

Journalism-Hate as Social Affect: How Anti-Press Sentiments Holistically Shape the Lives of Korean Journalists

CHANGWOOK KIM

Handong Global University, Republic of Korea

WOOYEOL SHIN

Chonnam National University, Republic of Korea

The growing hostility toward the press has attracted significant scholarly attention. This study proposes incorporating affect as a crucial element to understand that hostility. This study introduces *journalism-hate* as a socially organized affective structure that shapes, circulates, and sustains hostility toward the press and its practitioners. Drawing on in-depth interviews with 31 Korean journalists, this study shows how they perceive and navigate this negativity and its long-term effects on routines and professional identities. Findings indicate that journalism-hate's routinized, normalized, and intractable character produces everyday trauma, prompting journalists to question the value of their work. It marginalizes those who do not conform to the journalism-hate-shaped ideal—rendering them *affect aliens* within their professional community.

Keywords: social affect, hostility toward the press, harassment of journalists, Korean journalism, journalism-hate

There are numerous misunderstandings about journalists. No matter what I write, I'm labeled as a *giraegi*,¹ facing criticism. I'm unsure how we can change this situation. Lately, I've been feeling a lot of helplessness. [Taking a book out of her bag] I've been carrying this book around recently—*The Elements of Journalism*, which I had first read as a textbook in my college Journalism 101 class. Working these days has made my standards waver, leaving me in a state of anomie, where I'm confused about what's normal. So, I've been rereading it, making notes, thinking of it as my bible, and recalling, "Professor [XXX] said this back then," and I read a bit every night before bed. Back in college, I memorized it for exams—"journalism is for the citizens first, you need to do this and that, a journalist should be like this." But now, as a journalist, I'm rereading it and wondering, "Is this really feasible?" It's not. It's impossible. So, I called the professor [who had taught it],

Changwook Kim: ricky147@gmail.com

Wooyeol Shin (corresponding author): wooyeolshin@gmail.com

Date submitted: 2025-05-22

¹ *Giraegi* is a Korean compound word comprising "journalist" (*gi-ja*) and "trash" (*sseu-re-gi*), widely used to disparage journalists by saying that they produce useless work.

crying and lamenting, "Professor, don't teach this to your students. At least if they want to live as journalists in Korea, don't teach them this." . . . The gap between the ideal and the reality on the ground feels very huge. (Interviewee 2)

Doubting one's standards, finding no meaning in work, and frequently feeling helpless and estranged are not unique to Interviewee 2, a journalist with five years' experience at a South Korean broadcasting company. The advent of metajournalistic discourses (Carlson, 2016) that negate the *raison d'être* of journalism as a societal institution, coupled with the subsequent increase in online harassment targeting journalists, undermines job satisfaction and work fulfillment worldwide (Waisbord, 2022). This is particularly evident among early-career and women journalists. In some cases, it prompts them to leave the profession (Miller, 2023b). As indicated by Interviewee 2—"If I hadn't taken Journalism 101, I might not be in so much agony and would just go on with my work"—a broader issue exists wherein journalists feel that the conditions of the journalistic ideal are neither socially respected nor deemed useful for journalism practices. This situation elucidates the necessity of investigating the possible normative consequences of hostility toward the press.

This study aims to investigate the long-term, cumulative impact of hostility toward the press on journalists' routines and identities by conceptualizing it as a form of *social affect*. Recent journalism scholarship has established the study of hostility toward the press as a significant field of research. By examining the conditions that render journalism vulnerable and the repercussions of harassment targeting journalists, journalism scholars are exploring strategies for enhancing journalists' safety, happiness, and well-being (Bélaïr-Gagnon, Holton, Deuze, & Mellado, 2024; Westlund, Krøvel, & Skare Orgeret, 2022). Previous research on hostility toward the press has concentrated on its tangible, physical manifestations (e.g., hate speech directed at journalists) and its linguistic and symbolic forms (e.g., anti-press discourses). This study proposes that incorporating affect into academic discourse is essential for a more comprehensive understanding of such hostility.

This affective dimension of hostility toward the press is referred to as *journalism-hate* in this study. As a social affect (Seyfert, 2012), journalism-hate represents a socially shared orientation toward journalism, particularly leading members of society to perceive and feel journalism and its practitioners as objects of hatred. Journalism-hate not only manifests as harassment against journalists—both online and offline—but also exerts affective energy, shaping the feelings, perceptions, and judgments of journalists and news users toward journalists, news organizations, news, and the press in a particular direction. Journalism-hate functions as a kind of adhesive bond, connecting specific ideas, values, and judgments about journalism and preserving these connections. While harassment typically denotes direct actions, journalism-hate recognizes the form of a residual, diffused, and socially sanctioned atmosphere of antipathy that permeates and shapes holistic experiences of journalists' work and lifeworld.

An analysis of interviews with 31 Korean journalists shows that the affective dimension of hostility toward journalism—encompassing the everyday trauma experienced by journalists—is crucial for illuminating the normative costs this hostility imposes on journalists, the profession, and democracy.

Hostility Toward the Press

Hostility toward the press is considered one of the key factors rendering journalism vulnerable (Waisbord, 2019). Research on such hostility has primarily focused on two areas: anti-media discourses and actions that threaten journalists' safety and well-being. First, journalism scholars have attempted to elucidate the linguistic and symbolic characteristics of hostility toward the press as a form of metajournalistic discourse (Mazzaro, 2023; Shin, Kim, & Joo, 2021). This line of research analyzes texts, such as tweets, news comments, and press conferences, to understand how the public develops negative perceptions of journalism and its practitioners. For example, Reyna (2025) inquired into López Obrador's press conferences and demonstrated how anti-press discourse stigmatizes Mexican news workers.

Second, journalism scholars have examined anti-press violence as a threat to journalists' safety and well-being (Miller, 2023a; Waisbord, 2022). Online harassment targeting journalists has recently emerged as a major research agenda. The types and characteristics of online harassment (Menke & Seeger, 2024), its psychological, emotional, and professional consequences (Kim & Shin, 2025), and factors that render someone its primary target (Hiltunen, Suuronen, & Pöyhtäri, 2024) have been investigated in various social contexts. While individual and organizational coping strategies have also been examined (Bhat, 2024), recent research highlights that journalists often lack sufficient organizational support to deal with harassment and emotional burden (Šimunjak & Menke, 2023).

