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Abstract

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Keywords

Negative Emotions, Narrative Inquiry, Fieldwork, Lived Experience, EFL

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Introduction

Although positivist researchers deny any nexus between emotion and fieldwork, anti-positivist researchers consider emotion to be an integral part of field research (Copp, 2008; Spencer, 2010). In fact, qualitative research demands both emotional and intellectual labor (Holland, 2007). Emotional labor, originally conceptualized by Hochschild (1983), refers to the management of feelings by an individual to attain the goal of a task (Nutov & Hazzan, 2011). The emotional functioning of the researcher is intricately relevant to their cognitive actions (Holland, 2007). Increasingly, there is recognition that the researcher's own emotions are a necessary part of investigation (Blakely, 2007; Dickson-Swift et al., 2009; Rager, 2005). The rationale behind this is that the researcher's emotion potentially influences and informs understandings of the topic under investigation as well as of the data (Hubbard et al., 2001). Any attempt to do scholarly research ignoring the emotional aspect of the researcher may therefore affect the decisions regarding research design and, in the long run, research outcomes.

In qualitative tradition, the emotional experience of research participants is documented to some extent (Dickson-Swift et al., 2008; Hubbard et al., 2001), but there is limited literature on the emotive experiences of researchers (Bondi, 2007; Brannan, 2015; Loughran &Mannay, 2018). On top of that the training literature on research methodology categorically excludes the aspect of emotional distress that researchers face (Hubbard et al., 2001). It is assumed that while recording the downbeat feelings the researchers themselves can be affected by the negativities imbued in the data (Hubbard et al., 2001). The emotional vulnerability may also pose threatening and discomforting experiences for both the writer and the reader (Emerald & Carpenter, 2015). In this way, the researchers' negative emotions remain undocumented

(Richardson, 2001). Nevertheless, it is essential to document the negative feelings since the failure to acknowledge and manage such emotions can influence the decisions made in the field and can potentially slow down the research process (Bashir, 2018). From a sense of responsibility and commitment to the research fraternity, this research aims to report the negative emotions that EFL researchers experience during fieldwork and draw pertinent implications.

Negative Emotions in Fieldwork

The history of writing about negative emotions in fieldwork dates back to one hundred years (Finlay, 2003). The impetus for an authentic description of fieldwork experience evolved from the understanding that the qualitative researchers should not hide themselves in the research report. Therefore, the personal account in the field became a valuable methodological tool for ethnographers. The researchers started to document their predicament and judgment in the field to establish scientific validity, transparency, credibility, and trustworthiness of the research findings. Thus, by 1970s there was a rapid growth of ethnographic writing demonstrating a methodological self-consciousness (Seale, 1999).

Traditionally, the practice of writing on fieldwork experience is a "confessional tale" (Van Maanen, 1988) that fulfills methodological requirement. This type of writings is a by-product of field-research projects. In some instances, emotional experience in the field are weaved into a research report to make it credible, transparent, and rigorous; in others, the experience is reported in a separate paper to demonstrate the difficulty experienced in a sensitive field. The benefits of writing about negative experiences in fieldwork are manifold. First, reflection on fieldwork experience helps the fieldworkers gain insights about the social world leading to authentic interpretation of data. Second, writing about negative experience is a way to process negative emotions in a hostile environment. Third, reports on negative emotions in fieldwork inform the research committee that fieldwork can be life-threatening, and students should be made aware of it.

A large body of literature shows that emotion plays a significant role in data interpretation (Hedican, 2006; Holtan et al., 2013; McQueeney & Lavelle, 2016; Procter, 2013; Stodulka, 2014; Stodulka et al., 2018). As an illustration, Hokkanen (2017), for her doctoral study, collected data as a volunteer interpreter in two churches in Finland. While working as an interpreter, on every occasion she used to feel rushed to reach the church which provoked anxiety. She maintained a personal notebook to write her experiences, reactions, and interpretation. The embodied negative emotion helped her analyze the cultural norm of the church community that values time management skills and flexibility.

In the study of Arditti, Joest, Lambert-Shute, and Walker (2010), negative emotions experienced during fieldwork in jail setting led to an in-depth understanding of the vulnerability and sufferings of the participants. The pain and trauma of the jail visitors caused anger, frustration, and sadness in the research team. The anger they felt helped them identify the cruelty and injustice of criminal justice system. The researchers felt frustrated and sad when they came to know about the social stigma and economic loss faced by the family members of an imprisoned person. These negative emotions guided them to detect the absence of social support system for the family members of the prisoners.

In the single-case ethnography of Kisfalvi (2006), anxiety and discomfort offered valuable analytic lens in her investigation of the strategic decision-making process of an entrepreneur. The participant was short-tempered and unrelenting; so, the researcher felt terrified, rejected, and anxious. The negative feelings led her to discover the impact of the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) personality on the management team and strategy formulation process. Besides, after the first interview, when she realized that the participant obtained

information about her personal life, she felt uncomfortable. This feeling helped her notice that the participant is efficient at fetching information about people.

The feelings of discomfort, fear, and loneliness in an eco-village contributed insights into the ideology and customs of Levy's fieldwork (2016). Her discomfort paved the way to uncover the feeling rules of the eco-village where the expression of intense intimacy was considered authentic behavior. Also, the panic and loneliness she felt in her cabin assisted her to explore the meaning of nature in the life of the community. During her fieldwork, Levy felt entrapped and anxious which compelled her to investigate the meaning of confinement and freedom in the community.

There is plenty of literature that delineates psychological risks in fieldwork and informs the research community about how to process negative emotions in sensitive research sites (Ballamingie & Johnson, 2011; Bashir, 2018; Blix &Wettergren, 2014; Dickson-Swift et al., 2008; Hubbard et al., 2001; Satterlund & Mallinson, 2006; Watts, 2008). For example, Caretta and Jokinen (2017) demonstrate how they coped with the negative emotions in vulnerable situations. In the course of her PhD fieldwork in East Africa, Caretta lived near a school and regularly witnessed corporal punishment which was shocking and traumatic for her. As she could not convince the school authority to stop the practice of beating and violence, it generated frustration, helplessness, and a sense of vulnerability. To get rid of her negative feelings, she started to avoid discussion on local education. In the same site a drunken man chased Caretta when she had to run to save herself. This incident made her feel nervous and vulnerable. To cope with the negative feelings, she joined local organizations to improve the condition of women in society.

The fieldwork of Mukherji, Ganapati, and Rahill (2014) in the disaster affected area resulted in emotional depletion. In a post-disaster fieldwork in Haiti, a team member of the researchers experienced extreme stress after conducting a number of focus group interviews with the afflicted community. The trauma, grief, and misery of the participants caused the negative emotional response in the researcher. To mitigate the painful feeling, the researcher spent some solitary time and participated in a collective discussion about negative emotions with the fieldwork team.

