, leading to a feeling of guilt. Therefore, our findings suggest that these perceptions on *jung* and WLB can create contradictory emotional and WLB outcomes for workers in the studied Korean organizations. Individuals may experience more positive emotions and higher wellbeing due to the accomplishment of *jung* but at the same time they might feel negative emotions and burnout if they are experiencing work-life conflict and a lack of personal agency to stop it.

This study provides diverse implication for theory and practice. First, this study provides a deeper understanding of WLB from a cross-cultural

perspective, by incorporating Confucian-based values and relationship dynamics. Furthermore, this is one of the first studied to use the indigenous concept *jung* in organizational studies, to provide a contextualized understanding of WLB in the studied Korean organizations. In terms of practice, this study suggests that intense development of *jung* may help organizational members to level their different work and relational expectations, and strategically attempt to transcend generational differences between workers. Organizations may implement programs and activities that encourage development of *jung* to encourage this process. However, this study also suggests that there is a need for organizations and their management to clearly outline the need for WLB, in order to fulfil the desire of individuals to achieve a healthy WLB. Multinational firms working in Korea or working with Korean companies need to be mindful that their employees can experience an intrusion into their WLB, especially for those unfamiliar with indigenous emotional ideas such as *jung*. Therefore, organizations may need to implement practices or guidelines to safeguard against potential work-life conflict or burnout.

Some limitations of this research should be noted. The organizations in this study are small, for-profit companies and do not necessarily represent all organizations in South Korea. Employees in large, governmental or not-for-profit organizations may hold different perceptions and have different experiences of WLB as organizational context is important. The data for this paper was collected during year 2014, and the Korean society has been experiencing acceleration in change (of policies and culture) since then (Choi et al., 2016). These changes may not be fully reflected in the current study, and to be applicable to organizations in recent years. The majority of interviewees were also male and relatively young (20 to 40 years old). This means that the findings might not necessarily reflect views of female or more senior employees. The interviews were also conducted at one point in time, meaning that our findings are limited to time and context. These limitations mean that we need to be careful not to generalize the findings of our study to all organizations in Korea.

The limitations of our study show some potential future research directions. With a growing focus on WLB among younger workers(Bae et al. 2013) and increasingly eroded boundary between work and non-work time across different generations and types of workers(Mullan & Wajcman 2019), it would be interesting to conduct further research on potential intergenerational differences in perceptions on *jung* and WLB outcomes. Another avenue for future research could consider whether there are similar perceptions and experiences in Korean organizations that have a greater variety in worker demographics. For example, the potential differences between genders need to be explored as Choi and colleague's(2016) study found a gender gap in Korean organizations in terms of how female and male workers perceive health and happiness at work. This suggests a need for future studies to explore *jung* and WLB experiences between different demographic groups. Finally, as the values and policies in Korean workplaces continue to change and evolve, it would be interesting to conduct a follow-up study that implements longitudinal method designs to see how these changes might influence *jung* and by extension, outcomes for workplace relationships and individual WLB. Nevertheless, using quantitative or mixed-methods approach may help future research to provide more generalizable findings in this current topic. The findings and limitations of this research may help to guide and explore further research with regards to the broader topic of culture and positive workplace relations.

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국문요약

일-생활 균형, 직장 내 인간관계,
그리고 정-한국 기업에서의 문화적 분석

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본 연구는 한국 기업 구성원들이 지각하는 일-생활 균형(work-life balance) 과 유교적 인간관계, 그리고 '정' 의 상관관계를 질적 연구(인터뷰) 를 통해 탐색하였다. '정' 은 한국 사회 전반에 존재하는 토착 개념으로 사람들 사이의 긍정적인 감정으로 표현된다. 그러나 한국 인간관계에서 중요하게 여겨지는 '정'은 개인이 일-생활 균형을 유지하는데 문제가 될 수 있다. 참여한 다양한 한국 기업의 구성원들은 일-생활 균형을 방해할 수 있는 직장 동료의 과도한 연결성(connectivity) 를 자연스럽게 받아들이며, 이는 좋은 직장 관계 유지에 필요한 부분이라고 하였다. 그러나 동시에 많은 연구 대상자들은 일-생활 균형을 맞추고 직장 동료와 분리된 생활을 원하며, 이런 욕구에 대한 죄책감을 느낀다고 하였다. 그러므로 개인의 일-생활 균형 유지에 대한 욕구와 직장 동료의 정 표출에 대한 고마움은 개인에게 심리적 부담감, 스트레스, 및 죄책감을 유발할 수 있는 것으로 나타났다.

주제어: 정, 한국 문화, 일-생활 균형, 감정, 조직 내 관계