Solutions to hostility toward the press have also been explored, many of which focus on safeguarding journalists from unusual, deviant, or criminal acts—such as threats, doxing, stalking, and surveillance—by altering the internal and external conditions of newswork. Examples include enhancing sociotechnical infrastructure, such as digital security (Westlund et al., 2022), developing organizational interventions and culture (Kantola & Harju, 2023), and improving legal or institutional frameworks (Stolle & Lievens, 2024).

These measures, however, are insufficient because hostility toward the press affects journalists not only through violent and deviant acts but also in mundane, everyday ways. While this hostility often manifests as targeted attacks, research shows that journalists experience a pervasive negative atmosphere simply because their visibility in the media exposes them to broader societal hostility, including sexual and gendered harassment that disproportionately affects women journalists (Miller & Lewis, 2023). This highlights that hostility toward the press can be embedded not only in extreme acts but also in the routine, normal practices of newswork and the wider social environment. This phenomenon, identified in this study as journalism-hate, underscores the significance of examining the normalization of hostility toward the press and its long-term, cumulative effects on journalism and its practitioners (Deavours et al., 2023). We explore this phenomenon by drawing on the notion of social affect.

Journalism-Hate as Social Affect

Affect is a microperception that flows and is created, transmitted, and transformed between bodies. As a relational energy, it can arise in social spaces without being verbalized or brought into awareness (Brennan, 2004). Drawing on Seyfert's (2012) theory of social affect, this study conceptualizes affect as a

general term that identifies interactions among all kinds of entities, from organic to inorganic, artificial, and imaginary. As the interface of affects, an individual or collective can affect or be affected. Affects can emerge in encounters and interactions between entities. They are thus social phenomena composed of and reconstructed through various forms of affective interactions between entities. Furthermore, affects are not simply the result of interactions between entities. They also define, constitute, and reconstitute the nature of these entities. Affects can likewise function as an *exclusionary mechanism* or a *cultural imperative* directing individuals to be affected in a certain direction (De Vuyst, 2022). These characteristics of affect are particularly useful for understanding hostility against the press, as they capture how embodied emotions and cultural expectations shape its experience and management.

In journalism, affective forces may manifest on multiple levels: in everyday encounters between journalists and their audiences, in newsroom cultures shaping professional conduct, and in broader metajournalistic discourses defining what it means to be an ideal journalist. Hostile audience comments and trolling inscribe embodied feelings of anxiety, anger, and helplessness (Kim & Shin, 2025). Newsroom cultures shaped by masculinist norms compel journalists to tolerate harassment, and those who resist risk ostracism (Koirala, 2020). Broader metajournalistic discourses that question journalism's legitimacy can further intensify delegitimization and hostility (Shin et al., 2021). In this context, Ahmed's (2010) notion of *affect aliens* provides a useful lens: journalists who resist expectations of toughness, emotional neutrality, or normalization of hostility—by voicing the psychological toll of harassment—can be stigmatized as weak or unprofessional. These dynamics show that hostility toward the press should not be reduced to isolated incidents, but understood more holistically as a pervasive social affect.

Following Seyfert (2012), this study considers journalism-hate a social affect—not just an individual emotion, but a negative atmosphere that surrounds, a circulating force that pressures, and a latent energy that collectively shapes how hostility toward journalists is experienced, normalized, and sustained in society. This concept of journalism-hate captures how journalism-hate operates not only through discrete incidents but also through the cumulative, residual, and everyday effects on journalists. More specifically, as a situational phenomenon, journalism-hate cannot be reduced to the actions of individual harassers or mobs who troll journalists. Instead, it should be understood as a holistic affective structure embedded in both the work practices and lifeworld of journalists. In this regard, journalism-hate not only influences how journalists are treated but also conditions how they interpret, respond to, and find meaning in their works, both professionally and personally.

This perspective aligns with research on public-facing professions, showing that occupational stress can disrupt multiple domains of life. Studies on politicians and teachers—both characterized by extensive emotional labor—demonstrate that persistent exposure to harassment and work-related violence leads to emotional exhaustion, reduced motivation, and spillover stress into family life (Weinberg, 2021; Yilmaz, Altinkurt, Guner, & Sen, 2015). These effects arise not only from individual attacks but also from broader discourses—such as portrayals of teachers as lazy or as fearmongers (Kim, Owusu, & Asbury, 2024) and the pervasive distrust of politicians, manifested in sensationalist scrutiny, negativity, and public blame—that generate a hostile atmosphere around entire professions (Flinders, Weinberg, Weinberg, Geddes, & Kwiatkowski, 2020).

A similar premise applies to journalists whose institutionally and culturally scripted emotional labor requires them to enact specific emotional capacities—empathy, outrage, and dispassion—in line with norms of objectivity and professionalism (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019). These performances, however, leave journalists emotionally vulnerable, especially in politicized contexts where they can be readily weaponized. Prolonged exposure to a negative social atmosphere, together with diffuse social forces and emotionally taxing experiences, can contribute to a growing sense of precarity and erode journalists' capacity to sustain meaning, motivation, and a coherent professional identity. Journalism-hate, therefore, emerges not only in discrete incidents of harassment but also through the long-term, embodied, and often invisible erosion of self and the meaning of journalistic work.

The Korean Situation of Journalism-Hate

Anti-press sentiment has been widespread in Korea since the mid-2010s, normalized through repeated use of terms like *giraegi*—a slur combining “journalist” and “trash” that gained traction after the 2014 Sewol ferry disaster (Kim & Shin, 2025). While initially used to critique journalists who committed clear wrongs, the *giraegi* discourse has since become weaponized by both the right and left to attack journalists based on partisan distrust (Shin et al., 2021). Combined with factors such as high levels of media-politics parallelism, deepening political polarization, and its easy transmission on social media and news platforms, the word *giraegi* has infiltrated everyday life to the point that its use is now considered commonplace, no longer confined to politically motivated actors, but permeating broader social interactions (Lee & Park, 2024; Pyo, 2024b).