The ethnographic fieldwork of Bonomo and Jacques (2019) on a stigmatized park setting produced anger and frustration. On different occasions, Alvin, the key informant, became the source of emotional disturbance for Bonomo, the ethnographer. In particular, Alvin started to ask for extra money which became annoying. At one point, Bonomo declined the request and asserted that she would not give any extra money; this technique worked. After losing contact with the key informant, Bonomo felt lost in the park. To continue the fieldwork, she built rapport with new chess players in the park. The fieldwork also caused frustration and disappointment as the chess players sometimes missed scheduled interviews. To cope with the distress, she adopted the go with the flow strategy of ethnography.

Harris (1997) navigated anger, trauma, and sadness in the fieldwork on Deaf people in England. The researcher lived in the secluded rehabilitation center which was different from mainstream society in terms of language and culture. The isolation caused a feeling of dejection and frustration. The residents in the center were violent and unfriendly. For instance, she was extremely terrified and traumatized when a resident tried to attack her with a pair of scissors. Besides, the misbehavior of a participant caused annoyance and anger. To cope with the negative feelings, she repressed negative emotions on the research site.

A good number of articles on negative experiences in fieldwork address ethical issues arising in sensitive or risky sites (Clark, 2012; Marks & Abdelhalim, 2018; Neves et al., 2018; Paradis, 2000; Thomson et al., 2013). To exemplify, Clark (2016) reports on her negative feelings arising from ethical conundrum while working on war rape and sexual violence survivors in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The interview on rape was distressful for the war survivors.

Observing the reaction and extreme grief of the interviewees, Clark felt emotionally drained and doubtful about the ethical correctness of her research. During her fieldwork, she found that rape survivors did not benefit from participating in any previous research. The researchers made fake commitments and misused the rape survivors. Therefore, Clark argues that simply filling out an ethics form is a naïve approach to fieldwork preparation, for such an approach overlooks the complexity of fieldwork in sensitive sites.

Okyere (2018) faced an ethical dilemma leading to discomfort and anxiety while conducting an ethnographic fieldwork on children who worked in an artisanal gold mining site in Ghana. In compliance with the requirement of the Research Ethics Committee of a western university, when Okyere met parents of some prospective participants, it caused agitation, suspicion, and distrust among the participants. The children were offended to know that the researcher sought consent of their parents for the research. Though the children were under 18, they were wage earners, independent, and capable of deciding if they would participate in the research, according to the local ethos. In this study, the requirement of the Research Ethics Committee contradicted the local values and caused emotional dissonance for the researcher.

In her ethnographic fieldwork on female gamblers in Canada, Li (2008) describes the ethical challenges she faced during fieldwork. Considering the objective of her research, she decided to conduct covert participant observation in casinos. In the initial days of her fieldwork some female gamblers, not knowing her researcher identity, shared their experience of gambling with Li. The researcher planned to involve the gamblers in her research. She, however, felt that collecting data covertly would infringe privacy and autonomy of the participants; she also sensed guilt and discomfort when she thought about collecting data secretly. To get rid of the ethical tension, Li disclosed her true identity. As soon as they learned about Li as a researcher, the gamblers moved away from her.

Wackenhut (2018) records the ethical anxiety he experienced during a fieldwork on Egyptian Uprising of 2011 in Egypt which was a dangerous and sensitive site. To protect the participants from harm, he did not collect written informed consent from the interviewees. In addition, considering the lack of security in the less democratic site, sometimes he did not disclose his identity and deceived the people on the site. He felt that during the fieldwork, he was unable to strictly follow the ethical norms which caused tension and stress.

Palmer, Fam, Smith, and Kilham (2014) narrate the psychological distress originated from ethical issues in a field research on poor farmers in Brazil. During the fieldwork, a research team came to know that a government program of cultivation where the farmers were participating with an expectation of economic benefit would collapse. The research team could help the farmers by informing them about the anticipated outcome of the government program; but that would distort the quality of data by changing the perceptions of the farmers about the program. On the one hand, they felt compelled to help the farmers; on the other, they could not do so as they needed authentic data. This dilemma caused discomfort for the research team.

The existing literature on negative emotions in fieldwork seeks to serve the function of convincing the readers regarding the credibility, trustworthiness, and authenticity of a research. Consequently, discussion on negative emotions has so far been a methodological requirement (Souhami, 2020) and epistemological imperative (Stodulka et al., 2019). Moreover, the reports on negative emotions are fragmented, carefully selected, and crafted snapshots of fieldwork experience that authenticate the findings of a research project; thus, raw complete emotional experience remains unreported (Souhami, 2020).

Majority of the articles on negative emotions in fieldwork are written by the researchers of health science, criminology, anthropology, geography, or political studies. In ethnography, bravery, endurance, and risk-taking are appreciated (Koonings et al., 2019; Sluka, 2015) as the tenacity of the researcher confirms the originality and difficulty of the research report. Hence, mundane or non-risky experience is left out of the reflexive writing (Souhami, 2020).

Educational or Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) research is usually considered non-risky which appears to be the reason for the paucity of literature on negative emotional experiences in education or TESOL fieldwork.

However, apparently mundane experience also influences data collection and interpretation (Souhami, 2020). Every single context might offer new challenges (Kapiszewski et al., 2015). In this study, we have made an attempt to depict a coherent picture of our raw negative emotions that have been overlooked in language education research. The study informs the TESOL community regarding the potential range and the implications of negative emotions during fieldwork in seemingly non-risky research sites. We have thus put a dedicated effort to report our raw feelings, usually screened out in qualitative research, without intending to authenticate or validate any findings of a research project.

The Research Context of Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a multilingual country located in South Asia (Rahman, 2010). Under its national curriculum, English language is taught as an independent subject from Grade I to Grade XII (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014). In private universities, English is the medium of instruction whereas public universities use both English and Bangla. English is also the lingua franca for international communication and multinational corporations in Bangladesh (Roshid et al., 2018). English language education research in Bangladesh is conducted by mainly three categories of researchers: graduate students of TESOL studying at home and foreign universities as part of their degree, university teachers of English departments, and commissioned researchers of British Council and the Government of Bangladesh.

In general, there is a missing link between language education research and education related policy formulation in Bangladesh. Decision makers hardly take insights from TESOL research in formulating English language teaching policies (see Hamid & Erling, 2016). Before implementing any policy, they rarely discuss with the stakeholders (Zafarullah, 2016). The top down administrative mechanism rather compels the gatekeepers of potential research sites to shut the doors for language education researchers (Hussain, 2018). Besides that, the researchers face difficulty to recruit participants from the stakeholder-body namely students, teachers, and administrators. Since the latter, based on their previous experience, tend to perceive that participating in research affairs would not benefit them and the would-be-participants consider taking part in any TESOL study as waste of time.

