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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of the study: A global language

English first language speakers can easily take for granted how universally dominant English has become. It is a global language, the *lingua franca* of modern life, and the language most often taught as a foreign language in over 100 countries around the world (Crystal, 2003)[1]. According to Crystal (2003), there are approximately 329 million first language English speakers in the world and a further 430 million people who speak English as a second language. Furthermore, Crystal (2003) reports that the British Council[2] estimates that there are as many as another billion people learning English as a foreign language. Matsuda (2012) maintains that in total an estimated 1.2 billion to 1.4 billion people are believed to speak English as a second or foreign language.

English is the official language for aerial, maritime and international communications, the main working language of international banking, commerce and trade, one of the six official languages of the United Nations, and the most commonly used language in the sciences. English is the dominant language of the Western media and popular culture revealing the influence of the USA and Britain on the global psyche – it is the language of pop songs, soap operas, TV series, blockbuster movies, computer games, and the dominant language of the internet and different forms of social media such as Facebook and Twitter (Graddol, 2000; Seargeant and Swann, 2012). Celente (1997: 298) refers to this dominance of the English language as having the "power to transform ideas, and therefore lives, and therefore societies, and therefore the world." Furthermore, to be competitive in an increasingly international academic marketplace and to keep abreast of developments in most fields[3] requires a high level of competence in English which has contributed significantly to the spread of the English language (Pennington and Hoekje, 2010: 5). This supports Matsuda (2012) who states that two-thirds of the world's scientists read and write in the English language.

Dewey (2007: 333) maintains that "English is like no other language in its current role internationally, indeed like no other at any moment in history…there have been other international languages but English is different: the extent of its diffusion geographically; the enormous cultural diversity of the speakers who use it; and the…varied domains in which it is

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[1] Although this is an interdisciplinary doctorate, the conventions recommended by the English Studies Department have been adopted. The Harvard referencing system, rather than the APA system, has thus been used consistently in this thesis.

[2] The British Council is a public corporation and charity which aims to promote cultural relationships between the people of the UK and other countries, promote a wider knowledge of the UK, promote the advancement of education and develop a wider knowledge of the English language. [Source: *www.britishcouncil.org*, (accessed 28 February 2012)]. Dewey (2007:345) states that while UK and US-based institutions do not 'run the show' globally, they continue to be disproportionately influential.

[3] Graddol (2000:9) states that the top ten disciplines that use English as their working language are Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Psychology, Mathematics, Earth Sciences, Medical Science, Sociology, Philosophy and Forestry.

found and the purposes it serves." This supports Crystal (2011: 30) who states that English achieved its current dominance due to "a combination of power factors that have influenced the language over a period of 400 years." There is, however, evidence that the predominance of English is declining in certain areas of the world. Waldern (2009: 81) warns that "The heyday of English may actually be fading" and that there are mitigating factors which have started to impede the spread of the English language. One of the main factors is that the balance of power is shifting away from English-speaking countries such as the USA as a result of the global economic crisis, the result of which has been that other languages such as Arabic, Spanish and Chinese[4] are rapidly spreading around the world and extending their influence and practice. On the economic front, India and China are becoming world economic powers while the influence of developing countries such as Brazil and Russia is increasing (Waldern, 2009). This concept is echoed by Spencer (2013: 4) who maintains that "the hegemony of English appears to be on the decline."

Other languages, besides English, such as Chinese, French, German and Spanish are increasingly being taught and used globally (Janus, 1998; Waldern, 2009). This supports Crystal (2011: 30) who notes that the "ratio of native to non-native speakers is changing as the younger generation becomes more bilingual." Graddol (2006) states that the amount of international business conducted in the English language is decreasing or, at the very least, the dominance of English as an international business language is being called into question. In addition, global migration is higher than ever, and communication is increasingly multilingual. Thus the position of English as the preferred language of the highly educated, international middle class and elite is precarious as younger populations of people are growing up speaking and learning a variety of languages other than English (Graddol, 2006).

The advent of new technologies is also spreading the use of other languages. In 2000, English was used in 51% of Internet communication, but by 2005, that figure had dropped to 32% (Waldern, 2009) with part of the reason being that the global news media is now widely available in various languages. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996: 429) state that there is an increasing shift towards "promoting global linguistic diversity, multilingualism…foreign language learning, and granting linguistic human rights to speakers of all languages" and away from a 'diffusion of English' paradigm characterised by a belief in capitalism, science, technology, monolingualism, Americanisation and linguistic, cultural and media imperialism. Phillipson et al. (1996) maintain that the main linguistic rivals to English in the next two decades will be Arabic and Chinese. Thus, while the demand for language learning in a variety of major world languages is increasing, the demand for English language learning in particular may be

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[4] In 2003, 23% of the global economy GDP was conducted in Chinese, as compared to 18% conducted in English (Graddol, 2006).

declining. The result of this will ultimately be that the demand for, and value of those who teach English, may begin to decline at some point in the future as well.

Despite this, English is and will for the foreseeable future be regarded as a global language due to the sheer breadth of its spread around the world as a result of colonialism (Graddol, 2000) and the depth of its institutionalisation in countries beyond the primary use English-speaking countries. According to Graddol (2000), there are three types of English speakers in the world today: first language or native speakers who generally live in countries in which the dominant culture revolves around English; second or additional-language speakers of English where English is used as one of a repertoire of languages, each used in different contexts, and foreign language speakers of English. In accordance with these three groupings, Kachru (1986) created the concentric circle model which captures the historical and current situation of English in the world. The concentric circle model consists of:

- *The inner circle* which refers to countries where English is the primary language, namely Australia, Anglophone Canada, New Zealand, the USA and the UK. These countries are the traditional bases of English and are viewed as norm-providing countries, that is: countries that set the accepted standard of English (Kachru, 1990: 4). Brutt-Griffler (2002) is critical of this view though and maintains that it is a form of linguistic imperialism whereby the inner circle nations are regarded as the sole agents of language spread and 'correct' usage. In addition, this view fails to acknowledge the role that non-inner circle countries have played in the development of English globally. Crystal (1997) estimates that the inner circle of English first language speakers consists of approximately 320 to 380 million people;

- *The outer circle* which consists of countries where English spread as a result of colonisation and other language contact situations such as Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Kenya, Nigeria, non-Anglophone South Africa[5], Papua New Guinea and Singapore (Kachru, 1990: 4 and 1996: 137). According to Crystal (1997), the outer circle is made up of approximately 150 to 300 million people. In these countries, English plays an important 'second language' role and the countries are viewed as norm-developing that is: the norms of the inner circle use of English filter down to these countries. However, there is significant regional variation in the language. English tends to be the dominant language in institutional contexts such as the education system, in business and in government. Knowledge of English, therefore, has significant value in outer circle countries with many students from these countries choosing to study abroad. Singh and Doherty (2004: 12) state that "Western universities have become zones of escalating

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[5] Kachru (1996:137) states that South Africa does not fit neatly into the circle concept as "the sociolinguistic situation is complex and no reliable figures of English-using populations are available, particularly for those who use English as their first language." Some theorists include English-speaking South Africa as part of the inner circle while other theorists maintain that South Africa is part of the outer circle countries.

cultural contact as increasingly large numbers of students from former colonised nations enroll in these institutions to acquire a Western education" which they anticipate will result in better employment opportunities at home;

- *The expanding circle* in which English is rapidly being acquired as a foreign, additional or international language. These countries were not colonised by the countries of the inner circle and English does not have a 'special' function besides being taught as a foreign language due to its use in international communication. The language is viewed as norm-dependent relying on the inner circle countries to provide norms. Expanding circle countries include Brazil, China, Egypt, Israel, Japan, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan and Russia and most of the European continent (Kachru, 1990:4). Crystal (2003) estimates that the expanding circle consists of approximately 100 million to 1 billion people. In 2000, Graddol (2000: 11) predicted that "those who speak English alongside other languages will outnumber first-language speakers and, increasingly, will decide the global future of the language."

Dewey (2007: 345) states that the spread of English internationally has led to the cultures of the inner circle becoming the new "minority cultures." However, while this may be the case numerically, in practice; the new expanding circle majority does not enjoy mainstream status. Within English language teaching institutions, non-native teachers of English do not find immediate acceptance, are still regarded as the 'other' and tend to be marginalised (Dewey, 2007). Kachru's model has been given important critical treatment in recent years (Dewey, 2007: 350) with critics stating that the "metaphors of inner and outer imply a sense of inclusion and exclusion, with native speakers of English located at the centre and non-native speakers at the periphery." In addition, Graddol (1997) has commented on the inappropriateness of locating the 'centre of gravity' in the domain of the native speaker, undermining attempts by speakers of English as an additional language to appropriate the language for their own purposes. Thus there is a need to modify Kachru's model to reflect the growing debate and increased awareness of the socio-politics of English use worldwide. However, in line with many scholars of World Englishes and English as a lingua franca, Kachru's framework is used for ease of reference and in the absence of widespread agreement over an alternative model.

Kachru (1986: 134) states that the three circles are not immune to internal power struggles as the inner circle countries such as the USA, the UK and Australia do compete fiercely with each other. This competition is based on several factors which include the 'selling' of a particular model of English, the creation of a market for pedagogical and technological materials coupled with the concomitant need to create a market for teachers or 'experts' from one's own country and the drive to seek and attract well-off foreign students from particular regions of the world. According to Kachru (1986: 134), this has resulted in "linguistic paranoia" and the perception

that the outer and expanding circle countries are playing the inner circle countries off against each other. Thus, Brumfit (1982:7) maintains that "American English may be preferred by countries wishing to express their independence from a traditional British connection...(and) countries too close to the States have been known to turn towards Britain for a change in model and teaching policy for their English...(thus)...the English-speaking world can be played politically by the non-English speaking world."

According to Coleman (2010: 8), "45% of international students are studying in four countries: the USA, the UK, Canada and Australia." Coleman (2010: 8) maintains that these destinations attract international students because of the "perceived quality of their higher education institutions but also because they use English" which for many students plays an important role in their future employment opportunities and international mobility. This supports Matsuda (2012) who estimates that 52% of international university students are taught in English. Graddol (2000: 44) maintains that English is the most popular modern language studied worldwide, for example, in the Russian Federation, 60% of secondary school students study English while only 25% study German and 15% study French. In Europe, 60% of secondary school students chose to study English, 30% chose French and 5% chose German. According to the British Council, the number of English language learners will peak in the next decade at a staggering two billion. Therefore, the need for instruction at all levels of English learning and the consequent demand for TESOL teachers is, and will for the foreseeable future, be enormous. Nunan (2003: 591) agrees stating that "Few TESOL professionals can deny seeing the day to day results of the socio-political phenomenon of global English…governments around the world are introducing English as a compulsory subject at younger and younger ages. In business, industry and government, workers are increasingly expected to develop proficiency in English." These demands for English offer opportunities for the TESOL profession but at the same time they have created many challenges for TESOL educators internationally.

According to Griffith (2005: 4), the range of locations and situations in which English is in demand covers an enormous spectrum. She states that, if English teaching "is booming in Kazakhstan and Laos and Guatemala, there can be few corners of the world to which English has not penetrated." Prospects for hopeful TESOL teachers are thus excellent with quite literally hundreds of international schools throughout the world offering a range of English courses from beginners to advanced, from Aviation English and Academic English to Business English and English for doctors, lawyers and scientists, from examination preparation for IELTS[6] and

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[6] The International English Language Testing System (IELTS) is one of the world's leading tests of English reading, writing, speaking and listening skills. IELTS is accepted by over 6000 institutions around the world including universities, immigration departments, government agencies, and multinational companies. IELTS is offered through over 800 test centres in over 130 countries. [Source: *www.ielts.org,* (accessed 28 February 2012)].

TOEFL[7] to general English conversation classes. Thus Pennington et al. (2010: 6) state that "Language study has become a prime driver of international educational exchange." This raises the question of whether the TESOL industry, locally and internationally, is ready for this deluge of students eager to learn English for academic, social and professional purposes and how the myriad of private language schools, small and large, will support the teachers, personally and professionally, for whom it will become an increasingly daunting task to meet the needs of such a divergent and extensive discipline. The attempt by teachers to meet this world-wide demand for English instruction may be at great cost to the teachers concerned. This thesis explores the emotional cost to teachers' operating in the TESOL context.

1.2 The TESOL industry

The term, Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is an inclusive term which refers to both the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL) and the Teaching of English as a second language (TESL). The term TESOL is used in this thesis to refer to all aspects of English language teaching to students who are not first language speakers of English. The Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is thus a specialised form of English teaching. It differs from mainstream English teaching in primary and secondary schools in that it has a much narrower focus with the broad aims being to assist students in achieving general or specialised competence in the language by focusing on teaching the four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking in English, accompanied by explicit grammar instruction, the pronunciation of English and vocabulary building.

There are many different types of TESOL teachers ranging from those who teach English to foreign students who live in, or are from countries where English is not spoken as an official language such as Brazil, China or Russia, to teachers who teach English improvement skills to adult students of English as an additional-language and teachers who are part of the primary and secondary school system focusing on developing English language skills in children for whom English is not their first language. TESOL teachers, therefore, work in a variety of contexts ranging from primary and secondary schools to university-affiliated and private language schools. Private language schools may be part of an international organisation with multiple branches worldwide and a central recruiting mechanism (Pennington et al., 2010:9) such as International House which has 150 language schools in 50 countries, Eurocentres which has a worldwide network of language schools and English First which has 41 international language centres. Schools may also be run on a much smaller scale and wholly-owned by local, independent operators. A large number of TESOL teachers also work as private tutors.

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[7] The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) is one of the most widely respected English tests in the world. The TOEFL is recognised by over 8500 universities, colleges, immigration departments, medical and licensing agencies in over 130 countries. TOEFL is offered at 4500 testing locations in over 165 countries. [Source: *www.ets.org,* (accessed 28 February 2012)].

In South Africa, there are strict entry requirements[8] to the field of teaching English within the primary and secondary school system hence university-affiliated and private language schools are the main employers of TESOL teachers. It is for this reason, and due to the researcher's personal experience of working in a private language school, that this research study focuses on TESOL teachers who work for private language schools.

English language teaching (ELT) is a cross-cultural, inter-disciplinary field that has expanded and developed significantly in the global context over the past thirty years. It has connections with cultural anthropology, education, linguistics, psychology and sociology to name but a few disciplines. The expansion and development of English language teaching has occurred alongside historical, political, social and cultural developments that are continuing to shape our world (Neilsen, Gitsaki and Honan, 2007). Luke (2008) states that the development of the field of TESOL was actually a historical response to two phenomena: the post-Second World War decolonization of non-English speaking countries and the global flow of immigrants and political refugees to post-industrial countries. This has led to the creation of a growing service industry in language teaching. Furthermore, the postwar expansion of Anglo-American economic power and technologically-driven mass communication has gone hand in hand with the spread of English as a global *lingua franca*.[9] Consequently the push and pull dynamics of globalization has led to the regional and transnational expansion of English language teaching. Thus, according to Neilsen et al. (2007), TESOL teachers are part of a large and complex cycle of money and technology, spanning state and private education, private sector business and the global tourist industry.

My experience of ten years of working as a TESOL teacher at a private language school has shown me that for many people TESOL is a career that appeals to those who wish to travel, who dislike routine and embrace variety and change and who wish to be involved in education but not within the bureaucracy and confines of the formal schooling system. Some school leavers complete a TESOL course during a gap year and go on to teach English overseas for a few years before embarking on a university degree and a formal career, others 'stumble' onto TESOL by accident after hearing about English teaching from friends and acquaintances while still others enter the field because a job opportunity unexpectedly presents itself. For some, TESOL represents a welcome career change after a crisis in their previous careers or personal lives and

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[8] To be permitted to work in the South African primary and secondary school system, one has to either hold an undergraduate degree with appropriate teaching subjects and a one-year (full-time) Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) or hold a four-year (full-time) Bachelor of Education degree. All teachers working in the South African school system need to be registered with the South African Council of Educators (SACE).

[9] The term English as a lingua franca (ELF) is used to refer to communication in English between speakers with different first languages. In most cases, a *lingua franca* is a 'contact' language between people who do not share a common first language or a common culture. Thus English is the preferred foreign language of communication (Seidlhofer 2005: 339).

others see the field as a way of earning income after retirement. In many cases, teaching English is one of the few forms of employment open to people if they want to remain overseas, making their choice to enter the TESOL field a strategic one. In many countries, English teaching is the most easily attainable type of employment and often, the only employment available to foreigners. Griffith (2005: 8-9) states that there are five 'types' of people who can generally be found teaching English: "the serious career teacher, the student of the host country's prevailing language and culture who teaches in order to fund a longer stay, the long-term traveller who wants to prolong and fund their travels, the philanthropic teacher who is sponsored by an aid organisation, charity or mission society and finally, the teacher who embarks on this adventure to 'find' themselves."