As negative emotions become structurally embedded in the meanings around journalism, online harassment directed toward Korean journalists has also become normalized and widely prevalent. According to a survey of 404 journalists conducted by the Korea Press Foundation (Park & Lee, 2021), 92% of respondents reported experiencing acts of explicitly aggressive or insulting language directed at articles or the media at least once a month, and among them, 43% reported encountering such acts multiple times a week. Lee and Park (2024) analyzed a survey of more than 400 Korean journalists and found that online harassment is significantly correlated with an increase in self-censorship, a decrease in public engagement, and a rise in skepticism toward journalism.

Examining Korean journalists' lived experiences of journalism-hate as a social affect, this study formulates the following research questions:

RQ1: How is journalism-hate experienced by journalists, particularly its psychological impact?

RQ2: How does this social affect shape journalistic practices and the profession itself?

RQ3: How does journalism-hate function as a disciplinary force?

Additionally, this study investigates the exclusionary effects of journalism-hate, exploring which journalists experience affective alienation in a society where journalism has become an object of hate.

Methods

We conducted in-depth interviews with 31 Korean journalists recruited initially through the National Union of Media Workers and subsequently via snowball sampling. The sample, drawn from 14 media outlets, included 12 journalists with one to five years of experience, nine with five to nine years of experience, and 10 with more than 10 years; 21 identified as female and 10 as male.

Adopting a feminist-communitarian approach (Christians, 2005), we prioritized mutual dialogue throughout the research process. Potential participants were informed of the study's objectives by phone and email and were provided a semi-structured interview guide for review; they could decline participation or request modifications, which we accommodated.

Each interview lasted approximately one hour and explored perceptions of societal hostility toward the press, professional harassment, personal and organizational coping mechanisms, and impacts on the meaning of work. We also examined changing societal perceptions of journalists and which forms of journalism and groups of journalists were promoted or marginalized. To protect confidentiality, all data were anonymized, and participants were assigned codes (Interviewee 1–31). Participants were informed that quotations might be used, and consent for any direct quotations was obtained after data analysis.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

We employed interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to interpret journalists' lived experiences of journalism-hate. IPA, which has been used in journalism studies to investigate how journalists make sense of and cope with unprecedented phenomena (e.g., natural disasters and associated trauma; Dworznik-Hoak, 2020; Tandoc & Takahashi, 2017), focuses on the meanings participants attach to specific experiences. The primary aim of IPA is to gain an insider perspective on a phenomenon by closely scrutinizing individual experiences (Fade, 2004).

Following Fade's (2004) guidelines, our IPA involved: (1) conducting multiple readings of interview transcripts for familiarization; (2) taking initial analytic notes to highlight relevant points; (3) identifying themes through abstraction; (4) clustering related themes; (5) developing superordinate themes based on commonalities; and (6) articulating each superordinate theme as a narrative account that provides an in-depth description of shared experiences. Using this process, we analyzed how Korean journalists perceive and navigate the societal negativity characteristic of journalism-hate and identified potential long-term and cumulative impacts.

From these steps, we identified three interconnected superordinate themes: (1) the everyday nature of journalism-hate, which produces everyday trauma (RQ1); (2) journalism-hate and the resulting loss of meaning in journalistic work, with effects on practices and professional identities (RQ2); and (3) affective alienation produced by journalism-hate, manifested in the emergence of affect aliens within the journalistic community (RQ3).

The Everydayness of Journalism-Hate

A key characteristic of journalism-hate as a social affect is its everydayness. Journalists perceive journalism-hate hostility toward their profession, exposing them to daily harassment during routine journalistic activities. This continual hostility manifests itself in various ways among the interviewees, including harsh comments on online news articles, threatening emails from anonymous readers, and casual use of derogatory terms such as *giraegi* by friends and acquaintances to describe journalists in everyday conversations. More severe forms of harassment, such as doxing and brigading, also occur.

The everyday nature of journalism-hate is characterized by three primary attributes: (1) the ubiquity of hostility toward journalism; (2) the perception of its unsolvability, which fosters feelings of helplessness; and (3) the normalization of this hostility as a means to cope with it. The ubiquity of journalism-hate refers to pervasive negative sentiment, suggesting that any journalist may encounter hostility or harassment at any time. This ubiquity was emphasized by Interviewees 8 and 10, respectively, as follows: "There is no journalist who has never been harassed" and "I have not been seriously bullied yet, but I believe it could happen to me at any time." Our interviewees collectively expressed the perception that journalism-hate creates a continuously intensifying social atmosphere that can manifest as actual harassment at any time and in any context.

The presence of journalism-hate leads journalists to perceive that this negativity is ubiquitous, even in the absence of actual harassment. One manifestation of this perception is illustrated by the reluctance of some of the interviewees to disclose their professional identities to unfamiliar individuals. They feel that their profession is not respected by society, as hostility or antipathy toward journalism can be expressed at any moment. Our interviewees shared the sense that negative energy toward their profession permeates society as a whole, not simply emanating from a few erratic online trolls. This feeling becomes particularly acute when they encounter social media posts wherein acquaintances, even close friends and family members, openly denigrate journalists using terms such as *giraegi*. This can be seen as the moment when journalism-hate intensely infiltrates the minds of journalists. Interviewee 12's case illustrates this well:

In my case, I am not significantly affected by malicious comments or emails, but I feel more hurt when people I was close to, like sources such as police officers and teachers, openly write *giraegi* on Facebook or other platforms. It feels more painful when those I was close to—people with whom I discussed justice and bonded over matters like, "We really need to catch that bad guy"—write things such as, "That *giraegi* bastard should be torn apart; why isn't that news outlet shut down?" This occurs so naturally when an article doesn't match their opinion or differs from what they expected. . . . The thought that 'I could also become a *giraegi* to them at any time' *makes my heart sink*. (emphasis added)

As a result of such experiences, multiple interviewees admitted to withholding their profession in daily life unless necessary. This tendency is especially pronounced among relatively young and early-career journalists. When asked why younger journalists are hesitant to disclose their profession, Interviewee 6

responded thus: "As we began our careers in the *giraegi* era, we are not given much respect by society. We feel that our profession is viewed by the public as merely a source of hatred."

The pervasive nature of journalism-hate renders it seemingly impossible to resolve. Media companies struggle to limit or eliminate their interactions with readers, making the issue of online harassment particularly challenging to address. For instance, it is impractical to hide journalists' email addresses or disable comment sections on news articles, even when confronted with daily incidents of cyberbullying, abusive language, or threatening messages, because these communication channels are essential for engaging with readers and receiving tips.