A corpus-based study in TESOL research suggests that the number of ethnography or fieldwork based qualitative study is scant in Bangladesh (Rahaman, 2015). Therefore, with a few exceptions (Hamid, 2010; Roshid et al., 2015), TESOL field-experiences remain unreported and unheard in the research discourse of the country. With regard to logistic and institutional support, the research context in Bangladesh is slightly different from western countries. For example, for graduate research in human sciences, unlike Western universities, most of the universities in Bangladesh do not require any ethical clearance through Institutional Review Board (IRB). Thus, research ethics till date is a concern in fieldwork as it is not an integral part of academic culture in Bangladesh.

Methodology of Research

The current research investigates three EFL researchers' accounts of their negative emotion related experiences; in doing so the study adopts the qualitative principle of inquiry. Qualitative research analyzes nonnumerical data by drawing patterns among words and offers meaningful interpretation of the data retaining its original essence (Verdinelli & Scagnoli, 2013). By considering both participants' as well as researchers' emotions and perspectives,

qualitative design provides new dimensions to the research findings (Leung, 2015). A qualitative approach therefore serves well the present research objective of drawing interpretation of human senses and subjectivity.

This study specifically falls into the "Narrative Inquiry" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990) genre of qualitative research since narratives or stories constitute data for the research. Narrative inquiry is chosen as this form of investigation is suitable for understanding individuals' lived experiences. Personal narratives are particularly useful for the purpose of generating insights and context-specific meaning about human experience (Holt, 2008). The present research, through attending to three researchers' experiences during fieldwork, seeks to find out the types of negative emotions that EFL researchers encounter in ostensibly non-threatening research context. Since narrative inquiry is about meaning-making of stories of lived experience (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990), it can more richly delineate the participants' experiences than any other traditional qualitative approach. For readers, the narrative knowledge has the potential to offer a clearer perspective into the discourse, in turn, to help them apply the story derived knowledge to their own context (Wang & Geale, 2015).

Data Generation and Collection

The present study comprises of storied form of data derived from three EFL researchers from Bangladesh. The stories pertain to the participants' experiences of negative emotions lived during fieldwork at various points between 2011 and 2018. Out of the three participants two are the authors (Adil and Shuvo) of this article, while the third participant Akash (pseudonym) is a PhD candidate at a university in London (during the time of data collection). Akash and Shuvo's negative emotion related stories had their root in "peer debriefing" (Spall, 1998) about their own research—completely unrelated to negative emotion. Adil's narratives found their way through the "post-fieldwork-team meeting" (Beale et al., 2004), reflecting on each day's field experiences, with his research team.

Akash and Shuvo's stories of fieldwork related negative emotion emerged particularly when they debriefed their peers. Peer debriefing occurs in response to an expert peer's probes regarding research methodology, data analysis, data interpretation, and emotional aspects of fieldwork; the researcher addresses such solicited probes in an attempt to authenticate their research (Nguyên, 2008). Akash, in his debriefing sessions on the study of English language teachers' evaluations and implementation processes of national curriculum, elaborated on his worry and anxiety produced from his concern about asking leading question. In his peer debriefing sessions on English language learners' classroom learning behavior research, Shuvo pointed out his unpleasant experience with "roshogolla" (a type of sweetmeat) that was offered to him in the field as lunch.

Adil's narratives emanated from the post-fieldwork meetings when he discussed his field experience with his teammates (consisting of research assistants and local guides). In post-fieldwork team meeting, held at the end of each fieldwork day, researchers reflect on and analyze their entire day's experiences with the research team or with peers; the purpose was to stabilize the remaining journey of data collection and thus obtain the necessary data (Bikker et al., 2017). Out of many discussion agendas on the linguistic consciousness research on Garo ethnolinguistic community, for instance, Adil and his team reflected on the experience of facing a verbally abusive Garo woman and the consequent feelings of distress and humiliation. Thus, both peer debriefing and post-fieldwork-team meeting stemmed the data for this research—a usual practice for studies on emotional aspect of fieldwork (see Arditti et al., 2010; Mukherji et al., 2014; Palmer et al., 2014 for example).

The emotive experiences induced from peer debriefing and post-fieldwork-team meeting were later gathered together as data for the present research. The data was collected

by two means: autobiographical narrative (Pavlenko, 2007) and narrative interview (Ayres, 2008). Adil and Shuvo documented their autobiographical narratives of negative emotions, while Akash recounted his stories of negative experiences in the field which were audio recorded (under Akash's permission) during the narrative interview and later transcribed.