While many people regard TESOL as mainly a form of temporary employment and not as a viable career choice, the fact of the matter is that the global TESOL industry is becoming an increasingly lucrative field all around the world. In a 2011 Global Market Report of the English Language Teaching market commissioned by The British Council, the total number of students studying English at the top 8 language teaching destinations was 1,500, 240 students representing a total revenue of $11.6 billion. (See Table 1 for a breakdown of the 2011 Global English Language Market by Revenue).

Table 1: Global English Language Market by Revenue 2011*

Country	% global market share	Revenue derived from English Language Teaching
United Kingdom	35%	$4,078,516,960
United States of America	25%	$2,917,670,700
Canada	19%	$2,143,392,703
Australia	14%	$1,612,675,453
Ireland	3.5%	$391,385,197
New Zealand	2%	$255,075,352
Malta	1%	$144,555,584
South Africa	0.5%	$68,910,438

[Source: Special Report: The Global Market 2011, Study Travel Magazine, Dec 2012, pg 28 -32.]
* The 2011 figures are the latest available figures

In South Africa, there are a number of university-affiliated language schools situated on university campuses and a great number of private language schools with the vast majority being in the Western and Eastern Cape and Kwazulu-Natal provinces. There are, however, an increasing number of private language schools in Gauteng province, particularly in the business hubs of Johannesburg and Pretoria. South Africa is thus increasingly being viewed as a cost-effective alternative for foreign students who would, in the past, have chosen to study English

in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK or the USA. South Africa has a favourable exchange rate compared to other English language learning destinations, a relatively low cost of living, many opportunities for sightseeing and travel, a sporty, outdoor lifestyle, world-class educational institutions and multi-cultural richness. Foreign students entering South Africa in order to learn English thus represent a significant source of income for private language schools, tourist attractions, student accommodation and bed and breakfast establishments. In addition to learning English, many foreign students travel around South Africa and may even extend their stay or their course. Furthermore, a large number of these students come to South Africa to learn English with the goal of embarking on university studies once they have achieved competence in English. As most universities require international students to pay in advance for their studies, this represents significant revenue for local universities.

Despite this growth, the TESOL industry continues to be unregulated in South Africa and indeed, worldwide. In an interview with Study Travel Magazine (2011: 28), Shaun Fitzhenry of Education South Africa[10] (EduSA) states that South Africa's ELT industry "suffers from some major hurdles such as the continued lack of formal government accreditation and recognition." There are a number of TESOL organisations which set standards for the industry but have no enforcing status. Organisations such as Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)[11] , based in the USA, aim to advance professional expertise in English language teaching by means of a range of activities such as publishing journals, organising international conferences and offering support to TESOL teachers. The International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL)[12], also based in the USA, aims to link, develop and support English language teaching professionals throughout the world. The organisation offers a range of publications to members, an annual international conference, special interest groups, scholarships and links to associated professional organisations. At this stage, there is no official body that regulates language schools in South Africa although the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) is in the process of accrediting all educational institutions in the country.

The TESOL industry is thus lucrative but unregulated and deeply affected by local and international economic, political and social events which create a great deal of volatility. This in turn results in the uncertainty endemic to the industry. The people most directly affected by this uncertainty are the TESOL teachers because language schools often employ teachers

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[10] EduSA is the national association of English language centres in South Africa. The main aims of the organisation are to promote the English language travel industry and ensure minimum standards of professionalism and quality for member schools. [Source: *www.edusouthafrica.com*, (accessed 28 January 2013)].
[11] Founded in 1966.
[12] IATEFL was founded in the UK in 1967. The organisation has nearly 4000 members in 100 countries around the world. [Source: *www.iatefl.org*, (accessed 12 March 2012)].

contractually on a course-by-course basis dependent on student numbers. Data gleaned from annual market analysis conducted by Language Travel Magazine[13], a business publication about studying abroad for students and professionals, reveals the effect of external factors on the TESOL industry such as civil war and other political and social upheavals, economic downturns, epidemics, negative press reports, tighter immigration controls and visa regulations.

According to annual questionnaires sent by the Language Travel Magazine to ten participating language schools[14], 4 632 foreign students attended English language courses at the ten participating schools in 2003, of which the top six nationalities were German, Swiss, Korean, Saudi Arabian, Brazilian and Japanese. 86% of the students were between the ages of 19 and 50 years old with an average length of stay of 8 weeks. In 2004, South Africa became more popular as a cheap language learning destination due to an aggressive marketing drive combining language learning with tourism. There was an increase in student registrations despite volatile global events such as the outbreak of SARS, the invasion of Iraq by the USA and allied forces and terrorist attacks in Riyadh and Casablanca. In total, 5 296 students enrolled at the various schools with the top six nationalities being German, Swiss, Korean, French, Brazilian and Italian. Of these students, 81% were between 19 and 50 years old with an average length of stay of 7 weeks.

In 2005, due to world events such as the terror attacks in London and Egypt, the Bali bombings, further bombings in Delhi and Jordan, the Kashmir earthquake and the Cronulla riots in Sydney, Australia, there was a sharp decrease in the number of students attending English classes at the various schools in South Africa with a total registration of just 3 182 students. The top six nationalities were Swiss, Angolan, Chinese, German, Korean and Austrian. Although student numbers decreased overall, there was a large increase in student numbers from Angola and China and the average length of stay increased to 12 weeks with 72% of students between the ages of 19 and 50 years old. An interesting finding was that there was a sharp increase in the 12-18 year age group with 21% of students being 18 years old or below.

In 2006, 6 689 foreign students registered at the ten private language schools with the top six nationalities being Angolan, German, Swiss, Brazilian, Chinese and Mozambican. Thus there was a major increase in Angolan students with many of these students aiming to register at universities in South Africa. The increase in overall student numbers could also be attributed to the outbreak of Avian Flu in the UK which may have led many students to choose South Africa

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[13] Available online: *http://www.hothousemedia.com/ltm/*

[14] The following private language schools participate in the annual market study: Cape Studies, English First, Eurocentres, International House, Interlink School of English, Kurus English, LAL, Language Teaching Centre, Good Hope Studies and Wits Language School. [Source: *www.hothousemedia.com,* (accessed 13 July 2011)].

as a preferable destination. Of the students registered, 85% were between the ages of 19 and 50 staying for an average of 10 weeks.

In 2007, there was a decrease in student numbers with 5 615 students registered at the various institutions with the top six nationalities being German, Swiss, Saudi Arabian, Chinese, Turkish and Korean. There was a dramatic reduction in the number of Angolan students and an increase in Saudi Arabian students. The average length of stay was 8 weeks with 87% of the students between the ages of 19 and 50 years old. In 2008, there was an even further reduction in student numbers with 3 615 foreign students registered at the various schools. The decrease in student numbers over 2007 and 2008, particularly from other African countries, may have been due to the ongoing xenophobic attacks in South Africa at that time. The top six nationalities were Brazilian, Korean, German, Swiss, Saudi Arabian and Chinese. Of these students, 82% were between 19 and 50 years old staying in the country for an average of 8 weeks.

In 2009, the low student numbers continued with a registration of only 3 852 students of which the top six nationalities were Brazilian, Korean, German, Swiss, Turkish and Saudi Arabian. Of these students, 85% were between 19 and 50 years old and stayed in the country for an average of 9 weeks. In 2010, due to the soccer World Cup in South Africa, there was a large increase in registrations with 7 890 foreign students registered at the ten language schools. The top six nationalities were Congolese, Korean, German, Gabonese, Chinese and Brazilian. Thus there was a sharp increase in students from other African countries. The students stayed in the country for an average of 15 weeks with 76% of the students between 19 and 50 years old. In 2011, 7 645 students registered at the various language schools, however, due to the global economic downturn, there were fewer students from central and Eastern Europe. The top six nationalities were Congolese, Brazilian, Chinese, Angolan, Swiss and Korean with 81% between the ages of 19 and 50 years old. The average length of stay was 10 weeks.

Thus the field of TESOL tends to be precarious as shown by the fluctuations in local student numbers which have a direct impact on employment opportunities for TESOL teachers and the length of that employment. This supports a British Council review (2006: 1) of the global ELT market which states that "the English Language sector is volatile, impacted by external factors such as currency fluctuations, the threat of terrorism, pandemics...or government legislation." There is, therefore, a temptation in this context to employ short-term contract employees but there is little academic merit in doing so.

Despite this uncertainty, TESOL is a prolific research area with a plethora of journals and areas of specialisation. Most research in TESOL has, however, focused on the linguistic and

methodological aspects of the field, that is, on the teaching of the English language and not on the nature of the industry or the teachers. Simon-Maeda (2004: 406) states that "Teacher training has traditionally emphasised instructional methods and proficiency measures while ignoring the realities of teachers' lives both inside and outside the classroom." Thus the contributions and experiences of TESOL teachers have been overlooked (Neilsen et al., 2007). According to Kassagby, Boraie and Schmidt (2001: 227), there is little information in the applied linguistics literature about what "makes English language teachers tick – their motivations, goals and their views on what teaching does and should offer to people who make a career of it."

All around the world teachers of TESOL express not only great satisfaction with, but also deep dissatisfaction about, their work. Among the satisfactions commonly voiced about a career in TESOL are the opportunities for travelling the world, the interactions with people of different cultures, and the chance to teach the English language in creative and exciting ways (Pennington, 1995). Florez (1997) thus maintains that many TESOL teachers view themselves as intrinsically motivated and focused on rewards that are less tangible than those of financial compensation or professional recognition. These teachers rather perceive themselves as focused on social service, creativity, connectedness to others and a sense of personal accomplishment. English language teaching is a truly global field and Griffith (2005) adds that the rewards of teaching English to those who wish to learn the language are self-evident and range from learning about, being immersed in and becoming integrated with a foreign culture, gaining insight into different people, cultures and lifestyles, a feeling of self-reliance and the fact that English teaching serves as a convenient base for foreign travel.

At the same time, there is much dissatisfaction among teachers of TESOL ranging from complaints about the depressingly low salaries and almost universal lack of benefits to inadequate recognition on, and of the job, coupled with chronic job insecurity and in some cases, gross exploitation. Sun (2010: 142) states that TESOL teachers are generally "disenchanted with their working conditions" and deeply concerned about inequitable workloads, undesirable working conditions, low pay, job insecurity and a lack of professional development and support. Griffith (2005: 11) maintains that "as competition for jobs has increased, working conditions have not improved…there is a growing tendency for teachers to be offered non-contract freelance work, with no guarantee of hours." Furthermore, exploitation of teachers is common as the field is hampered by a lack of regulation and unionisation worldwide.

It is, therefore, difficult for TESOL teachers to sustain a long-term commitment to the field in the face of employment instability, salaries which are not market-related, a lack of benefits and

inconsistent professional development. This gloomy situation is exacerbated by a general lack of support of TESOL teachers from the management and administration of private language schools, serious concerns about the status of TESOL as a profession and the devaluing of the field due to the propensity of many private language schools to employ temporary, 'backpacker' teachers on short-term employment contracts (Mullock, 2009). Thus this 'downside' of TESOL lays the foundation for stressful working conditions which can lead to teacher burnout and which is the topic of this thesis.

1.3 The students of English

This research study specifically focuses on those who teach English to foreign students who have come to South Africa to improve their English language skills for the purposes of academic study or work. There are various reasons why foreign students come to South Africa to study English: the vast majority of students choose to learn English or to improve their competence in English so as to enrol in a course of study at a South African college or university or to improve their chances of obtaining more lucrative employment in their countries due to their English ability. Some students have no or very limited English and start at beginners level with the goal of progressing to advanced level and then on to the IELTS or TOEFL examinations. Other students are accompanying their spouses who are skilled professionals working on a contract basis in South Africa and as unemployed, accompanying spouses generally may not work. They thus decide to improve their English language skills. Still others are taking a gap year, may be visiting relatives in South Africa or are relatives of foreign people already working in South Africa. In my experience of ten years in the TESOL industry, the vast majority of these students enrol in private or university-affiliated language schools.

1.4 Problem statement

The TESOL field, therefore, is in the unique situation of being not only an academic field struggling for recognition and status but also a lucrative business field with a multitude of private operators spread all over the world and no authoritative, unifying body. In the rush to market schools as potential study destinations for foreign students, the TESOL teachers and their needs are not high on the agenda and yet they deserve attention as it is not an easy task to teach a language to groups of students of varying ages, educational levels and different cultures in a short-course format. Thus the potential for stress and burnout is high.

It is well-documented that teachers generally experience considerable stress caused by factors inside and outside the classroom (Coombe, 2008; Grasse, 1982; Kyriacou, 1987; Markham, Green and Ross, 1996; Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Mullock, 2009; Pennington and Ho, 1992 and Sass, Seal and Martin, 2011). It follows that TESOL teachers must also experience high stress levels. Stress can be caused by factors inside the classroom such as student behaviour, student complaints, assessment procedures, peer and supervisor observations and time

constraints on language courses. Stress can also be caused by factors outside the classroom such as lesson preparation, administration, test creation and marking, competition among teachers for jobs and status and conditions of employment such as short-term contracts, a lack of benefits and low salaries.

Grasse (1982: 5) states that TESOL teachers experience high stress levels due to "unrealistic expectations for results on the part of parents, sponsors[15], administrators and students" and a lack of classroom communication due to students' restricted target language proficiency. Furthermore, TESOL teachers' may experience stress due to the limited number of jobs available for TESOL teachers in private language schools and the fact that these teachers often experience job insecurity, holding temporary positions with low pay and no benefits. Pennington et al. (1992) maintain that TESOL teachers exhibit a high level of concern about pay, benefits, opportunities for advancement and professional status.

Stress and consequent burnout are risks for all teachers. However, it is important to recognise that while there are similarities between the experiences of those who teach English in primary and secondary schools in South Africa specifically[16] and those who teach TESOL, the differences may be far greater (See Table 2 for the similarities and differences between TESOL teachers and English teachers in primary and secondary schools). According to Mullock (2009), TESOL teachers can be differentiated from primary and secondary school teachers because many of them discover TESOL by sheer accident, enter the field to try it out and consequently discover their passion, even though the individual may not have had a lifelong ambition to teach.

Palmer (1998) states that good teaching, regardless of what or where one teaches, revolves around having a sense of identity and integrity coupled with the desire to seek connectedness between one's students, oneself and one's subject matter and, according to Mullock (2009), teachers at all levels of education have more in common than might be supposed. Borg (2006: 5; 13-17), however, maintains that various factors do distinguish the experience of TESOL teachers, and in fact, foreign language teachers in general, from that of teachers of other subjects. These factors include:

- The nature of the subject matter as TESOL teaching is the only subject where effective instruction requires the teacher to use a medium the students do not yet understand;
- The content of the teaching as TESOL is unique in scope and complexity. Teaching English to foreign students extends far beyond the four skills and includes not only the

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[15] A sponsor undertakes to pay a student's fees at an educational institution.
[16] In the USA, TESOL teachers form part of the primary and secondary school system in many cases. This is not the case in South Africa.

'culture' of the language but also knowledge from different fields such as education, politics, history, literature and linguistics;

- The methodology of TESOL teaching is diverse and aimed at constantly creating contexts for communication and maximising student involvement. For effective instruction, TESOL teachers look for ways of providing extracurricular activities through which naturalistic and practical learning environments can be created. Such activities are less of a necessity in other subjects;

- Teacher-student relationships tend to be informal and there is greater communication between teachers and students and more scope for students to work on themes which are of personal relevance. In addition, effective TESOL instruction requires certain interaction patterns such as group work and communicative activities which are desirable but not necessary for effective instruction in other subjects;

- The subject and the medium for teaching it are the same, especially in multilingual groups where English is the only common language;

- Incorrect student output is accommodated with TESOL teachers acknowledging student errors as part of the learning process. Borg (2006) states that the only other subject where student errors are seen as a desirable part of the learning process is mathematics;

- Oral production plays a central role as, more than in any other subject, speaking is fundamental to language learning and teaching;

- TESOL teaching is often a political activity as language teaching generally has a dimension of power and control, inducting learners into ways of thinking and being which reflect those of the target culture.

- The field, unlike most other subjects, is driven by commercial forces and an enormous, global private sector. In addition, TESOL is characterised by a proliferation of teaching and learning resources which is unparalleled in other subjects;

- The range of competing methodologies and methodological shifts in English language teaching over the years outweighs similar phenomena in other subject areas which tend to be more static;

- TESOL teaching is the only subject in which a distinction between native and non-native teachers[17] is explicitly made and where professionally trained non-native teachers are often compared unfavourably to native speakers even when the native speakers do not hold similar professional qualifications; and

- There is a lack of standardised entry requirements into the field as there are a wide range of qualifications for and routes into TESOL. In many places in the world, the basic qualification for working as a TESOL teacher is a 4-week certificate course while other

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[17] Commonly known as NNEST's [Non-Native English Speaking Teachers].

institutions and countries insist on TESOL teachers who hold at least Masters-level qualifications in English language teaching.