Interviewees expressed that enduring online bullying has become an unsolvable and inescapable aspect of their routines, particularly as media companies demand increased online visibility. The South Korean journalism industry's high platform dependency (Pyo, 2024a) exacerbates this issue. Naver and Daum, the primary news portals, incentivize journalists to establish personal pages and attract subscribers. Driven by the attention economy, news organizations increasingly assess journalists' performance based on audience traffic. Interviewee 10 characterized this situation by stating:

There's no way to solve this harassment problem now. It seems that the situation, such as creating a personal introduction page for a journalist on a portal site like Naver and automatically releasing ID photographs there, ultimately contributes to this issue.

The journalists experience journalism-hate as "polluted toxic air" (Interviewee 29) that surrounds them, causing persistent vexation yet proving difficult to eliminate. Sociologists studying the everyday lives of modern society have emphasized continuity as a defining characteristic of everydayness. Lefebvre (2014) argued that the continuity of everydayness dilutes the impact of misery on social life. In other words, the omnipresence of certain issues in daily life is akin to the polluted air in urban environments; both are commonplace and bothersome, yet neither can be easily remedied.

Faced with the omnipresent and irresolvable nature of journalism-hate, journalists attempt to normalize these negative encounters, treating them as ordinary occurrences rather than extraordinary events. This normalization—treating continuous harassment and journalism-hate as insignificant or normal—becomes a coping strategy, as focusing intensely on each incident would feel overwhelmingly painful and difficult to bear. In other words, they adopt normalization as a coping strategy to live with journalism-hate.

When asked how news organizations and journalists typically address harassment against journalists, Interviewee 7 remarked that her company does not regard the situation as serious: "Every journalist experiences it in some way, so it is normal to tell each other, 'Hey, I heard you received another threatening email. You are fine, right?' as if it is nothing." Several of the interviewees indicated that experiencing hostility and harassment is an inevitable aspect of their profession—akin to "the air" (Interviewee 31)—and that taking each incident seriously would hinder their ability to sustain careers in journalism. Consequently, they normalize daily encounters with journalism-hate, such as reading malicious comments or receiving threatening emails, to protect themselves to some extent.

Journalism-Hate as Everyday Trauma

Nonetheless, journalism-hate can cause long-term, cumulative harm to journalists, and normalization appears to be an ineffective tactic for addressing such damage. Some of the interviewees admitted that these normalized experiences can unexpectedly resurface—similar to *the return of the repressed*—in certain contexts, such as when they are alone at night or drunk:

Having experienced harassment regularly, I no longer feel much impact from things like malicious comments. I just continue working as usual. However, sometimes, after drinking in the evening, these feelings suddenly rush back. After a company dinner, when I'm alone at home in a quiet moment, everything might suddenly overwhelm me. (Interviewee 22)

Indeed, the everyday nature of journalism-hate can lead to what is termed *everyday trauma* for journalists (Kim & Shin, 2025). Typically, trauma arises from unusual, intense, and significant events experienced in exceptional circumstances. The concept of post-traumatic recovery is considered crucial for overcoming trauma, as it enables individuals not only to survive but also to become resilient and even thrive (Nugent, Sumner, & Amstadter, 2014). However, such post-traumatic growth can be hindered by the ongoing trauma associated with journalism-hate, as another traumatic incident can arise at any moment, leaving little opportunity for recovery. In continuous risk conditions, a true post-trauma situation may not occur.

Journalists may instead avoid specific topics, abandon coverage, or even resign from their positions when faced with situations perceived as explicitly and genuinely violent (e.g., doxing, stalking, or physical violence)—which exceed the typical everyday hostility they encounter. Therefore, it is essential to address the everyday trauma caused by journalism-hate separately from mere resilience or survival strategies. Over time, this trauma is likely to manifest as a chronic condition that requires management rather than simple endurance.

Unsurprisingly, the everyday trauma of journalism-hate inflicts significant psychological distress on journalists, leading to feelings of helplessness and a range of adverse emotions. These include resignation (e.g., "Lately, I keep thinking, should I quit this job?"; Interviewee 6), fatalism (e.g., "No matter how hard I work on my articles, hateful comments and harassment just keep coming—like a tax I can't avoid"; Interviewee 14), frustration (e.g., "I'm frustrated . . . and I keep wondering, can I really continue doing this job while being constantly exposed to harassment?"; Interviewee 8), apathy (e.g., "Even if I put in the effort to thoroughly report, people will still call me a *giraegi*. So why should I even bother working hard on my reporting and writing?"; Interviewee 11), helplessness (e.g., "I often think that I can't stop this emotional labor, and inevitably, I start feeling helpless."; Interviewee 22), and anger (e.g., "Who are the people writing these hateful comments? Why do I have to be treated like this?"; Interviewee 21). These emotions stem from a deep-seated perception that journalists cannot fully escape their circumstances, regardless of how much effort they put into their work.

This trauma can also have physical effects. Several interviewees reported experiencing periodic, inexplicable pains as a manifestation of somatization. While recounting her experiences of online

harassment, Interviewee 11 lamented, "I often think that continuing in this job could lead to an early death." She revealed that since beginning her career as a journalist, she has frequently developed inflammation in a specific part of her body, which she recognizes as a sign of the cumulative stress associated with online harassment. This has led her to secure regular prescriptions for antibiotics. Other interviewees shared that they were contemplating taking a leave of absence because of extreme stress from ongoing online harassment and concerns about their health, with some even feeling compelled to resign.

Journalism-Hate and Loss of Meaning in Journalistic Work

By targeting journalists as objects of hatred, extinction, and removal from society, journalism-hate directly undermines journalism's *raison d'être*. This widespread hostility, coupled with routinized harassment, leads journalists to question the very purpose of their work, negatively impacting its meaning. Existential questions frequently haunt journalists: "Should I serve members of the public who deny the reason for [my] existence? What kind of journalism do I have to produce for them?" (Interviewee 23)

For our interviewees, a sense of personal calling serves as a primary reason for their commitment to journalism, often referred to as an ethical motivation. These motivations do not necessarily entail grand or specific socio-political visions, but are expressed through aims like "monitoring and criticizing the powerful," "making the world more just," "helping the underprivileged," "improving the world," "advocating for societal change," or "listening to marginalized voices." This ethical motivation may be unsurprising, considering consistent evidence from large-scale, cross-national studies indicating that journalists view their work as a "calling" and "noble profession" (e.g., Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2009, p. 58).