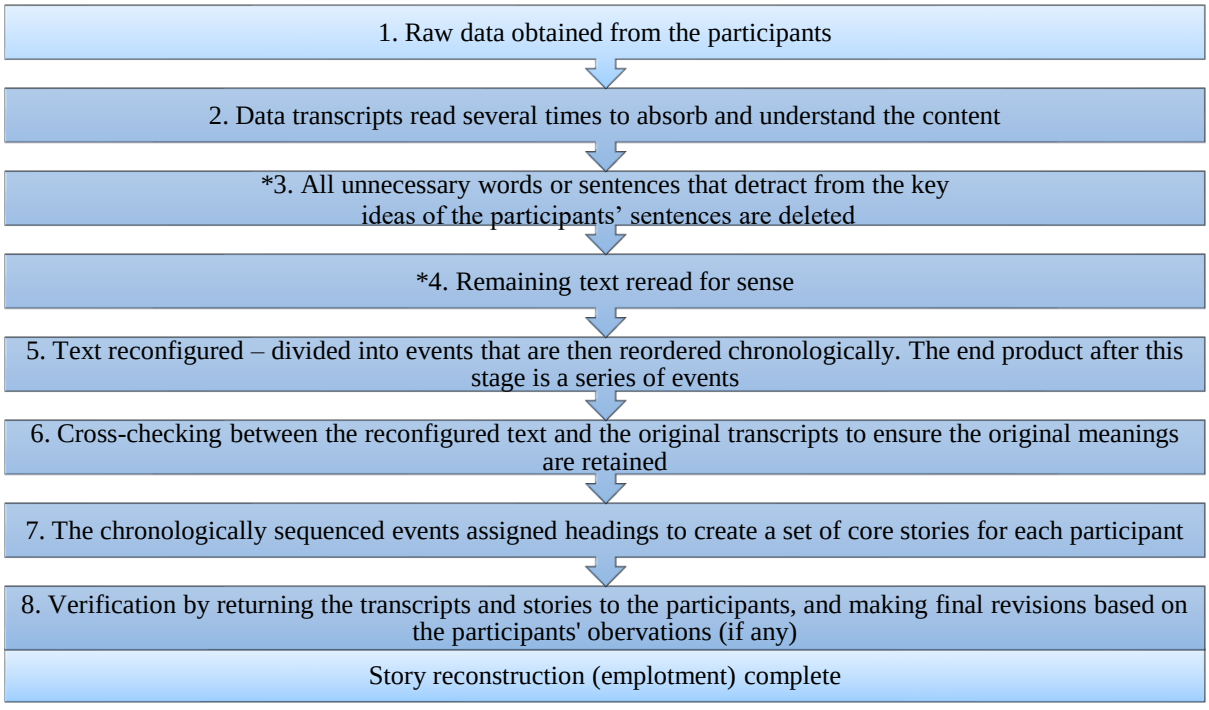
Data Preparation and Analysis

Once the data collection was over the raw narratives underwent reconstruction. The purpose was to enable data-reporting through a coherent "core story" (Petty et al., 2018). Core story, which can be contrasted with unprocessed and raw narrative, is a powerful instrument that can benefit both the researchers and the readers. By offering access to neatly organized information this tool can take researchers deep into respondents' perspectives on one hand; it can also offer readers rich insight and graver understanding of the discourse under study as well as enable them to apply the story derived knowledge to their own context (Wang & Geale, 2015).

The narrative restructuring of the participants' lived experiences into a coherent story was done through narrative emplotment (see Emden, 1998; Polkinghorne, 1988). In doing so, the events were transformed into codes and the codes were then rearranged for story formation (Figure 1 illustrates the procedure in detail). Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional model of narrative thinking guided the narrative reconstruction process. During this recreation the personal, temporal, and spatial dimension of the experiences were of focus. To attend to the personal dimension, the participants' negative feelings were examined by situating them in social context; the temporal dimension was addressed by showing the temporal sequence of the scenes/experiences; and the spatial dimension was maintained by incorporating physical description of the research site (see Gleddie & Schaefer, 2014).

Figure 1

Process of story reconstruction: The emplotment



*Steps three and four are repeated so to retain only the key ideas

Note: Adapted from: Petty, Jarvis, and Thomas (2018)

As regards analysis, the data were scrutinized through the "analysis of narrative" protocol (Polkinghorne, 1995). In analysis of narrative, storied data are analyzed paradigmatically. The paradigmatic approach, with an aim to minimize ambiguity (Kim, 2016), attends to the recurrent and prominent concepts, thus to themes, in participants' stories that might be absent in previous scholarship (Pavlenko, 2007). Since this mode of analysis involves locating as well as reporting common conceptual patterns or themes within data, paradigmatic analysis essentially resembles thematic analysis (see Braun & Clarke, 2006; Polkinghorne, 1995). The present study's paradigmatic work therefore shares the features of six-staged thematic analysis (see Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis attempted was iterative and reflective; the process developed over time and involved a constant back and forth move between the analytic phases. The stages of analysis were often interrelated and occurred simultaneously—a hallmark of qualitative data analysis (Creswell, 2007).

In performing the analysis of narratives all the stories were first carefully read to elicit the primary codes; the reading was recursively done until code saturation was achieved and the initial codes on negative emotions were obtained (Saunders et al., 2018). The codes were then arranged for comparison with each other and categorization on the ground of similarity. Based on inter code relationships similar codes were reorganized and merged to develop the potential themes (Saldaña, 2009). Table 1 presents a step-by-step process of the way the participants' narratives were analyzed. A total of five themes, namely ethical dilemma, anxiety, anger, guilt, and shame, related to negative emotions emerged from the paradigmatic analysis, and these five themes constitute the findings of the present study.

Table 1
Paradigmatic analysis of narratives

Stages of paradigmatic analysis	Activities done during each stage
1. Getting oriented with the data	Reading and re-reading the reconstructed narratives, and noting down initial ideas
2. Obtaining primary codes	Coding interesting features of the narratives in a systematic fashion; then collating data relevant to each code.
3. Deriving potential themes	Collating the codes into potential themes and gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
4. Assessing the themes	Scrutinizing if the themes represent the coded extracts as well as the entire data set
5. Defining and labeling the themes	Refining the specifics of individual themes to clearly define each of those; and then assigning names for each theme
6. Writing an analytic report	Producing a scholarly report of the analysis by incorporating compelling examples of(narrative) data extracts and relating the analysis with the research question(s) and literature

Maintaining Rigor, Trustworthiness, and Generalizability of the Research

To ensure rigor and trustworthiness of the research claims, the study adopted measures specified for the narrative genre. Rigor, understood as validity in quantitative research, equates "appropriateness" of the research instruments used and the processes followed for data collection and analysis in qualitative research (Leung, 2015). The aptness is determined positive if the research question is suitable for bringing out the expected results, if the selected methodology seamlessly paves the way to answering the research question by incorporating relevant data collection tool and analytic frame and lastly if the findings and implications align with the sample and research context (Leung, 2015).

The rigor of narrative research stumbles if there is inconsistency between participants' actual experienced meaning and their reporting (Polkinghorne, 2007). To address the disjunctions at their roots four initiatives were taken, suggested by Polkinghorne (2007), during the data collection stage of the current research. First, to address any inconsistency that might occur due to the participants' language limitations, they were allowed to use figurative language during interview and autobiographic documentation. The second issue of participants' inability to readily reflect on their experiences was overcome by providing them time for backscattering while interviewing and autobiography writing. Thirdly, the events and experiences that were filtered by the respondents with a view to presenting positive self-image were retrieved by interviewing three times. The final cause of disjunction potentially because of the participants' loss of voice in data presentation was dealt with by documenting their startling responses. In addition to addressing the possible disjunctions, the researchers also met Akash, the third participant, iteratively to enable necessary probing for the interview prompts and to check whether the data analysis was in alignment with his lived experience (Polkinghorne, 2007).

Trustworthiness, that equates reliability in positivist research, is identified as credibility and transferability in narrative form of research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Two particulars, namely verisimilitude and utility, render narrative works trustworthy (Loh, 2013). The verisimilitude quality of a narrative work enables its readers to relate their experiences with similar, parallel, or analogous events in the narrative (Blumenfeld-Jones, 1995) and thus makes the study credible. The utility aspect configures a research transferable, in turn trustworthy, by making it relevant for the researched individual(s) or community at large (Loh, 2013).

To ensure the presence of verisimilitude and utility in the present study, the researchers carried out "member check" (Harper & Cole, 2012) after preparing the write-up of the "findings and discussion" section. In doing member check participants verify the analysis or the findings (Creswell, 2009) to allow possible other interpretations as well as supplement necessary context (Patton, 2002). Accordingly each participant was invited to cross-check the thematization of the emotions (e.g., anxiety, shame) in respect to the critical events in their narratives (Webster & Mertova, 2007) and the derived feedback were consulted when revising the analysis and interpretation of the experiences. Notably, critical events are memorable happenings that occupy place in an individual's living memory withstanding the test of time; the events are significant due to their impact on the individual's professional or occupational performance (Webster & Mertova, 2007).