Thus, it is vital to recognise that there are certain factors in the TESOL industry that simply do not exist in the experience of primary and secondary school teachers of English. There are factors unique to the experience of teaching TESOL that lead to different causes of stress and burnout for TESOL teachers. Research on teacher stress in general informs this study and forms a foundation for the study but the uniqueness of the TESOL experience cannot be underestimated. In addition to Borg's (2006) analysis above, Table 2[18] highlights what the researcher maintains are the similarities and differences between TESOL teachers and English teachers in primary and secondary schools.

Table 2: Similarities and Differences between TESOL Teachers and English Teachers in Primary and Secondary Schools

TESOL teachers	English teachers in primary and secondary schools
Similarities[19]	
Both groups: Stand in front of a class of students and teach various English language skills using a lesson plan (a written or a mental map of the lesson).	
Prepare for lessons and perform a range of administrative tasks such as setting and marking tests and assignments and writing progress reports.	
Assess students' ability by various means including assignments, projects, tests and examinations.	
Need to learn how to control and discipline disruptive students.	
Work and interact with students, colleagues and the management of a school.	
Experience stress and burnout.	
Differences	
In private language schools in South Africa, TESOL teachers teach students who are regarded as adults (from age 16 onwards).	Primary and secondary school English teachers teach students between 5 and 19 years old. The students are treated and regarded as children.
TESOL teachers teach one subject with a relatively narrow focus. English language skills are taught with a focus on the acquisition of	School teachers are generally qualified to teach more than one subject and teach a broader English curriculum ranging from

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[18] *Note.* The information in this table is based on the researcher's experience of being a TESOL teacher in a private language school for ten years.

[19] The inclusion of similarities supports the argument that TESOL teachers perform similar work in many ways to English teachers in more traditional educational contexts. TESOL should thus be viewed as a legitimate sector of English teaching.

language structures and communication. The courses, especially at advanced levels, may include literature and poetry but generally the aim is to develop and improve the use of English for communicative purposes.	language and writing skills to in-depth analysis of literature and poetry.
TESOL teachers' often share classrooms or have to use communal areas as classrooms. There is often no teaching space to personalise and little ownership of the teaching space.	Generally primary and secondary school English teachers have their own classrooms which they can personalise.
TESOL teachers' often have an inadequate support network within the school which may lead to a lack of collegiality and communality.	Primary and secondary school teachers' may have a greater support network available in the school system.
TESOL teachers' work in small, private schools in an unregulated industry. There is a tendency to isolation. However, as TESOL teachers all teach the same subject; opportunities are created for the sharing of resources and information and the possibility of cooperative ventures.	Schools tend to be standardised, regulated and are often unionised. However, school teachers all teach different subjects so English teachers may only have a few colleagues who teach the same subject. Thus the possibility of experiencing feelings of isolation exists.
TESOL teachers' often lack resource material due to the cost of such material and may have to make their own or purchase their own classroom resource material. Thus they have to learn to be creative with minimal resources.	Primary and secondary schools in the same urban areas of Johannesburg as private and university-affiliated language schools are more likely to have adequate resource material for teachers. In state schools, much of this resource material is supplied by the Department of Education.
TESOL classrooms tend to be informal and relaxed. Teachers may play music in class and conversation and chatting in English is encouraged. The curriculum is not standardised nationally and schools are free to choose their own study material. Teachers have closer and often social relationships with students who are generally adults. Teacher-student outings may range from visiting tourist attractions to going for coffee or attending parties together. Borg (2006: 22) states in TESOL classes, "students often speak about their experiences and lives and a strict, formal and impersonal attitude on the part of the teacher would counteract attempts to engage students in meaningful	English classes in primary and secondary schools are more formal than TESOL classes and tend to be based on a foundation of discipline and rules. State and private schools follow a nationally standardised curriculum although there is some freedom in the choice of textbooks. Teachers have formal and strongly controlled relationships with students and these relationships are always based on school activities such as academics, cultural activities and sport.

communication."	
TESOL teachers generally set assessments and decide how and when to assess their students. Coordinators and supervisors may offer only minimal guidelines.	English teachers in primary and secondary schools follow a standardised assessment system based on formal outcomes.
TESOL classes consist of students of different ages, nationalities and cultures. Teachers need to learn how to teach in a multi-aged and multi-cultural environment.	Students are the same age, or within a year or two of it. There is some cultural diversity but the vast majority of students are of the same nationality and tend to have similar backgrounds.
Students cannot be forced to do homework although assignments and tests do count towards a pass mark. It is also difficult to force students to participate in classroom activities such as group work if they do not want to. As long as students meet the basic course requirements, they will pass to the next level.	Teachers expect the students to complete homework and there are consequences for not doing homework such as detention. Students can be forced to participate in various classroom activities. In addition, students are expected to meet and exceed the course requirements.
There are often students of varying learning abilities in one class. This is exacerbated by the fact that teachers have no access to the learning record of individual students. Some students are not literate in their first language and TESOL teachers also have to cope with adults with learning disabilities. This supports Neilsen (2011) who discovered that due to civil war in certain countries such as Angola, students may have missed several years of education and were not literate in their first language or the official languages of their countries.	Students with learning disabilities will not be educated in mainstream primary and secondary education. Teachers have access to students' school records and students are generally literate in their first language.
TESOL teachers may have to cope with disruptive adult students. There is often no recourse for the teacher as the student is an adult who has paid for a course of study. It is very rare for a private language school to ask a student to leave.	Teachers have to be able to cope with disruptive students. However, primary and secondary school teachers can inform the head of department or principal of the school about the problem. Students are bound by a disciplinary code.
TESOL teachers are expected to provide entertaining lessons which stimulate interest, and create an atmosphere of fun and levity while also motivating students and staying in touch with what is interesting and relevant to people of a wide range of ages and cultures. This supports Prodromou (1991) who cites	School teachers teach what they teach; it is not really relevant if the students find the lessons boring as primary and secondary school students are a captive audience.

TESOL teacher characteristics valued by students as including being friendly, telling jokes, playing games and acting like a 'comedian.' If students feel that the lessons are boring, they can and will complain to the course coordinator.	
TESOL teachers experience little or no contractual security. It is very rare to find a permanent position in TESOL with benefits such as a medical aid and pension fund. Salaries are determined by the language school and market conditions. Thus conditions of employment can be ambiguous and stressful. Furthermore, TESOL teachers are often viewed as having low-status by students and by colleagues in other disciplines.	School teachers experience less difficulty finding full-time employment. Generally teachers are offered several benefits including medical aid and pension. Salaries tend to be more standardised and regulated and working conditions tend to be unaffected by market conditions over a period of time. Primary and secondary school teachers have greater protection, more status in society, may be unionised and tend to have better working conditions overall.
TESOL teachers struggle to find full-time, well-paid and long-term employment in South Africa. There are no personnel agencies that specialise in TESOL positions and teachers often have to rely on word of mouth in order to find work. Local positions are generally not advertised in newspapers while international positions are almost always advertised online. It is easier to find employment as a TESOL teacher internationally than in South Africa. There are also a limited number of private and university-affiliated language schools with a very limited number of vacancies, many of which are short-term contracts.	School teachers have a range of resources to assist them in finding employment from personnel agencies that specialise in teaching jobs to lists of school vacancies released by the various education departments. Schools tend to be close-knit communities so word of mouth may play a vital role in finding employment. The sheer number of schools nationwide also ensures that there are, at any time, vacancies for English teachers.

Many TESOL teachers, therefore, work in vulnerable employment contexts with conditions that have the potential to be stressful. Very few have full-time employment with benefits as most are employed on short-term contracts, often on a part-time basis, with low salaries and at the mercy of economic and political whims and changes. This erroneously reinforces the gypsy-like reputation of TESOL teachers but job mobility is not necessarily their own choice (Mullock, 2009). This lack of employment stability contrasts with mainstream primary and secondary school education in South Africa where teachers may stay in teaching institutions for far longer periods of time.

Stress, if prolonged and unchecked, can lead to burnout. According to the researcher and based on the researcher's personal experience of working as a TESOL teacher in a private language school, the stressors that affect TESOL teachers can be divided into three broad categories:

Firstly, stress that occurs as a result of individual factors and perceptions. This includes:

- The realisation that one's TESOL training, which often consists of a four-week long basic certificate course, is inadequate preparation for the realities of the classroom;
- The discrepancy between the reality of teaching and what is expected from a TESOL teacher by the management of a private language school in terms of achieving outcomes. This is often contrary to one's idealistic notions of what teaching English would be like. This supports Wedell (2004: 2) who states that "there is a significant gulf between statements of what outcomes the curriculum is intended to achieve and the classroom realities"; and
- Concerns about gaps in one's knowledge particularly of English grammar and how to overcome this in a short period of time. An inadequate knowledge of English grammar, particularly at the intermediate and advanced levels of ELT and how to explain complex grammar points in a simple manner is a challenge for many TESOL teachers. Straker (2007: 79) investigated English foreign language teachers' attitudes towards the explicit teaching of grammar. He found that the teachers considered explicit grammar teaching "central and fundamental" to TESOL teaching. Part of the problem is that most first language English speakers have acquired the language naturally and have not been taught English grammar explicitly. Andrews (1999: 146) states that native speaker teachers are likely to be more proficient users of English, however, "their explicit knowledge of grammar and grammar terminology may be seriously deficient." Foreign students often have an advanced knowledge of English grammar which can lead to considerable stress in the classroom as teachers find their grammar explanations 'corrected' and questioned by their students. Borg (2001:21) states that teachers who do not have an adequate grasp of English grammar tend to avoid teaching grammar whenever possible and if given no choice, will adopt a teacher-centred 'lecturing' style rather than a student-centred style which could lead them into the "unknown territory" of having to answer students' questions. Furthermore, in subjects such as mathematics and science, many students learn and apply formulae without worrying about the underlying rationale. In contrast TESOL teachers are "under pressure from students to explain the rationale" for grammar rules (Borg, 2006:18).

Secondly, stress that arises inside the classroom. This arises mainly from the dynamics of the student-teacher relationship and includes the following stressors:

- Adults exhibit much insecurity in the classroom and can be just as disruptive as children. This disruptiveness can include arguing with the teacher and fellow students, refusing to participate in group work, speaking activities and games, consistently speaking in their home language in the classroom and refusing to do homework and assignments. Kumaravadivelu (2003: 3) refers to this as "a perennial discipline problem" in which adult students' exhibit behaviour that is aggressive, disobedient and disruptive. McDonough (1994: 61), in an analysis of TESOL teachers' diaries cites one teacher's description as follows, "Perhaps learning a foreign language away from home reduces you to a child-like state of demanding more attention than everyone else – men seem particularly prone to this behaviour…and regress to the level of children…and want to be constantly reassured";

- Students may complain about a teacher to fellow students or to the management of the school rather than approach the teacher concerned. This is a concern when teachers are in a precarious employment situation as too many complaints can result in a teacher's contract not being renewed. Li (2003: 1) states that complaints are often unjustified and tend to result from students' discomfort with "interactive or spontaneous teaching approaches typical of TESOL teaching techniques such as group work, games and the use of puzzles, pictures and role plays which are…incompatible with many students' (conservative) ideas of what constitutes good learning and teaching";

- Students who are alone in South Africa and who experience culture shock may not respect the 'distance' in the teacher-student relationship and that the teachers' primary role is to teach English. The result is that teachers often find themselves embroiled in and trying to assist with visa problems, banking and other financial difficulties and accommodation and transport dilemmas. Thus TESOL teachers often become substitute parents or are viewed as general 'go-to' people. This can place teachers in a stressful situation where so much time is spent assisting students with the various problems arising out of living in a foreign country that a teacher's ability to provide quality instruction is compromised. This supports González (2003) who in research on the professional needs of Columbian TESOL teachers discovered that the teachers listed dealing with students' social problems as one of the most stressful aspects of being a TESOL teacher;

- Students often have erroneous beliefs about language learning including the belief that grammar drills and exercises are more important than practicing actual communicative skills such as speaking and listening. This is often coupled with the erroneous belief that one can become fluent in a language in a few weeks; and

- Administrative tasks such as the submission of weekly reports, class progress reports, various forms of assessment and attendance registers are required. In addition, private

language schools often over-assess students due to concerns about maintaining quality teaching and testing standards. This results in an overload of marking which is normally done in the teachers' free time. This leads to too much time being spent on testing students and not enough time spent on actual teaching. In addition, testing may be inconsistent and at private language schools may not be based on recognised tests with teachers of varying abilities and qualifications creating their own tests which leads to a lack of standardisation and quality.

Thirdly, stress that arises outside the classroom, within the organisation, including interactions with colleagues, administrators and management:

- The nature of these interactions is determined by the manner in which the TESOL teachers are perceived by the management of the school, that is, whether teachers are regarded as casual labour and thus easily replaceable, whether there is a commitment to providing professional development opportunities by means of funding further study and encouraging participation in conferences and workshops, and whether teachers are empowered to make decisions or at the very least, participate in decision-making. The regard in which the teachers are held directly influences the atmosphere of the school. In schools where teachers are viewed as temporary workers, there is often a lack of collegiality, a preponderance of gossip, convoluted lines of communication and an atmosphere of threat. This supports Bruno (2007: 27) who states that "Groups of people who have been forbidden direct access to power often compensate by using indirect means such as gossip." Furthermore, the management of the language school are perceived as creating and endorsing the working conditions of the teachers which are generally characterised by short-to-medium term employment contracts based on student numbers, few or no benefits such as medical aid and pension fund and salaries that are not market-related;
- Teaching observations, conducted by administrators and co-ordinators who often hold qualifications in administration, commerce, finance, education and linguistics but not in TESOL specifically, can also be a source of stress. Observations are often presented as opportunities for teacher development but, more often than not, end up as a critique of one's performance in the classroom by a person who exhibits a fundamental lack of understanding of how to conduct a TESOL class. It is difficult to determine what the criteria of the observation are and teachers often do not receive constructive feedback on their performance. This supports O'Leary (2006: 191) who maintains that "current models of classroom observation are contrary to teacher development and do little to improve the overall quality of teacher performance." In addition, O'Leary (2006) feels that observations lead to a culture of negativity and are too easily influenced by the subjective bias of the observer;

- Competition between teachers to be the most 'popular' teacher among the students can lead to intense rivalry and a lack of collegiality. This can lead to what Peterson (2002) describes as a toxic culture characterised by a lack of purpose, a discouragement of collaborative projects and hostile relations among teaching staff; and
- The use of communal classrooms or shared spaces set up as classrooms creates a sense of dislocation and a lack of ownership of one's teaching space. Not knowing where one is going to be teaching — from one course to the next — can lead to feelings of disempowerment. In addition, TESOL teachers often share computers and office space in an unused office designated as the shared 'Teachers Room'. The lack of quiet space to prepare, work and think leads to a tendency to work in isolation with a minimal teacher support network and insufficient co-ordinator or supervisor support. There is often little investment in up-to-date course material, resources, games and other equipment with teachers usually purchasing these items with their own money.

My hypothesis in this thesis is that all of these factors in combination, to a greater or lesser degree, can lead to stress and burnout. It should be noted, however, that stress serves as a mediating variable in the manifestation of burnout but experiencing stress does not automatically result in burnout.[20]

Coombe (2008:11) explains that teachers generally fall into three categories when reacting to stress and burnout: some teachers leave the profession, others 'downshift' by taking on a less demanding role such as working part-time or by relinquishing additional duties and others redefine their sense of identity as educators which may involve developing interests outside of teaching, placing more emphasis on family life or relocating to a more favourable working environment. Maslach and Jackson (1986) state that burnt-out teachers exhibit three characteristics: emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation of students and a reduced sense of personal accomplishment.

In addition to the possibility of burnt-out teachers, private language schools often do not have adequate support structures in place such as teacher support groups, mentoring and professional development programmes and regular workshops and discussions. Although much research has been conducted on teacher stress in educational institutions, particularly in primary and secondary educational settings, little is known, nationally or internationally, about the factors that stress TESOL teachers and how these teachers cope with stress and consequent burnout in the context of working in private language schools. An extensive bibliographical

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[20] An in-depth, theoretical discussion of the concept of burnout is beyond the scope of this thesis.

search revealed that there is no research on burnout, support networks and coping strategies of TESOL teachers in South Africa.[21] It is this research gap which the thesis seeks to fill.