While some of the interviewees humorously mentioned being in journalism for the "monthly salary" (Interviewee 2), often self-deprecatingly, they emphasized that economic motivation is not the sole reason for their continued work in the field. Despite varying ethical motivations and differing beliefs about how journalism can benefit society, ethics remains the primary driver for persistence in this profession. However, our interviewees noted that journalism-hate adversely impacts their ethical motivations to pursue a career in journalism. They indicated that pursuing moral objectives, such as "telling a good story" and "being an excellent journalist," often seems futile when they and their articles are indiscriminately labeled as *giraegis* and trash, respectively. Interviewee 11 explained why she became a journalist and how these circumstances have damaged her motivation as follows:

Many journalists pursue journalism because they believe that through hard work, they can make a positive impact on the world. However, I am currently feeling skeptical about my job. The most frustrating aspect is that journalists typically expect well-crafted articles to be acknowledged by readers. Yet, readers increasingly dismiss quality articles, labeling the journalist as a *giraegi* based solely on political orientation, regardless of the article's merits. I find this situation unbearable.

She elaborated that journalism-hate—as evidenced by the stigmatization of journalists as *giraegis* and the harassment that she endures—erodes the desire to remain in the profession, leading to feelings of frustration and skepticism. When articles are judged based on readers' political orientations and criticism

and harassment of journalists verge on character assassination, maintaining ethical motivation to pursue journalism in service of society becomes challenging.

Furthermore, when harassment manifests as hatred for journalism, journalists begin to doubt the value of their work. Pervasive perceptions such as “What you’re doing doesn’t help society at all; you’re producing rubbish” (Interviewee 27) trigger self-doubt. They find themselves questioning their work: “What am I doing now?” “Why am I enduring this while facing these accusations?” and “Why am I writing for these people?” This experience is illustrated by Interviewee 8’s testimony:

You can’t always write a perfect article just because you’re a journalist. Nevertheless, I strive to write and publish quality articles. However, when faced with such responses, I find it difficult to continue writing. Questions like “What did I do wrong?” and “Am I being criticized because I didn’t write the article properly?” fill me with self-doubt, making it hard to proceed with my work.

Interviewee 8 became a journalist because she once believed that “journalism is a way to change the world a little bit.” However, she now experiences a great deal of self-doubt, driving her to question her ability to endure these circumstances and continue working as a journalist.

Similarly, Interviewee 7, who has had a relatively longer career than Interviewee 8, revealed that she once possessed a strong sense of mission and efficacy as a journalist. This sense has significantly diminished after enduring “the endless, contextless stream of hate,” coupled with the perception that there is little chance of changing the negative social atmosphere around journalism. This situation caused Interviewee 7 to adopt one of the most significant changes in her work—the perception that “No matter how hard I write articles, I will be bullied and attacked again, so why should I work hard?”

Indeed, journalism-hate undermines the significance of journalistic work, impacting more than just the psychological well-being of journalists. The sentiment of “no matter how hard I work, I will be attacked anyway” reveals not only frustration but also a deeper erosion of work motivation and professional identity. Journalists begin to question the worth and significance of their efforts. Given these narratives that reveal a void in the meaning of journalistic labor, not a single interviewee was able to respond affirmatively when asked, “Do you think you will still be a journalist in 10 years?”

Journalism-Hate and its Affect Aliens

The concept of affect alien reveals how social affect operates not only as a force of cohesion but also as a mechanism of exclusion (Ahmed, 2010; De Vuyst, 2022). Journalism-hate as a form of social affect also functions by shaping norms around who is considered a proper and appropriate journalist. It encourages the emergence of two idealized types of journalists: (1) those who write articles aligned with their readers’ political orientations, and (2) those who can endure harassment well. Multiple interviewees observed that more readers now prefer journalists to write stories that align with the political orientation of the media outlet, rather than simply report in a fair and impartial manner. In other words, a journalist working in a

relatively progressive media outlet should aim to serve a progressive political agenda through their reporting, and the same applies to those in conservative outlets.

This is reflected in a tendency to compare articles written by journalists with content produced by YouTubers who openly express specific political orientations, leading to animosity toward journalists who neither advocate for nor criticize a particular political stance. For instance, Interviewee 21 wrote an article about a politician's corruption scandal involving a specific party, which was dismissed as "false reporting" by "thousands of readers," who also harassed him with curses in comments and emails. This claim was largely based on a video clip created by a popular YouTuber who avidly followed the politician. Interviewee 21 recounted the experience thus:

My article was based on thorough reporting and contained only cross-checked facts. However, some readers, influenced by what the YouTuber said, believed that my article was not true. When that happened, I thought, "Oh, no matter how accurately I write the article, those who choose not to believe it will remain unconvinced." If an article does not align with their political interests, they simply will not believe it.

In addition, as journalism-hate remains ubiquitous, trivialized, and seemingly irresolvable, the journalist who displays a thick skin or tough front becomes an ideal model. This type of journalist was frequently referred to by our interviewees as a "natural-born journalist" (*ppyeo-gi-ja*) or a "true journalist" (*cham-gi-ja*). Whether they wish to or not, those who can endure hatred and harassment—treating it as insignificant or managing it personally rather than systematically—are favored. Interviewee 31 described the existence of this type of idealized journalist as follows:

Within my news organization and the journalistic field at large, there exists an ideal among senior reporters who can evaluate and mentor junior colleagues. This culture implies that, as a reporter, one must possess the toughness to withstand such harassment. Similarly, some seniors perceive being sued as a badge of honor. . . . Consequently, journalists may experience gaslighting, learning over time to laugh off these inappropriate jokes, which ultimately makes them more resilient against bullying. As a result, questioning such problematic behaviors begins to feel strange and even deviant.

Some of the interviewees argued that journalists must learn to endure and manage harassment to continue their careers in journalism. For these individuals, harassers and negative social energies targeting journalism are perceived as necessary obstacles that must be overcome to change society and fulfill their vision of journalism. The interviewees appear to be relatively enthusiastic about overcoming these challenges, regardless of how daunting they may be.