The generalizability aspect—deducing the findings of one study through the results of another—of the current study is ensured by analytical generalization and proximal similarity model. Under "analytical generalization," the present research results can be generalized with that of other studies that employ similar theoretical framework of negative emotion experienced during fieldwork (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Under "proximal similarity model," the findings can be used for extrapolating other study results that arise from similar

population (i.e., language education researchers) as well as similar spatial (i.e., rural space) and social context (i.e., EFL setting; Trochim, 2005).

Following are the narratives of negative emotion experienced by the three participants during their fieldwork. Akash has told five stories while Adil and Shuvo have shared two stories each. All the nine core narratives appear with corresponding heading pertinent to the story theme.

The Stories of Negative Emotion

Akash's Story

Prologue to Accessing the Site, Huh...

I came back to Bangladesh in 2016 to collect data for my PhD dissertation. Initially, I had an ideal in my mind regarding site selection and recruitment of participants. I used to believe that unknown places were the best sites and unknown people were the best participants in field research. Ironically, my concern for safety led me to select a familiar place where I had my relatives. This eventually made me feel guilty. I thought I was not following the norm of a good field research. Nevertheless, my relatives took me to a large secondary school located at a remote village of Bangladesh. There I first met the head teacher and informed him about my purpose of collecting data. The head introduced me to the English language teachers—the potential participants of the study. My initial conversations with them were full of anxiety. I was feeling uncomfortable as the socio-economic hierarchy between me and the participants was conspicuous. I was a teacher at a reputed university in Bangladesh as well as a PhD candidate in London, whereas my participants were teachers in a rural school. Many did not have a university education. However, to efface this socio-economic gap I purchased some low-priced clothes and "sandel" (a kind of local shoe) before the next visit. I also started carrying a cheaper bag instead of a polished leather bag. I wanted to look like a regular person in the site as much as possible so that my appearance did not distant me from my participants. In a word, I became extremely self-conscious. I was constantly thinking of my participants' psychological states: how they would feel, how they would respond, if they would feel pressurized, if their reputation and face were at risk, or if I was about to put them in some kind of embarrassing situation.

The Journey of Obtaining Consent Documents

According to the university ethics code, I was supposed to get written consent of the head teacher. At my university, I had to submit information sheet and consent forms for field work which was approved by the ethics committee. I did not have the authority to change it personally. If I needed to change anything, it had to be approved again. Still I made one change: I arranged group interview which I was not supposed to conduct. Communication with the ethics committee to bring this change generated panic, stress, and anxiety.

Seeking written consent from participants often resulted in discomfort and embarrassment. The moment I told them that there was a paper to sign, I could see their fear, because the consent form contained legal jargons. I had a tough time explaining the content. When the participants checked the boxes on the consent form, it appeared as if they were consenting to interrogation. I asked them to read the consent form and the information sheet. The sheet was over a page long and perhaps they did not have the patience to read it. In addition, they were not familiar with such information. So, I had to explain it to them. I said, "It is not a document with jurisdictional implications. It means just giving me permission to collect and

use some data." I also told them that they could withdraw at any time. Nevertheless, they still gave their consent with some confusion and hesitation, which was a source of anxiety for me.

Am I Asking Leading Question?

During the interviews I thought I should invite the participants to comment on their classroom teaching practices (e.g., how they planned, what they were trying to do, and what happened). I tried not to ask any questions that would lead participants to particular answers. When I began the interviews, the participants talked about different things, but they were not addressing the topic I was interested in. This produced an uneasy feeling. I was not getting them to talk about their teaching practices; instead, they were discussing a range of limitations concerning teachers, teaching-learning outcomes, and education in general in Bangladesh. They were not talking about their beliefs and their practices. Although I wanted to ask direct questions, I waited for them to come to the point due to my concerns about violating the research ethics of avoiding leading questions. On one occasion, I wanted to ask: "I saw that you are speaking 95% of the class. Do you think you are giving less time to the students to talk? Do you think it is justified?" I had to hold because it would be a leading question. The fear about asking leading questions made the interview process extremely stressful.

Managing the Dominant Participants was not Easy

Finding schedules for Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was difficult because everyone was busy. Managing the dominant participants in FGD was equally challenging. The first trial of FGD took place at school, and I found the teachers enthusiastic to talk about their profession. Except for two participants, the others did not speak much. The two individuals did not need any persuasion and kept talking randomly without any sign of stopping. I realized they had heaps of pent up emotions and the FGD provided them the opportunity to voice out their views. Thus, the first round of FGD trial did not produce the desired data. I was tensed.

"Is it Really Necessary to Observe the Class?"—the Reluctant Participants

I received permission from the head teacher to observe a class; however, the participant did not look happy about it. He had an expression that was unwelcoming. The next day I went to observe the lesson. The teacher said: "Is it really necessary to observe the class?" To comfort him I said, "Look, I have observed classes and I have found out teaching approaches and I haven't seen any major differences between teachers. Don't worry." Instead of being relaxed, he asked me back: "Do you really need this data?" He was hesitant, spoke in broken sentences, and could not easily accept my presence in his class. I was feeling guilty. I wanted to observe the class and stayed overnight in a hotel. The weather was poor and raining insistently, and this person was telling me I could observe his class if I really needed it! Because I had already invested in this project, I sought to persuade him by waiting in the teachers' lounge to create the impression that I was harmless. The experience was frustrating and disappointing.

Adil's Story

The Annoyed Participants

In 2011, I conducted a study on the perceptions of higher secondary level students toward their English textbook. The participants were students at a rural college at Kalihati. (Rahaman, 2011). My local guide informed me that the students would be available at the hostel

in the afternoon, so I went to the research site at around 6:00 pm to interview them. The first participant spontaneously remarked, "The language of the textbook is very complex and the book is too long to complete in two years." However, the second student who I approached became angry when I asked him to comment on the textbook. He did not agree to participate and expressed this by saying, "I failed my HSC (Higher Secondary Certificate) exam last year because of the English subject. I will not speak even a single word about this subject." He actually considered me as one of those people who made the learning of English difficult and thus made him fail the HSC exam. Although I asked to interview him a few more times, he did not agree to participate. I was pissed off because I never thought someone would antagonize a researcher.