Thus, the purpose of this research was to:

- Identify whether TESOL teachers working in private language schools in Johannesburg,[22] South Africa, suffered from stress. This includes determining what factors caused stress among TESOL teachers working at private language schools;
- Determine what factors caused burnout among TESOL teachers working in private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa;
- Investigate what type of support structures, if any, were present in private language schools; and
- Explore the coping strategies used by TESOL teachers to overcome stress and burnout.

1.4.1 Research questions

The research questions are as follows:

a. What factors inside and outside the classroom cause stress for TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg?
b. Are TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg suffering from burnout? What support structures do private language schools in Johannesburg offer TESOL teachers who experience stress and burnout? and
c. What coping strategies do TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg use to manage stress and burnout?

1.4.2 Research objectives

The research objectives are as follows:

a. To discover, by means of the administration of the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey, whether TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg suffer from burnout;
b. To identify the factors, inside and outside the classroom, that make TESOL teachers experiencing high levels of burnout feel stressed, as measured by semi-structured interviews;

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[21] An extensive database search was conducted by Unisa subject librarian, Dawie Malan and the researcher. The following databases were searched: Academic Search Premier; Australasian Digital Theses Program; Cambridge Journals Online; Communication and Mass Media; CSA Linguistics and Language Behaviour Abstracts; EBSCO Host: Humanities; EBSCO Host:Teacher Reference Center; ERIC; JSTOR; LLBA; MLA; Masterfile Premier; PAIS; Proquest Dissertations and Theses; Proquest Education Journals; Psychcritiqu; Psychextra; Sabinet current and completed research and Unisa ETD.
[22] The researcher limited the study to the geographic area of greater Johannesburg for the purpose of convenience only.

    c. To investigate and identify what support structures private language schools in Johannesburg offer TESOL teachers with high levels of burnout, as measured by semi-structured interviews; and

    d. To identify what coping strategies TESOL teachers with high levels of burnout use to manage stress and burnout, as measured by semi-structured interviews.

1.5 Limitations of the study

This research study only focuses on the burnout levels, causes of stress, support structures and coping strategies of TESOL teachers who teach English to foreign students studying at private language schools in South Africa.

Consequently the study is limited to:

- TESOL teachers who are South African citizens;
- TESOL teachers who speak English as their first language. In the researcher's experience it is unusual for non-native speakers to be employed as TESOL teachers in private language schools in South Africa.[23] In addition, the experience of non-native English teachers may be completely different as these teachers may experience different stressors compared to those who are first language English speakers[24];
- TESOL teachers who have a minimum of two years TESOL teaching experience at a private language school and have thus established themselves in the field;
- TESOL teachers who work on a part-time or full-time basis at private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa; and
- TESOL teachers who participated in part 1: the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey and part 2: the in-depth, semi-structured interviews.

Consequently the results of the study are relevant to South African TESOL teachers who are first language speakers of English and those who have at least two years teaching experience at private language schools, on a part-time or full-time basis. The researcher maintains that the results of the study are relevant to any group of TESOL teachers working at private language schools in urban areas in South Africa.

1.6 Delimitations of the study

The study will not investigate:

- Whether there is a relationship between having no, or the most basic qualifications in TESOL, or being qualified in the field, and any consequent relationship between such qualifications and causes of stress, burnout, support structures and coping strategies

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[23] All of the private language schools that participated in this research study followed a policy of employing first language English speakers as TESOL teachers.

[24] These stressors may include poor self-image, feelings of inadequacy, being discriminated against by students and employers, only being allowed to teach low-level classes and having to field constant questions about teaching ability and competence (Moussu and Llurda, 2008).

among TESOL teachers working in private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa;

- Age or gender differences and their relationship to causes of stress, burnout levels, support structures and coping strategies of TESOL teachers who teach English to foreign students studying at private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa; and
- The possible sources of stress, burnout levels, available support networks and coping strategies of non-native speaking teachers of English who work at private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa.

1.7 Definition of terms

- TEFL refers to the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language. The term traditionally referred to programmes in countries where English was not the primary language or *lingua franca,* that is, the use of English in a non-English speaking region such as Brazil or China. The term is generally used to emphasise the fact that the students are foreign language speakers and are learning English for work, study or leisure purposes.
- TESL refers to the Teaching of English as a Second Language. This term often refers to English improvement programmes in English-speaking countries which are aimed at students who speak languages other than English. People may decide to learn English as an additional language when they need it in their day-to-day lives, for example, emigrants to the UK or USA or citizens of ex-colonies where English is an official language and possibly the language of instruction in the schooling system. The students, therefore, study in a community in which most residents speak English. Teachers of English as a second or additional language are often involved in multi-cultural education. For example, there is an enormous TESL industry in the USA because of the large numbers of emigrants whose first language is not English. The terms TESL or ESL tend to be dominant in the American context. However, the term ESL is often criticised as English is not necessarily the students' second language. For some students, English may be a third, fourth or even fifth language.
- TESOL refers to the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages. It is regarded as the more inclusive term and refers to both TEFL and TESL teaching. The term emphasises the fact that English is not the students' mother tongue but does not assume that English is a foreign or additional language for the student.
- Other common terms are EIL (English as an international language) and EAL (English as an additional language).
    - o There are many other acronyms and sub-categories such as ESP which refers to English for Specific Purposes which aims to match English language teaching with the needs of various professions such as aviation, business, medicine and tourism. EAP refers to English for Academic Purposes which involves teaching

English at an advanced level for students who are planning to study at foreign universities or English-medium institutions in their own country.

- A private language school refers to a school which is privately-owned and which offers a range of language courses and is run as a business for profit.
- A university-affiliated language school is the same as a private language school but is based on a university campus.

1.8 Assumptions

This research study makes the following assumptions:

- Teaching is a stressful profession:
    - All teachers, including TESOL teachers, experience stress caused by factors inside and outside the classroom;
    - This stress, if prolonged, can lead to burnout.
- As a result, stress from teaching coupled with various factors unique to the TESOL field such as unsatisfactory working conditions, unstable employment and low salaries, result in high levels of burnout among TESOL teachers working in private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa;
- Private language schools do not have adequate support structures in place for TESOL teachers;
- TESOL teachers do not use effective coping strategies to manage stress levels and burnout; and thus

TESOL teachers who suffer from burnout have few or no support structures in the workplace and those who do not use effective coping mechanisms to manage stress and burnout are likely to be ineffective teachers and may end up leaving the profession.

1.9 Significance of the study

This study focuses on TESOL teachers employed by private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa. As more and more people turn to the teaching of English as a foreign language as a viable career option and not just as a way of spending a gap year, a post-retirement option or a short-term means of working and seeing the world, there is a pressing need to focus on the factors that cause stress and burnout for TESOL teachers and to determine how these stressors impact on their classroom performance and that of their students.

This research study contributes to the field of TESOL as it explores the factors that cause TESOL teachers to feel stressed and whether these factors lead TESOL teachers working at private language schools in South Africa to experience burnout. Thus it attempts to identify stressors inside and outside the classroom based on an initial survey followed by interviews focusing on teachers' perceptions of stressful factors and the ways in which teachers cope with these

stressors. In addition, it highlights any lack of support structures available for teachers or ways in which the present support structures can be improved. This provides valuable information for private language school directors, coordinators, TESOL teacher trainers and TESOL teachers as it offers insight into the realities of working as a TESOL teacher and teachers' perceptions of their work and their workplace with a view to the improvement of both. This information will prove useful in TESOL teacher training courses and in the daily running of a private language school. It is imperative to know what impacts negatively on teachers inside and outside the TESOL classroom and how they cope with the consequent stress and burnout so as to ensure that students receive quality tuition, teachers experience job satisfaction, remain motivated and do not ultimately leave the profession.

Research in this area can highlight potential problems in private language school administration, teacher training courses, classroom management and inadequacies in current support systems. If improvements are made to these areas, the experience of teaching English would become more fulfilling. This would allow teachers to focus on the classroom and their students and thus prevent excellent teachers from leaving the profession. Mullock (2009) states that there is an increasing need for TESOL teacher educators, teacher employers and policy makers to understand why teachers choose to enter language teaching specifically, what factors keep them in the field and why they may consider leaving it.

Over fifteen years ago, Johnston (1997: 682) said that little is known about the lives of teachers who work in the TESOL field and that "it is time to gather empirical data about the working lives of actual teachers and to make these lives the focus of research." There has not been a great deal of progress since this statement as the vast majority of TESOL studies still focus on the students of the language, the various English language teaching methodologies and techniques and the language itself while arguably, the most important people, those who *teach* the language have not been the focus of sustained research.

1.10 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 presented information on the current status of the English language, the TESOL industry, the nature of TESOL teaching and the students the industry serves. This is necessary in order to understand the context of this research study. Furthermore, chapter 1 presented the problem statement, research questions, research objectives, limitations and delimitations of the study. The chapter concluded with a definition of terms and a section on the significance of the study.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature which is based on existing research of teacher stressors, support networks and coping strategies. After a discussion of the concept of

burnout, the focus shifts to teacher stress and consequent burnout. TESOL teachers have specific stressors which tend to relate to the nature of private language schools and the unique situation of teaching English to foreign language students, the vast majority of whom are adults. I then investigate the status of the global TESOL industry and move on to TESOL teacher stress and burnout. I also present research that focuses on the influence of support structures and different types of coping strategies.

Chapter 3 outlines the research design of the study and describes the methodology of the empirical study. The research study is a mixed methods study consisting of a quan→QUAL research design. Data is based on the experiences and perceptions of TESOL teachers and was collected initially by means of an internationally recognised and standardised survey[25] followed by in-depth qualitative interviews. The results of the survey are quantifiable and the interviews are analysed qualitatively in terms of recurring themes.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the research study. Firstly, the results of the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey are presented which reveal whether TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg are suffering from burnout. The qualitative data derived from the semi-structured interviews is then presented thematically in terms of what causes teachers to feel stressed, what support structures are available and what coping strategies TESOL teachers use to manage burnout.

In chapter 5, a summary of the main research findings for the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey and the semi-structured interviews is presented followed by conclusions drawn from the research study. This is followed by the contribution of the research study to the field of TESOL and suggestions for further research.

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[25] The Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey (MBI-ES).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Researchers have studied various affective variables impacting on additional-language students such as anxiety, inhibition, personality, perfectionism, self-esteem and motivation (Brodkey and Shore, 1976; Guiora, Acton, Erard and Strickland, 1980; Gardner and MacIntyre, 1991, 1992; Ganschow, Sparks and Javorsky, 1998; Gregersen and Horwitz, 2002; Woodrow, 2006; Elyildirim and Ashton-Hay, 2006; Liu and Jackson, 2008 and Horwitz, 1986, 1988, 1996, 2010). As most of the research has, however, focused on additional-language students rather than their teachers, little is known about the effect of affective variables on additional-language teachers, specifically TESOL teachers. This introduction provides a brief overview of research which has focused on TESOL teachers in overseas teaching contexts.

There is growing interest in researching the teaching experience especially studies of professional development. Bailey, Curtis and Nunan (2001) *in Pursuing professional development: The self as source,* advise TESOL teachers' on how to reflect on their personal teaching and learning experiences as a means of professional development through the use of various techniques such as keeping teaching journals, filming and critiquing their lessons and conducting action research in their classrooms. Pennington (1991) reviewed the topic of job satisfaction among TESOL teachers using survey data from TESOL organisation members in the USA while Mullock (2009) explored the concept of job satisfaction among expatriate TESOL teachers working in south-east Asia. Mullock interviewed twenty-three expatriate TESOL teachers with a focus on their motivations for entering the field of TESOL and feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their current employment situation.

Markham et al. (1996) used a questionnaire to identify stressors and coping strategies among seventy-two TESOL teachers in the USA. Markham (1999) also conducted a qualitative, interview-based study of twelve American TESOL teachers in order to obtain detailed descriptions of stressors in the workplace. Hafernik, Messerschmitt and Vandrick (2002) looked at the ethical component of TESOL teaching in the USA including how TESOL teachers coped with inappropriate comments and complaints, cheating and plagiarism and students' social and political realities. Richards (2008) investigated the growing professionalism of TESOL as a result of theoretical changes to TESOL's knowledge base and instructional practices and the influence of external pressures on additional-language teacher education.

Simon-Maeda (2004: 405), using in-depth interviews, investigated professional identities among nine TESOL teachers in Japan in a study which included a diverse range of participants from Japan, Korea, the USA, the UK and South Africa. Simon-Maeda (2004) maintains that current TESOL education theories do not "fully address the confusions and transitions in TESOL teachers' career trajectories." Tsui (2007), in a case study spanning six years, explored the

formation of a Chinese TESOL teacher's professional identity as he struggled with the duality of being a student and a teacher of English while Kabilan (2007) focused on teacher self-reflection and the development of a critical and reflective awareness of classroom practices in non-native English language learning and teaching environments. Kabilan (2007) used a range of critical reflective practices to encourage self-reflection with eighteen pre-service and in-service Thai TESOL teachers enrolled in a Bachelor of Education TESOL programme. Kabilan (2007) maintains that self-reflective practices should be integrated into the TESOL curriculum and that TESOL teachers must be given the opportunity to share their critical reflections with each other.

Cadman (2008), a British TESOL teacher based in Australia, used an autobiographical, narrative methodology, to explore her perceptions of how the social contexts of English language teaching have changed over the past decade and recounts her experience of re-aligning her teaching priorities from a rigid focus on grammatical correctness to a more flexible process of negotiating meaning. Cadman (2008) found that this change mirrored her 'reconnection' with her students and represented a huge step forward in her professional development. Ghanizadeh and Moafian (2010) examined the relationship between eighty-nine TESOL teachers' emotional intelligence results and their pedagogical success at private language schools in Iran, using The Emotional Quotient Inventory, a self-report measure (Bar-On, 1997) and a questionnaire about the characteristics of successful TESOL teachers (Moafian and Pishghadam, 2009). Ghanizadeh et al. (2010) discovered that teachers' with high emotional intelligence tended to have more positive interpersonal relationships with students and colleagues and were generally happier and more successful in the classroom. In addition, their classes were more communicative and humanistic than those of teachers with low emotional intelligence.

There are, therefore, an increasing number of studies which focus on the experiences of additional-language teachers. However, there are very few studies that specifically focus on stress levels, support networks and coping strategies among TESOL teachers (Coombe, 2008; Grasse, 1982; Horwitz, 1996; Johnston, 1997; Loh, 1995; Markham et al., 1996; Mede, 2009; Mousavi, 2007; Pennington and Ho, 1995; Toh, 2013; Zhang and Zhou, 2007). In addition, none of these studies, nationally or internationally, focus specifically on the three aspects identified for this research study, namely: burnout, support networks and coping strategies.

This literature review offers a brief explanation of the phenomenon of burnout, and then looks at what stresses and burns out teachers generally and provides an overview of the research in that area. I then look at the status of TESOL as a profession and the available research on TESOL teacher stress and burnout. Finally, I look at the role of support structures in preventing burnout and what kind of coping strategies TESOL teachers' use in order to cope with burnout.

2.2 The concept of burnout

Dr. Herbert Freudenberger, an American psychologist, coined the term burnout. He first used it in the early 1970s to describe the condition of emotionally, physically and mentally drained social workers who had spent extended periods of time working with drug addicts (Freudenberger, 1974). The term was later extended to include other helping professions such as law enforcement, nursing and teaching and eventually, to all professions where people work under pressure. Maslach and Leiter (1997: 17) describe burnout as a "dislocation between what people are and what they have to do. It represents an erosion in values, dignity, spirit and will – it is an erosion of the human soul." The researchers view burnout as a malady that spreads gradually over time, pushing people into a downward spiral from which it is difficult to recover. It should be noted that burnout emerged as a social problem grounded in the realities of people's experiences in the workplace rather than as a scholarly construct. Consequently, it has been shaped by pragmatic rather than academic concerns and has been the subject of fierce debates about its viability as a measurable construct (Byrne, 1991a; Friberg, 2009 [who traces the development of burnout from hypothesis to fact, starting with Freudenberger's systematisation of symptoms to Maslach's statistical legitimisation of burnout phenomena]; Maslach et al., 1981; Schaufeli, Maslach and Marek, 1993). Furthermore, Maslach describes how burnout was initially regarded as pseudoscientific jargon without substance and was "denigrated by journal editors as 'pop psychology'" (Maslach et al., 2001: 398).