Nonetheless, not everyone can internalize this model of a strong or tough journalist. Our interviews indicated that those who cannot conform to this standard often become marginalized or, at times, stigmatized within their news organizations as weak-minded or incompetent. Journalism-hate creates conditions that distinguish good/capable/tough journalists from bad/incompetent/weak ones. This dynamic

further marginalizes those who neither align with a particular camp nor internalize a tough front or thick skin, rendering them affect aliens.

In response to our questions about how they make sense of their work and future career within the current negative social climate against journalism, Interviewee 10 illustrated her experience of marginalization and alienation, proclaiming that she feels incapable of fitting into any of the established categories:

I believe I have been quite fortunate so far, as I have not experienced serious harassment for three years. However, I am increasingly apprehensive about writing high-profile articles on socially contentious topics. Eventually, I will need to tackle such articles, especially if I transfer to other departments like politics. Will I be able to withstand serious attacks and harassment? I highly doubt it. Sadly, not everyone can be a journalist who simply waits for 4:30 A.M. [the time morning newspapers are circulated] . . . There are journalists who, like me, may be weak-minded but still possess strong abilities. Nonetheless, I feel that the Korean journalism field has become a *jungle*, making it difficult for individuals like me to survive. (emphasis added)

Interviewee 10 identified herself as not the type of journalist with a tough mentality or a strong sense of mission. However, she emphasized her love for writing and her continuous focus on producing “quality articles” as a primary motivation for her journalistic work. Nevertheless, she expressed that continuing her career with this “naive” mindset is becoming increasingly difficult. During the interview, she recounted a story about a colleague who was passionate about producing high-profile articles that might ignite social tensions or influence public opinion, even at the risk of facing harassment from certain political groups. She acknowledged that she does not fit the mold of a “natural-born journalist” who endures harassment as a necessary obstacle or the cost of doing “good” journalism in terms of the journalism-hate scripts. Instead, she admitted to feeling increasingly apprehensive about writing attention-grabbing articles that could turn her into a target of hatred. She conveyed that journalism has become “an object [she] intentionally distances [herself] from,” fearing that loving it excessively might result in hurtful experiences. For her, journalism is something to appreciate only to the extent that she can quit when faced with serious harassment and bullying.

To maintain emotional distance from her work, Interviewee 10 has alienated herself from it. In other words, she embodies the marginalized affect alien, neither a journalist who willingly takes sides because of journalism-hate scripts nor one with the tough front necessary to withstand the resulting harassment. Because of this alienation, she cannot envision herself continuing her journalism career in 10 years, which is ample time to plan her future. Journalists such as Interviewee 10—who fail to internalize a thick skin and tough front mentality or do not wish to write articles that serve their readers’ political agendas—tend to perceive their work in journalism as unsustainable and hopeless.

The ultimate consequence of journalism-hate is to hinder journalists—even those who have not faced severe harassment—from envisioning their future. This affect reduces their ability to imagine career paths, causing them to agonize over what kind of journalism to pursue and interfering with the

development of their professional identities. Despite these hardships, journalists indicated that their commitment to the profession is barely maintained by occasional moments when readers, peers, or informants recognize their ethical motives. Although such affirmations occur infrequently compared with harassment—some journalists estimate the ratio to be 1:9—examples like “thank-you” letters from readers (Interviewee 20) and “recognition from fellow journalists or informants after publishing an article” (Interviewee 11) give them a sense that their work positively contributes to society. These moments are among the few motivators that sustain their continued involvement in journalism. Interviewee 7 shared her experience as follows:

After an article about a medical accident was published, a hospital lawyer filed a correction suit against me with the Media Arbitration Committee, which caused me significant stress. . . . While I was actively fighting the hospital alongside the father of the medical accident victim, I often questioned whether we would prevail. I attended all the medical court sessions and even approached the judges, asking, “What should I do in this case?” At that time, if half of my time was spent writing, the other half was dedicated to assisting him. Ultimately, the court concluded that the hospital’s negligence was only minimally acknowledged, resulting in light disciplinary action. Although this outcome did not bring about significant changes in society, the father felt that he had achieved a measure of justice. He expressed his gratitude through lengthy texts and phone calls to me, and the experience was rewarding at that moment. Such experiences provide me with the motivation to continue this work, *at least for now*. (emphasis added)

This instance exemplified the support of her ethical motivations, confirming that her version of journalism was not misguided and that she was recognized socially for doing the right thing. She acknowledged that such responses help heal her damaged ethical motivation and restore her wounded professional identities, allowing her to maintain her journalistic work, “at least for now.”

The ethical motivations of our interviewees continue to be a major factor in their decision to maintain careers in journalism. Recognition from readers, informants, and colleagues who support these motivations enables these journalists to endure. This emotional support allows them to breathe, momentarily escaping the negative affect of journalism-hate. However, it is crucial to note that these affirming experiences are rare. The positive impact of this emotional support and generous recognition does not permeate their daily journalistic practice. The social affect of journalism-hate further marginalizes those who do not conform to the ideal journalist models shaped by the journalism-hate scripts, treating them as aliens. Consequently, marginalized journalists face growing challenges in exploring the significance of their journalistic labor. The meaning of the work they have defined throughout their careers is gradually becoming hollow and devoid of value.

Concluding Remarks

Journalism-hate in Korea epitomizes a multilayered crisis faced by journalists, rooted in both anti-press discourse and acts threatening their well-being. This hostility—harsh online comments, threatening

emails, and derogatory terms like *giraegi*—creates a pervasive negative atmosphere. Many journalists report that this constant negativity deeply affects their professional and personal lives, leading to anxiety about revealing their identity because of widespread societal disdain. It also fosters a sense of helplessness, as hostility seems omnipresent and difficult to mitigate, partly because of industry demands for high online visibility and reader engagement.

Journalism-hate can transmit antagonism, imposing psychological, emotional, physical, and normative costs. While routine encounters with online abuse and negative sentiment often lead journalists to normalize harassment as a coping mechanism, for some of them, this normalization masks deeper, unresolved wounds—an ongoing, everyday trauma—that gradually accumulates and harms mental and physical well-being over time. Although individual acts of hostility may not be as severe as traumatic events, their persistent and repetitive nature creates long-term, cumulative trauma, slowly eroding journalists' mental and physical health, sense of purpose, and engagement. This suggests that hostility could be deeply embedded in the routine social environment of journalism, potentially shaping perceptions of worth, safety, and professional identity.