Later in 2012, I went to Madhupur to explore the linguistic consciousness of the Garo ethnolinguistic community to prepare a report for a non-government organization. With the help of three local guides, I obtained permission from the Garo administration and entered the site. To elicit data, I prepared a questionnaire and approached the potential participants. I informed them that they could skip disclosing their identity on the questionnaire. Nevertheless, they dissented to participate. Therefore, I arranged informal interviews with the participants' consent and took extensive field notes. By using this approach, I was able to collect data from more participants. Towards the end of the data collection I met an aged Garo woman. When I approached her for an interview, she harshly berated all of us. Two other young women joined her. Though I constantly tried to assure them of my intention to preserve their ethnic language, I could hear hatred in their voice. This was embarrassing because I was aware that the source of such hatred was the interethnic conflict between the Garos and the Bangalis over land and economic issues.

Participants Expect too Much!

The question of whether researchers are change agents occurred to me while facilitating a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) at the same college in Kalihati. The FGD took place in the games room of the college hostel during the evening. Five students participated in the FGD. When they were reflecting on a given prompt, they expressed their expectations regarding revising the textbook in a murmuring voice: "Will the book be changed?" I became anxious and felt helpless because I knew, in Bangladesh research findings are not taken into consideration while formulating education or curriculum policy. However, had I told the participants that the FGD was being conducted simply to elicit some data and that researchers were not change agents; they would not have participated in the discussion. Later during the discussion, the students pointed out some problems and limitations of the textbook. They thought that researchers could influence the process of textbook modification. I felt emotionally further down as I was aware that I was not a change agent.

Shuvo's Story

The Cost of Building Rapport

Upon reaching the site to collect data for my MA dissertation (Saha, 2014), I straightaway went to the administrative office of a rural primary school. When I entered the administrative office at around 9 am, a local teacher accompanied me. It used to be the workstation of the teachers. I met some of them who did not have any class at that time. I exchanged greetings and talked about my research. After the brief interaction I started collecting data for my research. I observed classes and interviewed teachers until the school temporarily took a break for tiffin. For lunch I was invited to the teachers' lounge (the same

place where I met some teachers in the morning). 10 teachers were waiting there to have lunch with me; I sat to eat. The foods took me aback as I saw "Bhejachira" (water soaked flattened rice) and "Roshogolla" (a type of sweetmeat) in the lunch item. I was startled not because I had distaste for these foods; it was rather my body that did not find the items resourceful. During work hours I largely depend on animal protein for energy which the lunch "Bhejachira" and "Roshogolla" lacked. This worried me a lot as I started thinking "How am I going to do the fieldwork in the rest of the afternoon with insufficient energy level!" Moreover, the teachers' insistence was a social pressure on me as I had to keep their request. Still, to save their face and to maintain rapport I ate the lunch; but thereafter I started feeling apprehensive.

I Don't Have Enough Data!

After the dreadful lunch I resumed collecting data at 2:00 pm. I started with class observation. It was in my mind that I was allowed to collect data till 4:00 pm. So, I scheduled an interview after the class at 3:00 with the teacher whose class I was observing. According to the plan, the teacher and I sat in the teachers' lounge when the class ended. Right then the head teacher at the school arrived there. She informed me that she had to leave immediately to attend an urgent meeting at *Upozilla Shikkhya Office* (Sub-District Education Office). The head teacher assured me that I could continue collecting data during her absence. Before departing, she instructed everyone around to assist me in whatever form I needed. As the head teacher left, I started interviewing the teachers. After 15 minutes the interviewee hurried me to end the session. He told me, "I have to go home and do private tutoring." I felt desolated—I did not have any data at that stage. Having no other choice, I curtailed my plan and asked the data inducing questions directly. The interview ended in next 10 minutes and I managed to gather some data, but the haste left me completely disoriented.

Analysis of Narratives: Deriving the Findings

Narrative inquiry does not end in telling stories (Bell, 2002); it calls for explaining the phenomenon (Petty et al., 2018). Stories from the three EFL researchers provide a deeper understanding of their experiences of negative emotions (Johnson, 2009). A paradigmatic analysis of the researchers' narratives is offered in this section to interpret the meanings of their lived experiences (Kaplan-Myrth, 2007; Kim, 2016). The five derived themes, that represent findings of the study, denote that five types of negative emotions were dominant in the participant researchers which are ethical dilemma, anxiety, anger, guilt, and shame.

Ethical Dilemma

Ethical dilemma is the consequence of clash between ethics protocol and lived realities in the field (Okyere, 2018). Akash encountered ethical dilemma in seeking written informed consent from the participants. As a requirement of the IRB (Ensign, 2003; Luxardo et al., 2011; Sanjari et al., 2014; Thomson et al., 2013), Akash had to obtain signature of the participants in the consent form for data collection. In accomplishing so, the researcher observed that the participants reluctantly signed the documents. Although Akash informed them in advance about his plans for unobtrusive observation and non-judgmental interview sessions, the respondents' "reactions suggested as if they were allowing access to their private life by giving consent to interrogate them, to observe their lessons" (Akash: interview, 23 Dec. 2017). The participants' hesitation grew in Akash the feeling that he was collecting their signature going against IRB's non-coercive data collection principle (Klitzman, 2013) and thus caused ethical dilemma in the researcher.

A second source of ethical dilemma for Akash was the erratic behavior of the same set of research participants in relation to interview. Though scheduled in advance, the participants appeared unwilling to be interviewed for no reason. Since Akash traveled miles to take the interview, it was difficult for him to cancel the appointment. At that point, the feeling of ethical dilemma, being created by the sense of coercive interview, clouded his mind. The same negative emotion hauled Akash while conducting the Focus Group Discussion. In controlling the "dominant participants" (Nyumba et al., 2018) he could not play the moderator role that he was supposed to execute, and this deviation from the research ethics demand of being a moderator made Akash emotionally suffer. During group interview and individual interview sessions too Akash experienced ethical dilemma. In both the cases the interviewees failed to address the prompts that were of interest to Akash. He therefore had to make his prompts even more specific by modifying those into leading questions (Ogden & Cornwell, 2010). The concern of asking leading questions, which is considered to be a breaching of research ethics protocol (see Agee, 2009), again put him in ethical tension.

Adil also suffered from ethical dilemma when he failed to obtain signature from the Garo participants in the consent form but had to continue collecting data. Since the participants declined to sign in the consent form, he felt that he could not meet the basic criterion of a good fieldwork which entails the collection of evidence pertaining to participants' consent (Lazaraton, 2013). However, to enrich his data corpus Adil had to persist with data collection. Thus, the tension between what he had to do and what he actually did caused ethical predicament in Adil.