Maslach et al. (1981) developed a conceptual model of burnout which defines burnout as a long-term response to chronic emotional and interpersonal stressors on the job. Burnout is, therefore, a psychological syndrome consisting of three dimensions on which there is general consensus:

- Emotional exhaustion which includes feeling emotionally over-extended, depleted of emotional resilience and resources, chronic fatigue and a lack of energy. The major sources of emotional exhaustion are work overload and personal conflict at work. The emotional exhaustion component represents the basic stress dimension of burnout.
- Depersonalisation which refers to a negative and callous response to other people including a loss of idealism with the job. Depersonalisation usually develops in response to emotional exhaustion and tends to manifest as an emotional buffer of detached concern which may develop into the dehumanisation of others. The depersonalisation component represents the interpersonal dimension of burnout.
- Reduced personal accomplishment which includes a decline in competence and productivity at work, a lowered sense of self-efficacy which may be linked to depression and a consequent inability to cope with the demands of the job. It can be aggravated by a lack of social support and few opportunities for professional development. The

reduced personal accomplishment component represents the self-evaluative dimension of burnout (Maslach et al., 1981).

Maslach et al. (1997: 17) maintain that burnout can be viewed as "an erosion of engagement with what started out as important, meaningful and challenging work that becomes unpleasant, unfulfilling and meaningless." Thus burnout occurs when exhaustion replaces feeling energized, cynicism replaces hope and ineffectiveness replaces feeling efficacious. Maslach et al. (1997: 9) state that the greater the mismatch between the individual and the job, the greater the likelihood of burnout. The researchers identify six areas where a mismatch may occur:

- work overload with little opportunity for rest and recovery;
- breakdown of community in the form of workplace conflicts, isolation, lack of shared praise, happiness and humour;
- lack of control with little opportunity to make decisions, improve one's situation or innovate;
- lack of recognition and insufficient rewards in the form of money and benefits;
- unfairness, inequalities and bias including a lack of mutual respect; and
- discrepancies between an organisation's public persona and the reality of the workplace.

Maslach et al. (1997: 18) argue that burnout is not a problem that lies with the individual but occurs as a result of the social environment in which people work. Thus, "The structure and functioning of the workplace shapes how people interact with one another and how they carry out their jobs. When the workplace does not recognise the human side of work, then the risk of burnout grows." Burnout can impact negatively on one's health, ability to cope with challenges and one's personal lifestyle. Burnout can cause physical problems such as headaches, gastrointestinal illness, high blood pressure, muscle tension and chronic fatigue. It may lead to mental distress in the form of anxiety, depression and sleep disturbances. In addition, some people may turn to alcohol and drugs in order to cope. Maslach et al. (1997: 19) maintain that the cost of burnout affects more than the individual. If the individual brings burnout home, their exhaustion and negativity poisons their relationships with their family and friends.

At the very least, burnout ultimately leads to a serious deterioration in job performance. As burnt-out individuals become more stressed and receive less support in their personal lives, they become less able to deal with challenges at work. People suffering from burnout tend to withdraw from their jobs, both physically and psychologically. They invest less time and energy in their work, do only what is absolutely necessary and are absent more often. In addition to doing less, they do their work less well. Quality work requires time and effort, commitment and

creativity, but the burnt-out individual is unable to do this anymore (Maslach et al., 1997). Thus burnout represents a lack of commitment at all or most levels of a person's ecology.

There is thus a significant cost to the organisation when employees exhibit physical, mental and emotional signs of stress such as increased absenteeism due to illness, diminished commitment and motivation and high rates of attrition. Maslach et al. (1981) and Schonfield (2001) agree that certain working conditions are linked to psychological distress and burnout. These include thwarted goals, little opportunity for professional accomplishment, bullying and other forms of aggressive social behaviour. According to Maslach (2003), teachers in general are particularly susceptible to burnout and typical teacher burnout symptoms include consistent late coming, high absenteeism, poor job performance and a lack of interest and commitment. Kokkinos, Panayiotou and Davazoglou (2005) used the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey and a questionnaire based on the Pupils' Undesirable Behaviours Questionnaire (PUBQ) to assess whether burnout and personality were linked to the perceived severity of twenty-four undesirable student behaviours. Sample 1 consisted of 465 Greek primary school teachers and sample 2 consisted of 141 Greek undergraduate students enrolled for a Bachelor of Primary Education degree. The researchers found that there is a significant relationship between teacher burnout and ratings of antisocial student behaviours. This downward spiral suggests that as teachers become more stressed, they are less tolerant of challenging students which creates a vicious cycle in which teacher negativity serves to exacerbate student behavioural problems, which in turn, leads to more stress in the classroom.

2.3 Teacher stress and burnout
According to Kyriacou (1987), teaching is one of the top five most stressful careers and Pennington et al. (1995) state that teaching has the highest attrition rate of any profession. This supports Manuel (2003) who refers to teaching as 'the profession that eats its young'. Hodge, Jupp and Taylor (1994) report that teaching is a stressful profession with teachers maintaining that their rewards are diminishing resulting in fewer students entering the profession and practicing teachers being lured away by more promising career opportunities. Mullock (2009) states that research shows that as many as 50% of teachers leave the profession within the first three years of teaching in the USA and 40% leave after five years in the UK. In Australia, the figures are similar with 56% of prospective teachers planning to teach for only a short time, if at all.

In a study of teacher attrition[26] among primary and secondary school teachers in sub-Saharan Africa (International Task Force on Teachers for EFA: 2010), the researchers found that some

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[26] The attrition rate is affected by deaths, resignations, retirement, dismissals and temporary exits out of the profession. [Source: *www.sace.org.za/policy and research*, (accessed 18 January 2012)].

teachers deliberately enter teaching with a view to moving out of the profession as quickly as possible. In many sub-Saharan countries, training as a teacher provides access to higher education for those who may not otherwise have been able to study at tertiary level due to a lack of academic achievement or financial constraints (2010: 19). Thus a number of new recruits to the profession lack the passion to teach and view teaching as a means to an end, before they have even entered the classroom. Teacher attrition is not as high in sub-Saharan Africa as in many other parts of the world, however, due to a lack of alternative employment opportunities and high unemployment rates. This creates a skewed perception of teacher attrition as low resignation rates do not directly translate to high job satisfaction levels but rather to a shortage of better employment opportunities.

Sommers (2005: 23) reports that a Sudanese government official described teaching as a "waiting place. It's not a profession. Teachers just teach when they have nothing else to do. But when an opportunity comes, they leave." Arends (2007) notes that other important factors in sub-Saharan Africa that influence attrition include the fact that teachers generally resist postings to rural schools due to poor working conditions, large classes and a lack of opportunities for professional development. Teachers also cite problems with the administration of their pay including late payments, incorrect pay and difficulty accessing their pay. Being in a career that one does not care for, working in places that one would not choose to work in, and enduring poor working conditions and erratic salary administration is a recipe for stress and burnout.

In South Africa, studies of teacher attrition commissioned by the South African Council of Educators (SACE), among primary and secondary school teachers in both state and independent schools, found that 49% of attrition is due to resignations as compared to other possible causes of attrition such as death, dismissal, medical issues, retirement, severance and transfer. More than half of the educators surveyed (55%) stated that they intended to leave the profession. Resignation was highest in the 30-39 year-old age group, which is of great concern as teachers in this age group constitute the core of qualified and experienced educators. The researchers discovered that many of these teachers were lured from teaching by lucrative opportunities in the private sector especially in the case of English, mathematics, science and accountancy teachers. Organisational conditions were also a large contributing factor to teacher attrition with teachers citing a lack of career advancement, lack of job security and poor relationships with school administration or colleagues. The researchers found that the following were important in retaining teachers: the creation of positive relationships with the community, colleagues and the school administration, market-related salaries, opportunities for further study and professional development and good school management (SACE: 2010).

A further study, commissioned by the South African Council of Educators, on teacher migration from South Africa to other countries (SACE, 2011: 6-7) suggests that South African schools and the national education departments should be responsible for creating attractive, healthy and supportive local teaching environments. The researchers predict that if these teaching environments are not created, increasing numbers of teachers will be headhunted by international recruitment agencies which offer more rewarding work and attractive salary packages. This is especially true of South African TESOL teachers and English teachers with TESOL qualifications, where international opportunities are far more attractive and lucrative than those offered locally. The researchers maintain that the migration of South African teachers is caused by ambiguous and ever-changing educational policies and teachers' under-preparedness to cope with these changes, unattractive salaries and working conditions as well as the impact of HIV and AIDS on the teaching profession. Unfortunately South Africa does not keep track of the number of teachers lost to the country through international recruitment but available data suggests that the majority of local primary and secondary school teachers who find positions outside South Africa are recruited by Australia, Canada, the USA and the UK (SACE: 2011).

According to Mullock (2009), teaching was an attractive profession in the past as it offered a degree of professional freedom and a certain status in society. However, studies of teacher satisfaction reveal that teachers worldwide now complain about administrative overloading, low salaries, poor promotional prospects and students' behavioural problems. In addition, the declining status of teachers, the pace of educational change and the increase in workload have been exacerbated by the negative portrayal of teachers and teaching in the media (Mullock, 2009). Palmer (1998: 17) describes the diminishing intellectual and professional returns of being a teacher combined with increasing routine and frustration as "losing the heart to teach."

Friesen, Prokop and Sarros (1988: 9) maintain that the reason teaching is stressful is because it involves "daily interactions with students and co-workers...with the incessant and fragmented demands of teaching often resulting in overwhelming pressures and challenges which lead to stress." When this work stress becomes unrelenting, it can lead to negative physiological, psychological and behavioural consequences such as burnout. Stress, therefore, occurs when there is an imbalance between environmental demands and an individual's capacity to respond to these demands. This capacity to respond depends on the individuals' aptitudes, skills and beliefs about the situation (Milstein, Golaszewski and Duquette, 1984). Milstein et al. (1984: 296) also report that if teachers' professional obligations are not met, their self-image and their ability to cope in the classroom may be at risk.

Milstein et al. (1984) maintain that there are five main sources of teacher stress. These are:

- relationships at work including interactions with supervisors, peers, subordinates and students;
- organisational structures including the extent to which individuals participate in decision-making, have a sense of belonging and experience clear communication;
- intrinsic job factors including the pace of the work, the physical and mental effort required and the extent to which activities are repetitive;
- roles in the organisation including role ambiguity and role conflict; and
- career development which includes a lack of career progression and status, low job security, poor salaries and the low probability of reward.

Combined, all of these sources of stress can lead to an intolerable situation in which teachers decide that the stress experienced is not worth the low rewards. In addition, such prolonged stress can lead to burnout.

Weisberg (1994) administered a 21-item burnout scale (developed by Pines and Kafry) and conducted in-depth interviews with twenty-eight teachers in a secondary school in Tel-Aviv, Israel. Weisberg (1994) maintains that burnout among teachers is caused by work overload, inadequate salaries, disciplinary problems in the classroom, lack of student interest, a requirement to give too many tests, difficulty in career advancement, lack of a support team and resources, conflict in job perceptions, tedium, and criticism of teachers and their work. Farber (1984) states that burnout occurs when teachers experience a lack of enthusiasm about teaching, a lack of belonging to a community and increased feelings of isolation. Farber (1984) administered a Teacher Attitude Survey (a modified version of the Maslach Burnout Inventory) to 365 suburban primary and secondary school teachers in the USA. He discovered that student discipline problems were not a primary source of stress for the teachers in this survey. This is in contrast to Goddard (2000) who reports that 'disciplinarian' was the third most commonly cited descriptor provided by Canadian teachers for their work, ranking just behind 'leader' and 'knowledge dispenser.' Farber (1984: 327) states that, "the teachers resented most strongly excessive paperwork, unsuccessful administrative meetings and the lack of advancement opportunities in teaching." In addition, 32% of the teachers in the study said that they frequently wished they had not chosen teaching as a career and did not feel adequately prepared for the stresses of teaching. However, Farber (1984) states that the results should be interpreted with caution as results obtained from a sample of suburban teachers cannot be generalised to all teachers. Farber's research supports Manuel (2003) who, when interviewing novice teachers in Australia, discovered that the teachers had already experienced disorganised administration, unprofessional behaviour from colleagues, violence from students and a lack of both support and professional development from their respective schools.

According to Chang (2009), the sources of teacher burnout can be divided into those arising from individual, organisational and transactional factors. Individual factors include the influence of age, gender, years of teaching experience and personality characteristics. Organisational factors include excessive job demands, poor working conditions, inadequate salaries and role ambiguity. Transactional factors are the result of the intersection of individual and organisational factors and include teachers' judgements of student misbehaviour, perceptions of organisational leadership style, perceived principal, peer and administrative support, teacher efficacy and socially reflected self-concept, norms of student-teacher interactions and internal rewards and professional satisfaction.

A review of the literature on burnout reveals that in terms of individual factors:

- Younger teachers between twenty and thirty years old are more prone to burnout, particularly the emotional exhaustion component, than teachers between the ages of thirty and forty. This supports Lackritz (2004: 725) who states that younger teachers may "experience additional pressures" due to the early stages of career-building. Watts and Robertson (2010) state that this may occur because older, more experienced staff members have developed more efficient coping and protective strategies. However, findings regarding age as a predictor of teacher burnout are not consistent across the literature with some studies finding no evidence of age as a predictor of burnout. A number of researchers including Brissie, Hoover-Dempsey and Bassler (1988); Monareng (2006); Weisberg (1994); and Zabel and Zabel (2001) found no evidence of age predicting burnout.
- The relationship between gender and burnout reveals mixed results. Some studies find no significant differences in teacher burnout in terms of gender (Farber, 1984; Kahn, Schneider, Jenkins-Henkelman, Moyle, 2006; Monareng, 2006). In addition, Mwamwenda, Monyooe and Glencross (1997) found no gender differences in burnout levels in a study of stress among secondary school teachers in Transkei, South Africa. However, there are other studies that state that male teachers report higher levels of burnout than female teachers. In a burnout study conducted by Burke and Greenglass (1993: 226) men scored significantly higher than women on the depersonalisation sub-scale. In addition, Burke et al. (1993) maintain that doubts about competence, problems with students and a lack of fulfilment at work are all predictors of burnout among male teachers. Sari (2004) used the Job Satisfaction Scale (JSS: Hackman and Oldham, 1974) and the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach and Jackson, 1981) to measure job satisfaction and burnout among secondary school teachers in Turkey. Sari (2004) found that the female teachers experienced higher levels of emotional exhaustion and the male teachers' higher levels of depersonalisation and inefficacy which supports Burke and Greenglass's 1993 findings. Purvanova and Muros (2010) conducted a meta-analysis

of 183 American and European Union burnout studies. Purvanova et al. (2010) state that women in the USA and various countries in the European Union reported higher emotional exhaustion than men because they juggle multiple roles at work and at home which deplete their emotional reserves. Purvanova et al. (2010) also found that the female emotional exhaustion link was stronger where labour policies are conservative such as in the USA and weaker in countries where labour policies are more progressive such as Australia, Canada and the countries of the European Union. This finding supports Maslach et al. (2001: 412) suspicion that, "jobs might actually be more stressful in North America than in Western Europe." In the African context, there have not yet been any research studies which investigate the relationship between gender and burnout among African teachers in general and South African teachers specifically.

- In terms of marital status, Gold (1985) states that single teachers tend to be more prone to burnout than married teachers. This supports Bauer, Stamm, Virnich, Wissing, Muller, Wirsching and Schaarschmidt (2006) who, in a study of burnout among 408 secondary school teachers in Germany, found that teachers who were in a relationship or married showed a significantly lower rate of burnout than those who were single or divorced. However, Burke et al. (1993) argue that for many women the predictors of burnout tend to originate in the family and work setting. Role conflict is a significant predictor of burnout in women and thus women with occupational and familial roles are more likely to suffer from burnout than those who are unmarried and do not have children.

- Personality factors that have been found to predict burnout include:
    o Low hardiness, a type-A personality characterised by high ambition, aggression, competitiveness, impatience and a preoccupation with time and deadlines, low self-esteem and high expectations of self (Maslach, Schaufeli and Leiter, 2001);
    o Feeling types rather than thinking types. Feeling types tend to be subjective, make decisions based on their principles and values, dislike conflict and are gentle and easily hurt. Whereas thinking types tend to be objective, make decisions based on facts, and are rational and impersonal. In addition, people who have external locus of control believing that fate, chance and other people control their destiny, and people who use passive and defensive coping strategies such as denial, substance-abuse and behavioural disengagement are more susceptible to burnout (Maslach et al., 2001);
    o Personality traits such as cautiousness, conscientiousness, a tendency to seek stimulation in the company of others, compassion, cooperativeness, and neuroticism which includes the traits of anxiety, hostility, depression, self-consciousness and vulnerability (Maslach et al., 2001; Zellars, Hochwarter, Perrewé, Hoffman and Ford, 2004).

Chang (2009) warns that the results of studies on individual factors should be treated with caution as personalities are not fixed variables and people may respond differently to stressors.