For many journalists committed to ethical standards and passionate about their work, pervasive hatred undermines their sense of purpose, often causing self-doubt and dissatisfaction. In essence, journalism-hate disciplines journalists to either align with readers' political biases or demonstrate resilience against harassment. Those unable to conform to these expectations feel increasingly alienated, developing a sense of victimhood and disillusionment. Occasional positive affirmations are insufficient to counterbalance the profound effect of journalism-hate, driving many journalists to question the sustainability and value of their careers and exacerbating feelings of being marginalized affect aliens in their field.

This analysis revealed that journalism-hate interconnects the ideas, values, and entities related to journalism and reinforces these connections. Journalism-hate is not only a phenomenon that journalists encounter through various forms of interaction in their work and life but also an emotion, sensation, and symptom that permeates their minds and bodies. Journalism-hate can also serve as an affective reference for journalists to recognize their professional and social positions, making sense of what *good* journalism is. In this way, this social affect sticks to and thereby affects all aspects of journalists' lives, ultimately being embodied within them. Essentially, their bodies become the medium of journalism-hate.

This study showed that hostility toward the press amplifies societal distrust in the journalism system itself and exerts a cumulative, long-term impact on the work, lives, and sense of purpose of those practicing journalism. Journalism-hate can damage the "network of ideas and relationships" (Baumeister, 1991, p. 20) necessary for journalists to find and maintain meaning in their work. For journalists to sustain and develop professionally, they need to undergo a process of meaning-making that occurs between society and journalism. Since, as Rosso, Dekas, and Wrzesniewski (2010) state, "the way in which work takes on meaning is strongly influenced by which meanings are considered to be legitimate or prominent in the cultural context," an environment that respects journalists' social positions and ethical motivations must be cultivated for them to find meaning in their work (p. 113). In other words, this meaning-making process is fundamentally social, wherein individual journalists construct and maintain the significance of their work through the materials provided by society. Journalism-hate seems to complicate journalists' endeavors to

make sense of their work by causing them to routinely experience discord between the network of ideas and relationships they have relied on in journalism and the prevalent journalism-hate scripts in society. Journalists consequently face a “value gap—[a] shortage of value bases” (Baumeister, 1991, p. 78), making it difficult for them to experience a sense of meaningfulness in their work.

The value gap induced by journalism-hate presents significant normative issues in contemporary Korean journalism. The more independent and autonomous journalists are, and the more they regard the hostile work environment as a serious problem and resist it openly and actively, the stickier journalism-hate becomes. Thus, journalists who deviate from the journalism-hate scripts are likely to experience affective alienation. Journalists who seek ethical motivation in journalistic work itself strive to work diligently as guided by their professionalism, or try to maintain a calling orientation, could be disoriented by the journalism-hate scripts. Such journalists may attempt to maintain an emotional distance between their work and themselves. Put simply, they may seek to invest just enough affection in their work to avoid getting hurt. Journalism-hate has significant potential to function as affective energy that directs those who use journalism to achieve goals other than its original purpose. For instance, as analyzed earlier, the journalism-hate scripts classify partisan journalism as a *good* way of doing journalism. For hyperpartisan media, the meaning of journalistic work is tied to fulfilling political objectives, rendering the direction suggested by journalism-hate *appropriate, commendable, desirable, and ultimately normal*.

This study suggests the need for further research on the cumulative, long-term consequences of hostility toward the press, as well as alternatives to it. This analysis revealed that journalism-hate can create pervasive affective wounds resulting from daily hostility. Moreover, it can hinder journalists’ ability to ascribe meaning to their work by obstructing the evaluation of journalistic practices based on the values historically upheld by the profession. This underscores the importance of expanding research on occupational safety, not only focusing on the “personal (physical, psychological) and infrastructural (digital, financial) dimensions” (Slavtcheva-Petkova et al., 2024, p. 11) but also attending to the institutional (normative) aspects. Questions such as “How can journalism remain relevant in a society that questions its very purpose?” and “Can journalists sustain a calling orientation in such a hostile environment?” are critical. What actions should society take to foster an environment where journalists can continue to find meaning in their work despite these challenges?

References

- Ahmed, S. (2010). Killing joy: Feminism and the history of happiness. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 35(3), 571–594. doi:10.1086/648513
- Baumeister, R. F. (1991). *Meanings of life*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Bélair-Gagnon, V., Holton, A., Deuze, M., & Mellado, C. (2024). *Happiness in journalism*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Bhat, P. (2024). Coping with hate: Exploring Indian journalists' responses to online harassment. *Journalism Practice*, 18(2), 337–355. doi:10.1080/17512786.2023.2250761
- Brennan, T. (2004). *The transmission of affect*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Carlson, M. (2016). Metajournalistic discourse and the meanings of journalism: Definitional control, boundary work, and legitimation. *Communication Theory*, 26(4), 349–368. doi:10.1111/comt.12088
- Christians, C. G. (2005). Ethics and politics in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 139–164). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Deavours, D., Heath, W., Miller, K., Viehouser, M., Palacios-Plugge, S., & Broussard, R. (2023). Reciprocal journalism's double-edged sword: How journalists resolve cognitive dissonance after experiencing harassment from audiences on social media. *Journalism*, 24(11), 2454–2473. doi:10.1177/14648849221109654
- De Vuyst, S. (2022). Creating a patchwork of unruliness: The grumpy old woman as affect alien. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(1), 102–118. doi:10.1177/13678779211041
- Dworznik-Hoak, G. (2020). Making sense of Harvey: An exploration of how journalists find meaning in disaster. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 41(2), 160–178. doi:10.1177/07395329209198
- Fade, S. (2004). Using interpretative phenomenological analysis for public health nutrition and dietetic research: A practical guide. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, 63(4), 647–653. doi:10.1079/PNS2004398
- Flinders, M., Weinberg, A., Weinberg, J., Geddes, M., & Kwiatkowski, R. (2020). Governing under pressure?: The mental wellbeing of politicians. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 73(2), 253–273. doi:10.1093/pa/gsy046
- Hiltunen, I., Suuronen, A., & Pöyhtäri, R. (2024). Harassed for their job: Exploring factors that render journalists prone to harassment and intimidation. *Journalism Studies*, 25(13), 1634–1653. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2024.2372432
- Kantola, A., & Harju, A. A. (2023). Tackling the emotional toll together: How journalists address harassment with connective practices. *Journalism*, 24(3), 494–512. doi:10.1177/1464884921105
- Kim, C., & Shin, W. (2025). Harassment of journalists and its aftermath: Anti-press violence, psychological suffering, and an internal chilling effect. *Digital Journalism*, 13(2), 232–248. doi:10.1080/21670811.2022.2034027