Anger

The feeling of anger during fieldwork results from the unexpected, unanticipated, and unpredictable behavior of the participants. In the researchers' narratives, uncongenial and whimsical behavior of the participants is found to stimulate anger. In case of Adil, the abusive words of a Garo woman provoked anger. Adil believed that his research topic was harmless, non-political, and rather beneficial to the Garo community. Not realizing the value of his work, the woman misbehaved with Adil and her unreasonable conduct made him annoyed. Participants' unwelcoming attitude and the consequent researcher anger are frequently reported in fieldwork research (see Arditti et al., 2010; Levy, 2016; Holland, 2007; Stodulka, 2014). As an example, in her reflection on an ethnographic fieldwork on reproductive health in Bangladesh, Rashid (2007) shares her experience of developing anger being faced with hostility from the respondent's husband.

Apart from the unpleasant behavior of the participants, their whimsical behavior arouses anger among researchers. Feeling of anger in Shuvo and Akash was instigated by the quirky behavior of the participants. Though scheduled for a longer interview, Shuvo was forced by the interviewee to conclude the interview early. Not being able to generate thick data he felt betrayed and furious. Akash was similarly enraged by the apathy of a participant who wanted to cancel a prescheduled classroom observation. The researcher became infuriated at that since he "stayed overnight in a hotel away from family, paying the hotel bill…went there braving insistent rain with thunderstorm just for observing the class," but the participant told Akash that he "could go to his class if really needed!"(Akash: interview, 31 Nov. 2017). All these experiences rationalize anger to be an inevitable legitimate human reaction during fieldwork (Down et al., 2006).

Sometimes participants' lack of interest in the concerns of the researcher triggers a feeling of anger in the researcher. For instance, in a trial FGD Akash did not get the desired data as the teacher participants were keen to talk about their grievances. This resulted in wastage of the researcher's time and energy and consequently produced anger in the researcher.

A similar challenge is reported by Zhao (2017) who could not obtain relevant data from the participants. Anger may influence the research process in a number of ways. When the research site invokes anger, a fieldworker may doubt the significance of the research topic (Harris, 1997) and may develop antipathy against the research participants (Barrett-Fox, 2011). This can ultimately affect the decision regarding inclusion or exclusion of the collected data (Barz, 2008; Fine, 1993). After experiencing anger in the sites, Adil, Shuvo, and Akash developed a feeling of repugnance toward the participants which temporarily interrupted the flow of fieldwork. The researchers also avoided rapport building with people in the field for a few days.

Anxiety

For the researchers, anxiety generated from the apprehension of failure, uncertainty, and danger. During an FGD to understand the perception of higher secondary students about English language textbook, Adil felt anxious as the participants expected that the research would contribute to significant modifications of the textbook. Adil knew that in Bangladesh policy makers hardly consult any research document while formulating a policy (Aminuzzaman, 2015; Islam & Rahman, 2008; Koehlmoos et al., 2009; Roshid et al., 2015). Therefore, he felt that his research would not bring any change to the textbook. Thus, he anticipated a failure which generated a feeling of anxiety (Coleman, 2003). To get rid of the disquieting emotion Adil finished the FGD early, though a longer session would have produced valuable data.

Shuvo also experienced anxiety due to the apprehension of failure (Statt, 1998). When his research participants offered him water-soaked flattened rice with sweetmeat as lunch he became worried. Shuvo analyzed, if he ate the lunch he "would not get the energy for continuing data collection" as the food items did not contain necessary non-veg protein to supply him energy in the afternoon; he was nervous thinking that he "would feel drowsy after the lunch" (Shuvo: autobiographic narrative, 1 Sep. 2018). Akash's concern about his own safety in the field and the probability of teachers not willing to participate in his study rendered him nervous in the field. Thus, the apprehension of danger and uncertainty cultivated anxiety in Akash during fieldwork (Bhatia, 2009; Matsumoto, 2009).

Guilt

Guilt refers to a feeling that arises from an activity that may be harmful to others (VandenBos, 2015). It is an excruciating emotional state that researchers may experience when they start thinking their action of data collection is comparable to data mugging and intruding into the life of the research subjects (Hubbard et al., 2001; Johnson, 2009; Masters, 1998). Guilt is a recurrent emotion in the narrative of Akash. He considered himself as an interloper when he observed the gloomy and unwelcoming face of a teacher who reluctantly allowed him to observe the classroom teaching. As the teacher asked him if he really needed the data, he felt that he was a "data mugger" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995).

The sense of guilt further baffled Akash when he contacted his research participants to schedule interview sessions. Akash had to phone the participants several times to set up meetings, but he felt hesitant to do that as he deemed it to be an intrusion into the participants' life. Akash maintained, "I had to call them again and again. I did not want to impose myself on them lest they felt bothered. I was too aware of my actions" (Akash: interview, 23 Jan. 2018). Thus, a sense of "contamination complex" (Wilkins, 1993), imaginative foreboding that one might be injurious to others, caused Akash to feel guilty. The negative emotion of guilt also ensued from researchers' perception about ideal sampling process: inviting only the strangers to participate in study. It was the case with Akash whose participants were not strangers to him,

rather distant acquaintances. As he did not invite strangers to participate in his study, he nurtured guilt in him thinking that he violated the rules of established research convention, even though it is not unusual to recruit familiar participants in research (Zhao, 2017).

Shame

Shame is an uncomfortable feeling that emerges from a self-recognition of any disgrace in one's behavior, circumstances, or action (VandenBos, 2015). A number of attempts have been made in research methodology literature to trace the origin of shame in fieldwork. To exemplify, Pollard (2009) identifies occasional digression from the fieldwork, depression, frequently returning home, and hanging out with local people in the field as the causes of shame among PhD students who conducted ethnographic fieldwork. In other words, any unproductive activity in the field was a source of shame for these fieldworkers. In their reflexive account on fieldwork emotion, Satterlund and Mallinson (2006) document how failure to access a site caused embarrassment in researchers. One of their participants was denied access to site because he could not convince the gatekeeper that he was a "legitimate" researcher with relevant credentials; the other two participants were not granted access to the site because the gatekeeper felt that the research topic was not good.

Both Adil and Akash experienced shame during their fieldwork. For Adil, the source of shame was conflict with the potential participants. Though literature on fieldwork emphasizes rapport building (Dantec & Fox, 2015; Gaglio et al., 2006; Glesne, 1989; Malachowski, 2015) with participants, at times the endeavor to build rapport may not be successful and researchers may experience negative emotion. In the fieldwork on HSC textbook, Adil could not build rapport with the participant in the hostel as the research topic was related to a trauma (i.e., failure in English subject) of the participant. As he realized that he was insisting the participant to reflect on a traumatic episode of life, which goes against the principle of field research (Seedat et al., 2004), he felt ashamed of himself for being a perpetrator. Another shameful event for Adil took place in Madhupur while he was conducting a fieldwork on linguistic consciousness of Garo community. As there was conflict over land issues between Garo and Bangali community at the site (Cooper, 1992; Rahman et al., 2014), he was verbally attacked by the Garo women when he requested them to take part in the study. Adil felt "awkward, whacked, and worthless; and…asked: Did I do anything wrong entering the Garo community for collecting data?" (Adil: autobiographical narrative, 20 Oct. 2018). Like Adil's, Akash's embarrassment also resulted from a lack of trust between the researcher and the researched. Intimidated by the legal jargons, the participants reluctantly ticked the boxes in the consent form. The fearful eyes of the participants were the source of embarrassment for Akash.