Organisational factors that can cause burnout include the following:

- Lack of social support from colleagues and administrators (Burke et al., 1993; Maslach and Leiter, 2005);
- Organisational rigidity (Brissie et al., 1988);
- Excessive work demands and inadequate salary and resources (Milstein et al., 1984; Schaufeli and Bakker, 2004);
- Insufficient teacher preparation or training (Gold and Bachelor, 1988; Friedman, 2000);
- Lack of teacher participation in school decision making (Brissie et al., 1988; Pines, 2002);
- Role ambiguity (Chang, 2009); and
- Physical variables such as overcrowded classrooms, low-quality workplaces not conducive to teaching and unpleasant working conditions (Carson, 2006).

Chang (2009) argues that teachers form habitual patterns in their judgement of student behaviour and this coupled with other challenging teaching tasks may contribute to teachers' repeated experience of unpleasant emotions associated with teaching which may lead to burnout. Evers, Tomic and Brouwers (2004) studied burnout among forty-one teachers working with students in their teens and twenties at a regional training centre in the Netherlands. The researchers used the Maslach Burnout Inventory as the main survey instrument and the results suggest that teachers' ability to cope with disruptive classroom behaviour is significantly related to each dimension of burnout. Pines (2002) posits that disruptive student behaviour stresses teachers because it shows that students lack interest in learning. Thus teachers may feel they are insignificant or perceive themselves as failures. A synthesis of burnout studies over the last two decades reveals that disruptive student behaviour is the main factor that contributes to teacher burnout (Pines, 2002 and Weisberg, 1994).

Teaching offers many opportunities to experience positive relationships with students and colleagues. However, due to the complexity of teacher-student and collegial relationships, teaching also leads to a multitude of opportunities to feel worried, frustrated, guilty, angry, powerless, vulnerable and disappointed. Thus teaching requires an extensive degree of emotional work and understanding which can lead to feelings of emotional exhaustion (Sutton, 2007). Furthermore this supports the view that 'feeling' types who are gentle and easily hurt tend to hide their emotions which can create feelings of stress and make the individual more susceptible to burnout (Maslach et al., 2001). According to Abraham (1999), emotional dissonance, that is, the inconsistencies between the emotions people really feel and those they display, is a predictor of emotional exhaustion. Intrator and Kunzman (2006) state that new

teachers experience a dramatic range of intense emotions caused by fear of not being liked or respected, an awareness of being judged by others, the anxiety of not being familiar with the subject matter and the discomfort that comes from having to make quick decisions in the classroom.

The prevalence of stress-related problems in the teaching profession has been investigated by a number of researchers in inner circle teaching contexts. In 1976, Dunham surveyed 658 primary and secondary school teachers in the UK and discovered that these teachers reported high stress levels with more severe stress being experienced by teachers in general than ever before as compared to previous studies conducted by Dunham. Keavney and Sinclair (1978) studied teacher anxieties and concerns. They discovered that teachers, particularly inexperienced teachers, doubted their ability to maintain discipline in the classroom, wanted to be popular among students, feared making mistakes in the classroom and found relationships with colleagues, parents and the school system to be a major source of anxiety and stress. This finding supports Milstein et al. (1984) who report similar findings that stressors associated with classroom life are more problematic than organisationally- based stressors. Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1978) surveyed teachers and department heads working in schools in the UK and found that one-fifth of the respondents experienced very high or extremely high stress levels. In the USA, Dworkin (1987) and Dworkin, Haney, Dworkin and Telschow (1990) studied stress levels among American public school teachers. The researchers discovered high stress levels among teachers in general and a significant relationship between work stress and burnout.

Griffith, Steptoe and Cropley (1999) studied job strain and health among 780 primary and secondary school teachers based in London in the UK. Using a questionnaire survey and the Teacher Stress Inventory (Borg and Riding, 1991), Griffith et al. (1999) discovered that work pressure and student misbehaviour were rated as the most important sources of teacher stress with the highest ratings coming from younger female teachers, those in lower occupational grades and those with large class sizes. This discovery supports Chang (2009) who highlights the link between challenging classroom situations and teachers' emotional states. In an expanding circle context, Zhang et al. (2007) studied 133 Chinese secondary school English teachers and their experience of stress, burnout and social support in the Chinese education system. The researchers used the Maslach Burnout Inventory to measure burnout combined with a questionnaire covering the topics of teacher stress and social support. The researchers found that English teachers were generally stressed and at risk of burnout with the most common stressors being work overload followed by role conflict and role ambiguity. Zhang et al. (2007) state that it is common for secondary school teachers in China to work six or seven days a week, coach students in the early mornings and evenings and teach over the summer and winter breaks. In addition, the researchers noted that stress among teachers in mainland China

was on the increase due to increasingly competitive university entrance examinations and the tendency to assess teachers' performance on the basis of their students' examination scores.

Haberman (2005) maintains that a review of the studies on teacher stress indicates beyond doubt that classroom management and lack of student discipline are the most pervasive causes of teacher burnout. This supports Chang (2009); Pines (2002) and Weisberg (1994) who report similar findings. Another source of stress is teachers' perceptions of administrative support including the atmosphere of the school and how the management of the school views the role of teachers in the school. Furthermore, Haberman (2005) highlights the importance of the quality of the school environment such as the need for light, airy classrooms, the importance of the teacher being able to control the indoor air quality and the need for a quiet environment conducive to studying. Benya (2001) states that increasing natural light in classrooms has positive physiological and psychological effects and Lowe (1990) reports that teachers who could control the air temperature in their classrooms stated that their effectiveness in the classroom increased. Buckley, Schneider and Yi (2004) found a clear link between the quality of school facilities and teacher burnout and turnover.

In the South African teaching context, Peltzer, Shisana, Zuma, Van Wyk and Zungu-Dirwayi (2009) investigated the relationship between self-reported job stress and job satisfaction, and the prevalence of stress-related illnesses and risk factors among 21 307 South African teachers working at state schools. Peltzer et al. (2009) used a questionnaire which included demographic variables such as age, gender, socio-economic status and rank in the teaching profession and behavioural items such as sexual behaviour, alcohol use, absenteeism and mobility. They discovered that confusion about teaching methodology and the implementation of new curricula, pass requirements and reporting systems was a major source of stress for teachers. In addition, teachers felt that performing tasks not in their job descriptions, lack of peer support, job insecurity and a lack of career advancement were major sources of stress. In terms of health, the four most common stress-related conditions among the teachers were: hypertension (15%), stomach ulcers (9%), diabetes (4.5%), asthma (3%) and major mental stress (3%).

Furthermore, two studies of secondary school teachers in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape provinces of South Africa reveal that teachers experience considerable stress due to time pressures, poor working conditions, curriculum changes, an overload of administrative duties and student misbehaviour (Ngidi and Sibaya, 2002 and Olivier and Venter, 2003). Olivier et al. (2003) used the Fimian Teacher Stress Inventory (TSI, 1984) to determine the stress levels of a sample of 132 secondary school teachers in the George area of the Western Cape province in South Africa. Olivier et al. (2003) found that more than 20% of the teachers indicated high

levels of psychological stress with 74% of those indicating that student discipline problems and student lack of motivation were the main factors causing stress. Furthermore, Monareng (2006) used the Professional Life Stress Scale (PLSS: Fontana, 1989) to determine the stress levels among 102 secondary school teachers working in nine state schools in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Monareng (2006) found that of the teachers surveyed 87% felt stressed with 31% reporting high levels of stress. South Africa has experienced significant curriculum changes and the demands made on teachers due to radical curriculum changes such as Outcomes Based Education (OBE) have had a negative effect on teachers' attitudes and morale. In a qualitative study of twenty-four post graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) student teachers at the Vaal University of Technology, Kiggundu (2007) found that all respondents said that they found it difficult to implement OBE effectively because of a lack of learner support material, large class sizes, lack of discipline and time limitations. This supports Marais and Meier's (2004) study of 165 third-year Bachelor of Education students studying at the University of South Africa and their experiences of teaching practice. Using a self-report instrument to rate positive and negative experiences, almost half of the respondents stated that they experienced difficulties with OBE because of confusing terminology and ambiguous guidelines, excessive workload, and disagreement about which teaching approaches were best suited to OBE.

Stress and burnout are not only prevalent in the primary and secondary education sector but also feature in research conducted in the tertiary education sector. Seldin (1987) conducted a literature review of articles dealing with stress among academics. He discovered that American college and university professors suffered from high stress levels due to inadequate participation in the governance of the institution, work overload, low pay, poor working conditions, a lack of recognition and unrealised career expectations and goals. Lackritz (2004) surveyed 265 university lecturers employed at a university on the west coast of the USA. He discovered that age was a significant factor associated with burnout, with younger lecturers exhibiting higher levels of emotional exhaustion and consequent burnout. This supports Lackritz's view that younger teachers and lecturers experience more pressure as they are in the early stages of building a career.

In South Africa, Barkhuizen, Rothmann and Tytherleigh (2008) studied burnout among 279 academic staff members at six South African universities using the Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey, among other stress and burnout measures. The researchers found that lecturers who suffered from burnout developed negative attitudes towards their students and colleagues and tended to depersonalise their interactions with them. In addition, the lecturers lost interest in their research, developed callous attitudes towards their work and failed to prepare adequately for their lectures. Furthermore, the researchers discovered that burnout was exacerbated by high job demands, low resources and a lack of growth opportunities and

social support. Unfortunately no research studies have been conducted on TESOL lecturers and teachers specifically but this is a gap which this research intends to address.

MacDonald (1999) maintains that those who leave teaching generally cite the following reasons: poor potential for advancement, low salaries, an administrative overload including lesson preparation which leaves little time for personal interests and family life and difficulties in managing students. Wilhelm, Dewhurst-Savellis and Parker (2000) conducted a longitudinal study of 156 Australian teachers. The study began when the teachers were completing a postgraduate teaching diploma. The teachers provided full data on work, social networks and patterns of illness, and completed self-report measures every five years over a period of fifteen years, from 1978 to 1993. The teachers involved mention poor working conditions, student misbehaviour, excessive time spent on teaching-related activities, antagonistic relationships with colleagues, parents and students and the negative attitudes of students towards learning as sources of teacher stress. This supports Evers et al. (2004); Milstein et al. (1984); Ngidi et al. (2002) and Weisberg (1994) who report similar findings. The results indicate that those who left teaching did so within the first five years whereas those who remained in the profession were younger, had a more positive attitude towards teaching from the outset, saw teaching as more enjoyable and had had greater exposure to positive role models. Teachers who stayed reported that they had a strong social network in their schools, supervisors who listened to their concerns, and the opportunity to upgrade their qualifications and skills. The teachers who left the profession maintained that they had little support from administrators and supervisors especially when they experienced student misbehaviour and they struggled to cope with constant curriculum changes. Ngidi et al. (2002); Olivier et al. (2003) and Peltzer et al. (2009) report similar findings.

In a longitudinal study of fifty new teachers in the USA consisting of first-career and mid-career entrants, Johnson (2004) reported that at least half of the teachers worried that they could not remain in the profession because of their low salaries. Beginning teachers in particular stated that they still had to borrow money from their parents or that their salaries only paid for their rent and groceries. Of the original fifty teachers in the study, twelve left the teaching profession after only one year. Van Tonder and Williams (2009) conducted a study on the origins of burnout among fifty-nine secondary school teachers in three state schools in Gauteng, South Africa. The study consisted of administering the Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey followed by conducting semi-structured interviews. Van Tonder et al. (2009: 11-12) maintain that "poor remuneration levels are a known stressor" and constitute financial unfair treatment with the participants feeling "underpaid and unsupported."

Teacher stress and burnout is thus ubiquitous in a wide variety of teaching contexts ranging from primary and secondary to tertiary educational institutions. The research cited shows that stressed and burnt-out teachers are a global phenomenon, found in a range of geographical contexts from inner circle countries such as the USA and the UK to outer circle and expanding circle countries such as India and China respectively. The sources of stress and burnout are as varied as the educational and geographical contexts. However, recurrent themes that emerge from the literature include poor working conditions and low salaries, a lack of professional development, recognition and career advancement, excessive job demands, a lack of resources and support structures, organisational rigidity and ambiguous educational policies and curricula. In addition, teachers are stressed by student discipline problems and emotionally-draining interactions with parents, administrators, colleagues and the students themselves. According to Gillespie, Walsh, Winefields, Dua and Stough (2001), the adverse effects of stress and burnout on the wellbeing of educators in the primary, secondary and tertiary sector worldwide is likely to have detrimental effects on students' experience and attainment and the success of educational institutions as a whole.

2.4 The status of the TESOL industry

The global TESOL industry has experienced consistent growth in many areas from university-affiliated and private language schools to university departments offering formal TESOL degrees, well-known publishers with separate TESOL divisions, online TESOL certificates and job postings virtually daily on the Internet. It is estimated that there are over 2 million people involved, directly and indirectly, in the TESOL field all over the world. This figure includes not only TESOL teachers but also non-native speakers of English who teach English in their home countries, university teachers and academics, plus affiliated workers such as publishers and recruiters. According to Robertson (2006), this number could double over the next ten years as the demand for English as an International Language takes hold. In addition, as China and other developing and expanding circle countries experience continued economic growth, the need for English in the business world will surely increase. Robertson (2006: 7) states that, with respect to the TESOL industry, "we are witnessing the growing pains of a truly international profession."

According to Davidson (2006: 24), TESOL "is one of the fastest growing industries in the world yet it operates in a legal vacuum." He argues that the TESOL profession has slipped under the radar of regulation which could have potentially disastrous consequences for the advancement of TESOL as a legitimate field of social science. This supports Robertson's (2005: 25) view that "this profession is one of the last bastions of unregulated lawless industries in existence…the problem is tantamount to being beyond repair unless change is forced." Areas where Davidson (2006) predicts legal problems include: false and misleading advertising, teacher liability, contract law, TESOL certificate 'mills', publishing standards and intellectual property theft. He

maintains that the industry needs to self-regulate and that TESOL course providers should include a module on TESOL law in their courses. Furthermore, Sun (2010) states that until 2005, there had been no comprehensive survey sponsored by any recognised TESOL organisation investigating employment and working conditions of TESOL teachers at national and international levels.

Furthermore there is a lack of consistency with regard to qualifications needed to work as a TESOL teacher with some private language schools requiring teachers to have degrees in TESOL or Linguistics while other private language schools require a TESOL, CELTA or DELTA[27] short course as a minimum entry requirement. Unfortunately there are still many private language schools worldwide which accept 'teachers' with no qualification beyond the fact that they are mother tongue speakers of English. Philipson (1992: 14) maintains that the untrained or unqualified native speaking teacher is actually a "menace because of ignorance of the structure of the mother tongue."

Davidson (2006: 25-26) states that regulation would involve the establishment of a code of ethics accepted by those in the profession, standardized courses of legal study for the TESOL industry and the establishment of a board which would set the legal standards of the industry. He maintains that TESOL has yet to be universally accepted as a serious social science due to the prevalence of the "back packing" image of the industry. Furthermore Davidson (2006: 26) believes that this lack of regulation leads to poor treatment of TESOL teachers in various countries. He states that "any globalised industry that operates without any form of regulation as in the TESOL profession prevents any serious attempt at establishing a recognised profession and the consequent benefits of that profession such as raising salaries, better legal treatment and improved working conditions for TESOL teachers."

Crookes (1997) states that employment conditions of far too many TESOL teachers can be described as a state of alienation in that there is a psychological separation between teachers as human beings and teachers in their working environment. This sense of alienation can lead to stress and burnout. According to Crookes (1997), many professionally trained TESOL teachers work in conditions in which it is difficult to maintain professional standards. They are, therefore, unable to derive job satisfaction and utilize the opportunities for personal growth that one might expect of professional work. Crookes (1997) maintains that this situation effectively deskills TESOL teachers. This is exacerbated by a lack of control over curriculum design, an over-emphasis on testing and conformity to the course book, an increased

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[27] The Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults and the Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults are based on specifications produced by Cambridge ESOL. A full-time CELTA course is generally four to five weeks long while a full-time DELTA course may range from seven to twelve weeks. The DELTA tends to be more stringent than the CELTA and is seen as the ideal follow on course once the candidate has obtained a range of teaching experience.

administrative load, isolation and a lack of funding for private language schools in general and TESOL teacher development in particular.

Auerbach (1991: 9) maintains that feelings of "marginalization" are a fact of life for TESOL teachers. TESOL teachers working at language schools affiliated to universities are regularly employed on a temporary basis and often "have to work two or three jobs in order to survive; jobs with benefits, living wages, and any measure of security are few and far between." Crookes (1997), writing about the TESOL situation in Hawaii, agrees stating that many TESOL teachers in Hawaii are forced to take second jobs which limits time for professional development activities. Crookes (1997) adds that interaction between teachers is often restricted by physical classroom arrangements and tight scheduling which further increases a sense of being marginalised. In addition, lesson preparation is often excluded as part of a TESOL teacher's paid responsibilities with predictable effects on programme quality. Due to limited resources, teachers are forced to compete with one another for available resources, or to take measures that inhibit the sharing of both resources and knowledge. Teachers consequently suffer because of their subordinate status and their isolation within the structure of the school. According to Crookes (1997), the result is that the teacher-student relationship, which should be at the heart of teaching, is threatened and weakened. This supports Braine (1999: 5) who describes TESOL teachers and their students in the context of a university setting as "strangers on the periphery."