- Kim, L. E., Owusu, K., & Asbury, K. (2024). The ups and downs in perceived societal appreciation of the teaching profession during COVID-19: A longitudinal trajectory analysis. *British Educational Research Journal*, 50(1), 93–111. doi:10.1002/berj.3914
- Koirala, S. (2020). Female journalists' experience of online harassment: A case study of Nepal. *Media and Communication*, 8(1), 47–56. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i1.2541>
- Lee, N. Y., & Park, A. (2024). Unraveling the digital threat: Exploring the impact of online harassment on South Korean journalists' professional roles. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 101(2), 529–551. doi:10.1177/10776990231217448
- Lefebvre, H. (2014). *Critique of everyday life: The one-volume edition*. New York, NY: Verso Books.
- Mazzaro, K. (2023). Anti-media discourse and violence against journalists: Evidence from Chávez's Venezuela. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 28(3), 469–492. doi:10.1177/19401612211047198
- Menke, M., & Seeger, C. (2024). Different media, different audiences, different harassment?: How the journalist-audience relationship shapes experiences of harassment. *Digital Journalism*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/21670811.2024.2351524
- Miller, K. C. (2023a). Hostility toward the press: A synthesis of terms, research, and future directions in examining harassment of journalists. *Digital Journalism*, 11(7), 1230–1249. doi:10.1080/21670811.2021.1991824
- Miller, K. C. (2023b). The "price you pay" and the "badge of honor": Journalists, gender, and harassment. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 100(1), 193–213. doi:10.1177/10776990221088761
- Miller, K. C., & Lewis, S. C. (2023). Journalistic visibility as celebrity and its consequences for harassment. *Digital Journalism*, 11(10), 1886–1905. doi:10.1080/21670811.2022.2136729
- Nugent, N. R., Sumner, J. A., & Amstadter, A. B. (2014). Resilience after trauma: From surviving to thriving. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 5(1), 25339. doi:10.3402/ejpt.v5.25339@zept0.2014.5.issue-s4
- Park, A., & Lee, N. Y. (2021). *언론인과 디지털 괴롭힘 [Journalists and digital harassment]*. Seoul, KR: Korea Press Foundation.
- Pyo, J. Y. (2024a). Different stakes, different struggles, and different practices to survive: News organizations and the spectrum of platform dependency. *New Media & Society*, 26(8), 4572–4588. doi:10.1177/146144482211232

- Pyo, J. Y. (2024b). Haters as anti-fans?: Accruing capital through audiences who hate journalists. *Digital Journalism, 12*(6), 773–789. doi:10.1080/21670811.2023.2191331
- Reyna, V. H. (2025). "A mercenary, a thug . . . not even a journalist": The stigmatization of news workers in Mexico. *Journalism Practice, 19*(9), 1967–1985. doi:10.1080/17512786.2023.2300275
- Rosso, B. D., Dekas, K. H., & Wrzesniewski, A. (2010). On the meaning of work: A theoretical integration and review. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 30*, 91–127. doi:10.1016/j.riob.2010.09.001
- Seyfert, R. (2012). Beyond personal feelings and collective emotions: Toward a theory of social affect. *Theory, Culture & Society, 29*(6), 27–46. doi:10.1177/0263276412438591
- Shin, W., Kim, C., & Joo, J. (2021). Hating journalism: Anti-press discourse and negative emotions toward journalism in Korea. *Journalism, 22*(5), 1239–1255. doi:10.1177/1464884920985729
- Šimunjak, M., & Menke, M. (2023). Workplace well-being and support systems in journalism: Comparative analysis of Germany and the United Kingdom. *Journalism, 24*(11), 2474–2492. doi:10.1177/14648849221115205
- Slavtcheva-Petkova, V., Ramaprasad, J., Springer, N., Hughes, S., Hanitzsch, T., Hamada, B., . . . Steindl, N. (2024). Conceptualizing journalists' safety around the globe. In O. Westlund, R. Krøvel, & K. S. Orgeret (Eds.), *Journalism and safety: An introduction to the field* (pp. 11–29). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Stolle, L., & Lievens, E. (2024). Towards a legal qualification of digital intimidation against environmental defenders: Navigating core components and characteristics. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology, 38*(3), 413–441. doi:10.1080/13600869.2023.2286558
- Tandoc, E. C., & Takahashi, B. (2017). Log in if you survived: Collective coping on social media in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines. *New Media & Society, 19*(11), 1778–1793. doi:10.1177/1461444816642755
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2019). *Emotions, media and politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Waisbord, S. (2019). The vulnerabilities of journalism. *Journalism, 20*(1), 210–213. doi:10.1177/1464884918809283
- Waisbord, S. (2022). Trolling journalists and the risks of digital publicity. *Journalism Practice, 16*(5), 984–1000. doi:10.1080/17512786.2020.1827450

- Weaver, D. H., Beam, R. A., Brownlee, B. J., Voakes, P. S., & Wilhoit, G. C. (2009). *The American journalist in the 21st century: US news people at the dawn of a new millennium*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Weinberg, J. (2021). Emotional labour and occupational wellbeing in political office. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 23(3), 430–450. doi:10.1177/1369148120959044
- Westlund, O., Krøvel, R., & Skare Orgeret, K. (2022). Newsafety: Infrastructures, practices and consequences. *Journalism Practice*, 16(9), 1811–1828. doi:10.1080/17512786.2022.2130818
- Yilmaz, K., Altinkurt, Y., Guner, M., & Sen, B. (2015). The relationship between teachers' emotional labor and burnout level. *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research*, 15(59), 75–90. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/ejer/issue/42376/510220>