Sometimes a mismatch between the objective of research (e.g., interpreting the reality) and participants' desires (i.e., changing the reality) may lead to a shameful experience (Arditti et al., 2010). Adil encountered a shameful experience while conducting an FGD for the study on English textbook which resulted from such a mismatch. When the FGD participants requested him to take initiative to change the contents of the textbook, he could recognize himself as just a researcher, not a change agent. In Bangladesh, usually research documents are not taken into consideration during policy making process (Fattah, 2018). As Adil knew that he would not be able to influence the policy makers to change the English language textbook (which was an expectation of the research participants), he faced utter embarrassment.

Discussion

The present research findings confirm the ones of previous literature on fieldwork experience and add new observations as well. The results suggest that ethical tension arises in researchers from their concerns about seeking research participants' informed consent and probable coercion. Previous research on fieldwork experience also report findings on ethical stress produced by the apprehension for obtaining written informed consent, retaining privacy of the individuals, mismatch between institutional research ethics and local ethos, and worry about coercion (Clark, 2016; Li, 2008; Okyere, 2018; Wackenhut, 2018). Roshid, Siddique, Sarkar, Mojumder, and Begum (2015), for instance, show that in Bangladesh the western ethics requirement to obtain written permission for accessing the research site created suspicion and doubt among its gatekeepers. Thus, the researchers' entry to the research site got stalled and anxiety overhauled them as a consequence. Hamid's (2010) ethical dilemma emanated from his concern about the principle of non-coercion. During his fieldwork in a school the head teacher made it mandatory for the students to participate in Hamid's research. The action of the school authority was culturally appropriate. Yet the event aroused ethical tension in Hamid as the directive of the school authority caused violation of IRB's ethical code. However, the finding of the present study regarding ethical dilemma originating from leading questions remains unreported in previous research; this adds new knowledge about the role of leading question as the catalyst of ethical tension during fieldwork.

Anger in the EFL researchers is generated because of capricious and uncooperative participants as they obstructed the flow of data collection. Past studies confirm the arousal of emotional dissonance due to lack of cooperation from the participants (see Zhao, 2017). Rashid's (2007) field experience in an urban slum setting in Bangladesh reported that husbands of the participants were erratic in behavior. They misbehaved with the researcher and forced her to discontinue interviewing the participants, which deposited grudge in Rashid. Harris (1997) turned angry when she met a hostile, uncooperative, and disrespectful woman during an ethnographic fieldwork on British Deaf people in a North West town in England. Bonomo and Jacques (2019) inform about an ethnographer in Atlanta who experienced negative emotion when the participants did not attend the scheduled interviews.

The participant researchers in the present study experienced anxiety when the issues of data inadequacy and personal safety came into being; however, the interplay of anxiety during fieldwork is barely considered for research in the field of TESOL. Rather studies on drug users (Williams et al., 1992), domestic violence (Langford, 2000), and violent communities (Baird, 2018) document the production of anxiety. The results of the previous research indicate that the negative emotion is mainly triggered by the concern for safety in the field. Punch (2012), for instance, became anxious during her visit to a research site in Bolivia as she encountered dogs and rivers. For Santos (2018), the violence and hostility in a sensitive site in São Paulo created extreme safety concerns.

In the current research the negative emotion of guilt appeared when the researchers felt that they intruded into the life of the participants, but guilt's emergence remains almost unreported in EFL research. Reference to its surfacing during fieldwork is prevalent only in the works of ethnographers from social science and health science who view guilt to be emanating from a sense of being interloper (see Bashir, 2018; Clark, 2016 for instance). In their ethnographic research, Bonomo experienced the sense of guilt when she felt that she might be considered as an intruder by the Black chess-player-community in a park at Atlanta (Bonomo & Jacques, 2019). Watts (2008), during her fieldwork on cancer drop-in center in England, felt guilty as she had to encroached in the private lives of the cancer patients and 'exploited' the data collected from them. While conducting her fieldwork in a Canadian Aboriginal village,

Hedican (2006) avoided participating in a funeral ceremony out of her concern to be perceived as obtrusive.

The negative emotion of shame resulted due to the absence of rapport between the researchers and the participants; however, former research on rapport and trust in fieldwork mainly reported on the methodological consequences of the absence of rapport and strategies on rapport building (see Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012; Burns, 2015; Celestina, 2018; Kawulich, 2005; Mitchell & Irvine, 2008; Reeves, 2010). These literatures did not offer any analysis on the emotional impact on researcher resulting from a failure to build rapport with the respondents. Thus, the primary focus of such literature is not emotion. Similarly, neither educational research nor TESOL research documents any experience that projects researcher embarrassment due to the lack of rapport with the participants.

Implications of the Study and Concluding Remarks

By narrating and analyzing a wide range of negative emotions—an approach which is absent in the mainstream literature (Bondi, 2007)—an attempt has been made in this study to provide an extensive account of negative emotions in TESOL fieldwork. The research informs the TESOL research community regarding the potential range of negative emotions so that they can prepare in advance. The preparations may start with research methodology courses in TESOL including contents on negative field experience to enable students learn the techniques of dealing with negative emotions during fieldwork. Also, it needs to be acknowledged that TESOL researchers may need psychological support and advice from their supervisors and from professional psycho-social counselors while in the field.

The findings of this study indicate that negative feelings can originate from IRB requirements as the obligation to IRB to acquire participants' written informed consent produces anxiety. Since stringent ethical guidelines generate negative emotions and interrupt research progress, they are counter-productive. The western IRB policies, for non-Western context, are specifically identified as rigid, culturally inappropriate, and inapplicable (Roshid et al., 2015). Considering the unpredictable characteristics of different research sites, IRB ethical requirements should be made flexible (Palmer et al., 2014; Reeves et al., 2013).

However, the findings of this study have to be seen in light of some limitations. This study reports negative emotions from the fieldwork in rural settings only. The type of negative emotions might vary in urban areas. Besides, the dearth of prior studies on negative emotions in education and TESOL fieldwork posited challenge to produce an exhaustive comparison with reference to relevant findings. The challenge was negotiated to a certain extent by drawing on findings on negative emotional experience from non-education fieldworks. The study is also limited in its scope as it does not offer any universal knowledge. The results of this study are context contingent and should therefore be considered for similar socio-cultural situations only.

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