A large amount of the stress experienced by TESOL teachers and the conditions under which they work may be linked to the general perception of TESOL as not being a 'real' profession bound by a set of recognizable and generally accepted standards. Freeman (1992: 2) describes professions as possessing three critical elements. He states that "professions are administered by their members, have clear standards and processes for entry and licensure, and operate from a recognized and defined knowledge base." Nicholls (2001), however, believes that the expertise teachers display in their teaching, and the extent to which they exert competence and expertise in a variety of contexts to promote the core business of the organisation, can be termed 'teaching professionalism'. Corrigan and Haberman (1990) agree stating that the four critical components of teaching are a knowledge base, quality control, intelligent use of resources and acceptable conditions of practice. Consequently TESOL teachers, who fulfill these requirements, can be regarded as professionals. This is open to debate, however, as standards of practice vary, nationally and internationally, across the TESOL industry. According to Doyle (1990: 7-8), teachers possess the key characteristics of professionals as they are "equipped through specified and prolonged preparation to use validated practices and to apply them intelligently."

A survey of the literature on the professional status of TESOL teachers reveals that they lack the social standing granted to other professions (Breshears, 2004). This is due to the fragmented nature of the TESOL industry worldwide, the aggressive marketing of TESOL as a viable career choice for school leavers which has led to an influx of unqualified or partly qualified teachers and the confusion as to where TESOL actually belongs as a discipline. At some universities, both internationally and in South Africa, the TESOL department or the university-affiliated language school falls under the administration of the English department whereas at other universities, it is administered by the Linguistics or Applied Linguistics department. In other cases, it forms a separate 'remedial' or 'academic access' unit under the broad control of Humanities. (See Appendix 1 for South African universities that offer undergraduate and postgraduate TESOL qualifications and where the TESOL department is housed).

Breshears (2004) and Pennington (1993) state that there is an ongoing struggle for language teaching to be recognized as a discipline rather than as a 'trade' and that there is a strong resistance within university contexts where TESOL programmes tend to have marginal legitimacy within the faculty of Humanities. Auerbach (1991: 7) maintains that "we are workers in a system that does not value our work" as TESOL teaching is generally perceived as remedial work and, in the university context, the study of English language is seen as a means to an end such as entry to an English university or obtaining employment in an English-speaking country.

Ramanathan, Davies and Schleppegrell (2001) investigated two MA (TESOL) programmes in the USA, one at a west coast university and the other at a southeastern university. Ramanathan et al. (2001) used a wide range of data sources including written documents, observations, interviews and personal knowledge of the programmes. Ramanathan et al. (2001) discovered that both MA (TESOL) programmes were under the control of larger, more established departments, one in Linguistics and the other in the English department. Both programmes had to negotiate their status and overall purpose in relation to the prevailing issues and goals of those departments and both TESOL programmes were under explicit pressure to conform to the ideologies of the departments that housed them. The programmes appeared to be chameleon-like, having to adjust, accommodate and evolve according to the prevailing culture. Consequently they did not have a self-defined identity. At the one university, for example, there were tensions within the English department as some faculty members felt that the TESOL programme belonged elsewhere because of its pedagogical orientation and social science bias. One interviewee stated that, "The TESOL programme has little standing in the English department and has to fight for its existence. They are interested in literature, not the nuts and bolts of language teaching. We are at the bottom of the heap and have been quite

literally relegated to a corner"[28] (Ramanathan et al., 2001:284). The researchers maintain that this raises the issue of whether TESOL is a unitary professional field for which general standards can be developed or a type of specialization within a broader field such as English or Applied Linguistics.

Due to the uniqueness of the mission and function of TESOL programmes, their governance and location is often problematic, according to Pennington (1992). The difficulty in locating TESOL conceptually often means that its physical and structural location is highly variable across institutions and even in one institution at different times. The fact that TESOL does not fit easily within the confines of academic departments and institutions has, therefore, led to its marginalization within academic practice and scholarship (Pennington, 1992). Pennington (1992) believes that one of the major problems associated with the field of TESOL is the fact that although TESOL is based on a specialised body of information, it is widely perceived as knowledge that all native English speakers have in common. Unfortunately English language teaching is generally viewed as entirely transparent and ordinary, as a type of work that nearly any native speaker can perform (Pennington, 1992; Eskey, 1997). Pennington (1992) states that one can assume that TESOL knowledge including the field and its practitioners, will achieve a higher market value within academia to the extent that is it perceived as inaccessible, glamorous and stylish. Pennington (1992) believes that we do ourselves a great injustice in TESOL if we make it seem to others that the work we perform is natural, usual and effortless. Sun (2010) views this as a pretext to deny benefits and competitive salaries to TESOL teachers. Pennington (1992) thus urges TESOL professionals to codify what it is that they do and what it is that they know, to develop standards and job descriptions and to publicise what it means to be a TESOL teacher (See Appendix 2 for Pennington's list of attitudes, knowledge and skills necessary for English teachers).

Luke (2008) refers to TESOL as a 'service field' and not a discipline; a socio-practical field of knowledge built around the practice of English language teaching. Despite this, he feels that TESOL is not at risk in the university context as it has the potential to serve and enhance many of the strategic priorities of universities. TESOL has strong links to social policy and education, and a seemingly never-ending market of fee-paying international students who all desire to learn English. However, he does maintain that TESOL is marginalised and in a similar position to fields such as nursing, education and social work. This supports Pennington (1992) and Ramanathan et al. (2001) who believe that this is partly as a result of a lack of a power base from which TESOL professionals operate. In addition, this is a typical of historically feminized fields of study which tend to have low-status in the hierarchy of university governance, having

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[28] The TESOL instructors were housed in trailers outside the English department which added a physical dimension to their sense of distance from the department.

moved from specialist training into the liberal arts curriculum only over the past 100 years (Luke, 2008). The result is a marginalisation of TESOL in the overall liberal arts curriculum, a service level of funding support, and in the USA, a relocation of TESOL away from high-status, research universities to smaller, provincial universities and training institutions. This supports Auerbach (1991) and Braine (1999: 17) who describes his experience as a TESOL instructor as being "at the bottom of the academic ranks, and tolerated at the faculty club and academic gatherings more to swell the numbers than for intellectual contributions."

Nunan (1999) states that four criteria are necessary for TESOL to be considered a profession: the existence of advanced education and training, the establishment of standards of practice and certification, an agreed theoretical and empirical base and the work of individuals in the field who act as advocates for the profession. Nunan (1999) believes that TESOL does not fulfill the criteria necessary for it to be considered a profession which also supports Luke (2008) who maintains that teaching TESOL is a skill and not a discipline. Nunan (1999) argues that while there are formal undergraduate and postgraduate fields of study for potential and practicing TESOL teachers, there are also thousands of people around the world who work as TESOL teachers with no formal teaching qualifications at all. In terms of standards of practice and certification, most countries have a form of teaching certification but this is rarely applied to the TESOL industry.[29] There is little professional or governmental control over language schools and in many countries, it is relatively simple to open a language school, hire and underpay unqualified teachers and use illegally photocopied materials (Nunan, 1999). This supports Davidson (2006) who expresses concern about unethical practices in the industry. As far as a disciplinary base is concerned, Nunan (1999) believes that education in general and TESOL in particular, needs to define, refine and articulate a firm disciplinary base as both education and TESOL tend to be hybrid disciplines drawing from other more established fields such as linguistics, psychology and sociology. Thus he maintains, "we don't have a shared set of rules of the game. In fact, we don't even come close"(Nunan, 1999). Nunan (1999) states that the formation of professional organisations is vital as their key function is to act as defenders and promoters of the profession.

Some researchers state that TESOL teaching cannot be compared to professions such as medicine or law as TESOL teachers are not professionals in the sense that doctors and lawyers are. Maley (1992: 99) in an open letter to 'the profession' describes TESOL teachers thus: "We are not an army of career soldiers, all equally well-trained, battle-hardened, well-equipped and committed. We are more like one of those marauding armies in 17th century Europe with a core

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[29] In South Africa, for example, a person may not work as a teacher within the primary and secondary school system without the appropriate tertiary qualifications and registration with the South African Council of Educators yet a person can find employment as a TESOL teacher armed with nothing more than a matric certificate and a four-week TESOL course.

of highly trained and motivated cavalry, surrounded by foot soldiers of dubious reliability and a host of camp followers bringing up the rear." Maley (1992) believes that professionalization may result in negative consequences as it is the very diversity, flexibility and permeability of TESOL that results in an openness to new ideas and influences and to attracting a wide range of talent, many of whom are 'natural' teachers despite a lack of formal qualifications. Furthermore, Maley (1992) states that TESOL, due to its uncontrollability and anarchic energy, has escaped the bureaucratic stranglehold exerted on more formal professions. He does, however, admit that the career prospects of TESOL teachers would be greatly improved by closer regulation and consequent recognition of the contribution they make. This would thus result in reduced stress levels for teachers working in the field.

Pennington (1992) states that it is vital for the TESOL industry to establish internationally recognised standards and then to disseminate this information across the field of additional-language teaching. According to Pennington (1992: 18), TESOL needs to be recognised as "a field of educational specialisation" and unqualified teachers must simply not be allowed to practice TESOL. She states that obtaining a post-graduate degree is only the beginning of becoming qualified in TESOL as skills have to be continually upgraded otherwise "we cannot lay claim to being a profession, not even an emergent or developing one." Pennington (1992: 18) is also critical of those who enter TESOL by means of other professions despite their qualifications stating that "we have to insist that English literature is not a suitable background for TESOL teaching, nor is a M.A. or PhD in Linguistics, in most cases, the right degree. There really is no excuse for not hiring those with TESOL graduate degrees." Furthermore she believes that as long as the field remains at a Masters level of specialisation, there will be problems with achieving recognition within tertiary institutions. According to Pennington (1992: 18), the importance of the PhD cannot be overestimated and "we must work to bring the qualification of the TESOL professional up to a PhD level, or else settle in to being second-class citizens in a society of PhD's." A PhD specialising in TESOL is not yet offered at South African universities. The University of South Africa (UNISA) is the only university in the country that offers a Masters degree specialising in TESOL. Students who continue to PhD level receive a PhD in English not in TESOL, even if their topic is TESOL-related. Auerbach (1991), however, offers an alternate view stating that while advanced degrees and publications are important, TESOL needs to open the ranks of the profession to those from non-traditional educational backgrounds as sensitivity to and knowledge of students' realities may be more important qualifications than post-graduate degrees.

Yeager-Woodhouse (2003) states that education in general and TESOL in particular, have never enjoyed the status of better established disciplines while Blaber and Tobash (1989: 4) maintain that "until TESOL is viewed as a profession with unique characteristics and until TESOL

professionals are viewed as having comparable worth to peers and colleagues, it will be difficult to resolve salary, job security and benefit issues." Breshears (2004) posits that working conditions are an important factor for the advancement of professional status and that there is a cycle of interaction between poor working conditions and low pay which in turn hinders the professionalization process. This leads to a lack of leverage to obtain good material benefits which feeds into the cycle of stress and consequent burnout among teachers.

A common complaint in surveys of TESOL teachers is the practice of private language schools employing unqualified and under-qualified teachers who tend to be young and looking to spend a few years teaching English to make money and gain overseas working experience (Blaber et al., 1989; Brown, 1992; Clayton, 1990; Freeman, 1992; Wright, 1988; Pennington, 1992; Senior, 2006). Crookes (1990) maintains that one of the characteristics of the TESOL industry that most attracts its practitioners is the opportunity for a peripatetic existence. Qualified TESOL teachers' argue that native speaker status does not qualify one to become a TESOL teacher as the quality of tuition invariably suffers and the perception that TESOL instruction is a skill rather than a discipline tends to take hold. This belief supports Braine (1999); Mc Kay (2002); Medgyes (1992) and Philipson (1992) who all maintain that TESOL teachers' should hold formal qualifications. Breshears (2004) maintains that the practice of employing unqualified teachers runs counter to the hierarchical nature of traditional professions as well as to the processes and structures within a university. This results in a negative perception of TESOL in general and a consequent reluctance to accord TESOL the status it deserves. Johnston (1997: 698) observes that TESOL is a permeable career with high rates of attrition and, as a result, "with large numbers of TESOL teachers entering and leaving the profession every year, it becomes difficult to demand high standards of certification which results in low status and inferior rewards." Furthermore, Johnston (1999: 38) states that a 1989 study of 160 British TESOL teachers revealed that, "By the age of 45, a very small proportion of EFL teachers are left in full-time employment…For most teachers who have done their five or ten years at the coalface and have collected their qualifications, there is nowhere to go but sideways."

TESOL teachers do not stay in the field long as compared to other professions (Blackie, 1990; McKnight, 1992; Johnston, 1997). This is problematic as Pennington (1992) states that TESOL teachers with a short job tenure are less experienced in their work and in the ways of the political infrastructure and superstructure of the institutions in which they work and with which they interact. This serves to reinforce their marginal status. Crookes (1990) agrees saying that most TESOL teachers do not stay around long enough to achieve a degree of understanding of what being a professional entails. Auerbach (1991) maintains that universities reward length of education, extent of research, number of publications, and degree of specialisation as opposed to excellence in teaching or commitment to the intellectual development of students. Hence

universities tend to view teachers as less skilled workers and researchers as the true professionals. Auerbach (1991), therefore, recommends that TESOL teachers resist being defined as technicians and fight for the right to be recognized as teacher-intellectuals whose practice informs the development of theory.

The professionalization process is also stunted by the dominance of market forces in the TESOL industry. Waites (1999: 424) refers to TESOL as a "mobile and insecure" profession which is deeply affected by external forces ranging from the collapse of economies, the impact of random xenophobic attacks on foreigners and immigrants and the effects of natural disasters to name but a few. The business sector, rather than an international or national governing body, determines who is employed as TESOL teachers. MacLeod (2004) interviewed private language school administrators in Canada who admitted that private language schools are more interested in profits than in providing quality language courses which leads to a situation where large numbers of students pay premium fees for language training and are then rushed through English courses without achieving competence in English. Consequently, TESL Canada has since developed a hierarchy of certification based on university qualifications, TESOL training and teaching experience. However, TESL Canada find themselves in a situation similar to that of South Africa in that they do not have the authority to enforce the standards and private language schools are still free to employ teachers according to the bottom line (MacLeod, 2004). There are no TESOL organisations in South Africa which oversee or set standards for the industry. Consequently anyone may open a language school and offer English language courses.

Crookes (1990) states that in the USA, the TESOL standards set by various TESOL bodies have no legal and little professional recognition. Consequently, the owners of language schools which do not maintain educational standards are able to ignore the requests of their teachers with regard to programme upgrading. When those teachers leave in frustration, their places are normally filled by untrained teachers (Crookes, 1990). Thus programme quality declines and there is an increase in teacher cynicism and stagnation which leads to failure to fulfill one's potential as a creative human being and teacher, poorer quality programmes and fewer successful students. Several researchers (McKnight, 1992; Bascia and Jacka, 2001; Edstam, 2001 and Senior, 2006) have commented on the lack of professional recognition of TESOL teachers. McKnight (1992: 30), for example, examined 116 questionnaire responses from graduates of a postgraduate diploma in TESOL in Australia. He states that in terms of professional recognition TESOL teachers lack a power base within higher education institutions and "may be treated as an underclass by colleagues and superiors."

As a result, there are a number of consequences of the second class status accorded to TESOL which impact on the stress levels of its practitioners. One of the most disturbing is a lack of

academic credibility (Auerbach, 1991; Carkin, 1997; Stoller, 1997) as TESOL professionals are shut out of the mainstream of academic discourse which in turn, hinders their ability to influence their marginal status. Auerbach (1991: 5) refers to this as TESOL being "assigned to the bottom tier." Jenks (1997) mentions several problems that arise from the marginalisation of TESOL programmes including: human resource issues, crisis management as a permanent condition, and administrative roles that demand excessive time and that are unrealistically broad in scope. The irony is that despite the marginalisation of TESOL programmes, the programmes are expected to be financially self-sufficient and revenue generating (Rowe-Henry 1997; Staczek, 1984). Eskey (1997: 23) states that "in addition to low status, TESOL programs often have burdensome budgetary arrangements, are required to be self-supporting and are viewed as cash cows expected to generate large surpluses to be used for more prestigious programs." However, when TESOL teaching staff are given full-time academic appointments, Jenks (1997) maintains that there is a striking effect on the entire programme with faculty and staff perceived as equals and receiving similar rights, responsibilities, salaries and benefits as academics in other disciplines. In addition, there is a sense of having a legitimate purpose on campus with students seen as taking a valid course of study and receiving recognition for their achievements by means of certificates and graduation ceremonies.

Thus TESOL is in a challenging and somewhat paradoxical situation in a university context. The field lacks legitimacy and TESOL staff lack status compared to their non-TESOL peers yet TESOL courses and programmes are viewed as desirable by the administration because they have the potential to generate significant revenue. This revenue is then returned to the same institution that marginalizes them (Eaton, 2008). This too is a downward spiral creating considerable stress for the administration of a TESOL department or university-affiliated language school. This stress is often filtered down to the teachers. Jenks (1997) raises an interesting point as he states that recognition for TESOL programmes will not be achieved passively and that the onus actually lies on the staff to publicise and promote the programme so as to validate "its uniqueness as an educational asset within the university and beyond." This can create an additional burden, one which is non-existent for staff working in fields which are commonly accepted as professions, and a factor that could lead to stress and burnout.

Pennington (1992) highlights the importance of TESOL departments in tertiary education stating that TESOL is actually pan-institutional as it serves the goal of internationalising the curriculum and assisting students and faculty in improving their English up to the level required for academic work. Furthermore, she believes that TESOL programmes are potential money-makers operating on a fee-for-service basis and may be the main drawcard for attracting overseas talent and enrollments. They are thus of special importance in a highly competitive educational market where institutions are competing for the same students.

In summary, the TESOL profession finds itself in varying states of disorganisation around the world. Its practitioners are found in just about every country in the world and TESOL courses, and the students who attend them, contribute to the economy of the various countries and yet it is a profession characterised by a lack of national and international controlling bodies, a significant degree of lawlessness and unethical behaviour and a lack of internationally accepted standards and entry requirements. This state of affairs has led to the ambiguous nature of TESOL and the continuing debate about whether TESOL teachers are 'professionals' or 'skilled workers' which has resulted in the consequent uneasy relationship of TESOL and its practitioners with and within university contexts. This ambiguity and confusion influences the lot of those who teach English for a living and who experience not only poor employment conditions, low salaries and significant marginalisation but also a lack of career and professional development. The conditions are, therefore, right for TESOL teachers to experience significant levels of stress and burnout.

2.5 TESOL teacher stress and burnout

There have been relatively few studies on the topic of stress and burnout among TESOL teachers. Several researchers have investigated job satisfaction among TESOL teachers and the results of these studies shed some light on what TESOL teachers find stressful. Lanier (1985) studied the relationship between working conditions and job satisfaction at five university-affiliated language schools in the USA. He discovered weak indications that poor working conditions reduce job satisfaction. Pennington (1991, 1992), Pennington and Riley (1991a, 1991b) and (Sun, 2010) discovered that while TESOL teachers were reasonably satisfied with the intrinsic duties of their job, they were dissatisfied with their pay and the lack of opportunities for advancement. Zare (2007) conducted a case study of nineteen Iranian TESOL teachers who worked for the Iranian Ministry of Education in state primary and secondary schools. Zare (2007) created a job satisfaction questionnaire consisting of eighteen questions about job satisfaction rated on a Likert scale. Zare (2007) found that the teachers derived the greatest job satisfaction from socio-affective sources such as positive relationships with students, parents and supervisors, their students' achievements and respect from their students. The teachers were, however, not satisfied with educational policies, lack of teaching resources, the low standard of English teaching in Iranian schools and the lack of opportunities to advance their careers.

Sun (2010), in a survey of American TESOL teachers, found that the major sources of dissatisfaction lay in factors extrinsic to teaching such as low pay, poor working conditions, lack of status and few opportunities for professional development. This supports Mullock (2009) who advises that offering market-related salaries, improvements in working conditions, greater

recognition of teachers and more professional development opportunities could slow down and prevent teacher attrition. Several of the teachers surveyed by Sun (2010) mentioned that they had thought about leaving TESOL due to the low salaries and the need for more lucrative full-time employment. Sun (2010: 152) states, however, that "burnout from longer teaching hours is one of the main reasons" for TESOL teachers leaving the industry. Sun (2010) also maintains that another cause of burnout among TESOL teachers is the constant threat of job insecurity in the TESOL industry. In a 2009 study of job satisfaction among TESOL teachers in south-east Asia, Mullock (2009) discovered that the major sources of TESOL teachers' satisfaction lay in factors intrinsic to TESOL teaching such as seeing students make progress with the language, learning about different cultures, the social aspects of TESOL teaching and the flexibility of being able to work anywhere in the world. The major sources of dissatisfaction lay in factors extrinsic to teaching such as low salaries, excessive workloads and insecure employment conditions. This finding supports Milstein et al. (1984); Peltzer et al. (2009); Pennington (1991), (1992), and Sun (2010) who report similar findings concerning sources of dissatisfaction. An interesting finding is that of the teachers surveyed by Mullock (2009), a low salary was the second most common reason for leaving with the most common reason for leaving being more interesting work opportunities. The teachers did note, however, that private language school opportunities were limited and most private language schools offered comparatively low salaries.

Karavas (2010), in a questionnaire-based study of the job satisfaction of Greek TESOL teachers, found that of 224 TESOL teachers surveyed, 60% were satisfied with the recognition they received from their community, 55% were satisfied with their status in society, but less than half (48%) were satisfied with their status as a TESOL teacher in their respective school. All of the teachers surveyed felt that there was room for improvement as far as their status in society and in their school was concerned. Furthermore, 76% of the Greek TESOL teachers felt that the government did nothing to improve their status and only 24% were satisfied with the range of professional associations and support available for TESOL teachers. In addition, Karavas (2010) discovered that Greek TESOL teachers derived the greatest job satisfaction from interaction with students and professional autonomy and self-growth. The teachers were most dissatisfied with issues relating to school structures and policy making, the ambivalent status of TESOL as a profession, low salaries and few opportunities for advancement. This supports Auerbach (1991); Breshears (2004); Crookes (1997); Davidson (2006) and Mullock (2009) who note that extrinsic factors which are difficult to control tend to cause the most dissatisfaction among TESOL teachers.

Karavas (2010: 71) posits that the student-teacher relationship is central in enhancing teacher satisfaction and when that relationship breaks down, "emotional exhaustion, a sense of futility and reduced personal accomplishment creeps into teachers working lives." According to

Karavas (2010: 71), an "alarming number of teachers feel emotionally drained, stressed and even burnt out from their work." The main source of stress was students' lack of interest in learning English and behavioural problems in the classroom. Furthermore, the teachers expressed dissatisfaction with the working environment in their schools. Sun (2010) surveyed 1, 141 American TESOL teachers in order to examine their working conditions. She discovered that there was inadequate funding for TESOL programmes and teachers' salaries, many teachers had no medical and pension benefits, job insecurity was rife and there were few opportunities for staff development and growth. In addition, Sun (2010) found that full-time TESOL positions were scarce with 64% of respondents stating that they worked part-time. Almost half of the respondents (48%) received no benefits and 52% stated that they worked in an environment in which they did not have their own desk or office space. This supports Ramanathan et al. (2001) who investigated two MA (TESOL) departments at two American universities and found that in both cases the TESOL staff members were situated in an unpleasant physical environment.

Bascia et al. (2001: 340) also report that many TESOL teachers do not have an "equitable space of their own." In a study of TESOL teachers in Canada, Bascia et al. (2001) describe how some teachers had to share classrooms. Other teachers reported having to teach in libraries, in the teachers' room or in the staff canteen. Auerbach (1995: 12-13) maintains that this can be seen as a metaphor for the status of TESOL students and teachers in society, saying "When adult ESL classes take place in borrowed space, in church basements or preschool classes with child-size chairs, or having to move from site to site depending on what space is available, messages about students' marginalisation, the lack of importance of their education, and their reduction to child-like status is clear." Bascia et al. (2001) emphasise that the need for TESOL teachers to continually renegotiate their positions and re-establish credibility, to appear helpful and not resentful and to be visible team players while being marginalised by structural conditions is daunting and stressful. Bascia et al. (2001) maintain that the benefits of improving school facilities may actually outweigh the benefits derived from increasing pay as improving facilities is a one-off expense while salary increases tend to be annual expenses.

Grasse (1982: 4) explored the reasons for high stress levels among American TESOL teachers stating that "Most language teachers have seen the effects of burnout on colleagues, if not on themselves." Thus stress and burnout are common experiences among TESOL teachers. Grasse (1982) maintains that stress is caused by unrealistic expectations on the part of parents, sponsors, students and administrators regarding what can be achieved in the language classroom and the low status accorded to additional-language programmes. This finding supports Crookes (1997) who states that existing stress is exacerbated by poor working conditions which make it difficult to maintain professional standards and which lead to a

'deskilling' of TESOL teachers. In addition, Crookes (1997) highlights the stressful nature of the fact that there are more qualified teachers than jobs available and the energy used by teachers to try and facilitate communication with students who have limited English proficiency with teachers reporting that they often had to resort to pantomime, the use of facial expressions and gesture to get their point across. Furthermore, many TESOL teachers in the USA experience job insecurity, holding temporary positions with low pay and no benefits.

Grasse (1982) maintains that it is common practice for private language schools and universities to employ language teachers at low salaries and on a series of part-time contracts which may be renewed course-to-course or yearly. This supports Auerbach (1991); Breshears (2004) and Pennington (1984) who maintain that the field is characterised by job insecurity and non-market related salaries. Mullock (2009), writing nearly 30 years later than Grasse (1982), reports that 25% of the TESOL teachers interviewed during the course of her research on motivation and rewards among TESOL teachers in south-east Asia stated that if they had their lives over again they would not choose to work as TESOL teachers due to the low salaries. Unfortunately the TESOL industry is volatile and easily affected by external forces such as outbreaks of epidemics, changes in visa regulations, and economic downturns. Contracts are thus based on enrolment figures which have led to instability with regard to job security. This supports Sun (2010) who speaks of TESOL teachers' general disenchantment with the field and Waites (1999) who refers to TESOL as an insecure profession deeply affected by external events. TESOL teachers may thus work at several schools on a contractual basis or hold a second job in the evenings or at weekends just to make ends meet. Consequently, TESOL teachers feel discouraged, frustrated and insecure which leads to stress and the possibility of burnout. One TESOL teacher described the situation thus, "we are replaceable and have no voice" (Sun, 2010).

Pennington (1984) interviewed a group of American TESOL administrators based in California about the causes of low morale among TESOL teachers. She discovered that low morale among teachers manifested as anger, anxiety, fear and stress which was associated with a lack of status, lack of security and low self-esteem. Specific causes of low morale included poor facilities, low pay, heavy teaching schedules, lack of benefits and clear status, job insecurity, minimal participation in decision-making and lack of opportunities for advancement and professional development. Suggestions for raising TESOL teacher morale include pay increases, decreasing teaching loads, offering full benefits and long-term contracts and improving the status of TESOL within educational institutions and within the field of education in general. Further suggestions include increasing teachers' responsibility and decision-making power, professional development and creating leadership opportunities. Blaber et al. (1989) on the basis of an employment concerns survey that sampled Canadian TESOL teachers reported that

the top five most important concerns were: a salary commensurate with duties and experience (82%); being viewed as a professional (77%); hiring qualified professionals to teach TESOL (75%); adequate health benefits (71%) and a realistic teaching load (70%).

Markham (1999) conducted an interview-based, qualitative study of twelve TESOL teachers working in primary and secondary schools in three school districts in the USA. Markham (1999) aimed to discover what the teachers found stressful at work and how they coped with stressful situations. He identified five areas which TESOL teachers considered stressful: relationships with students, colleagues and administrators, time constraints, an excessive workload, unrealistic societal expectations of what could be achieved in a language classroom and feelings of isolation. This supports Crookes (1997) who describes feelings of isolation as similar to a state of alienation which can lead to stress and burnout. In addition, Markham (1999) found that low salaries, ambiguous school policies and a lack of opportunity for advancement exacerbated teacher stress. This supports Karavas (2010); Mullock (2009); Pennington (1984) and Sun (2010) who all report similar findings. In a study conducted by Markham et al. (1996), the researchers discovered that American TESOL teachers working in the primary and secondary school system experienced heightened stress levels. The teachers identified the main sources of stress as: moving classrooms on a daily basis, work overload, teaching students with different levels of English ability in one class, overcrowding of classes, student discipline problems, a lack of support from school administrators and a lack of resource material designed specifically for TESOL students. This supports Zare (2007) who found that a lack of teaching resources leads to feelings of dissatisfaction.

In a survey study investigating the stress levels and sources of stress of 123 secondary school TESOL teachers in Hong Kong, Loh (1995) discovered that 48% of those surveyed reported moderate to considerable stress and 16% reported considerable to extreme stress. The top three stressors were marking work, maintaining student discipline and students' performance in examinations, all intrinsic duties of teaching. The teachers maintained that teaching required a great deal of physical, emotional and mental stamina, TESOL teaching was more stressful than teaching other subjects and a heavy workload had driven most of them to exhaustion. Of the teachers surveyed, 59% maintained that their health was worse or much worse than when they had started teaching and 60% had thought of leaving the teaching profession due to the heavy workload, student behavioural problems and the need for a change. An interesting finding was that extrinsic rewards such as pay and promotional opportunities were not viewed as stressful by the teachers. Loh (1995) maintains that this may be due to the fact that in Eastern countries, which are expanding circle countries, most high schools and tertiary institutions are government-run or subsidized which means that salary increases and promotional

opportunities are regulated in a standardised system. TESOL teachers, therefore, tend to work steadily towards their goals and do not fear threats of demotion or job loss.

Cowie (2011) studied nine TESOL teachers, from the UK, USA, China and Japan, working at universities in Japan, another expanding circle context. Cowie (2011) investigated the teachers' feelings about their students, colleagues and work through a series of in-depth interviews. The teachers felt that their relationships with their students were overwhelmingly positive. Many of the teachers felt that they had developed a bond with their students through talking, sharing personal stories and humour. They could see the progress their students were making and the students' growth in terms of independent use of the target language. Relationships with colleagues were a source of satisfaction as long as the relationships were based on mutual respect. However, a number of teachers felt that their colleagues' criticised students' abilities unnecessarily which created a dispiriting and negative atmosphere. This in turn, led to frustration and stress. Some of the teachers mentioned that anger towards colleagues had caused deep-seated and long-lasting resentment. With regard to the organisation, the teachers felt that there was a huge gap between their expectations and the reality of working in a language school. The perceived lack of trust of teachers by the administration and divisive systems of rank led to negative emotions. Teachers commented that the rank and hierarchy system had resulted in intense competition with clear divisions of status between permanent and temporary staff. This had effectively killed collaboration and creativity in the various university-affiliated language schools. During the course of the interviews, the teachers identified the following aspects of the Japanese university system as particularly stressful: a lack of a coherent or integrated programme of study, large class sizes with wide ranges of abilities and low student motivation levels. This supports Arends (2007) who states that large class sizes are one of the reasons that teachers in sub-Saharan Africa avoid postings to rural schools. Kiggundu (2007) also cites large classes as one of the reasons for the failure of Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa with Olivier et al. (2003) reporting secondary school classes as large as 60 students in the George area of the Western Cape province. In this case large class sizes are exacerbated by poor facilities (Olivier et al., 2003). This supports Pennington (1984) who found a link between poor educational facilities and low morale in the USA. Ironically these are all complaints normally associated with developing countries and their education systems.

Clandfield (2010), in an article about TESOL teacher burnout, maintains that TESOL teachers feel stressed by student apathy, discipline issues in the classroom, excessive testing imposed by administrators, lack of recognition and no possibility of change or improvement. Several teachers spoke of the 'ugly' side of TESOL characterised by poor working conditions, long working hours, a lack of job security and low salaries. This supports Bascia et al. (2001); Karavas (2010) and Sun (2010) who report similar findings. Johnston (1997) conducted a study based on

life history interviews with seventeen TESOL teachers in post-communist Poland. The interview transcripts were treated as discourse with the intention of discovering what discourses teachers drew on in constructing stories about their lives. Johnston (1997) states that due to the small sample, he hoped to achieve transferability in the sense that the teachers' stories would be familiar and resonate with other teachers as opposed to aiming for generalizability. He discovered that the teachers considered themselves to be underpaid and overworked and often endured difficult physical and psychological conditions. In addition, he found that the teachers in the study moved from job to job revealing a skilful adaptation to circumstances rather than progression along a career path. All of the teachers expressed commitment in day-to-day terms and spoke of the possibility of leaving TESOL teaching. Most of the teachers held multiple jobs due to low wages and their life histories lacked a discourse of professionalism and had a sense of having a career over which the teachers had only a modicum of control.

Furthermore, in a report commissioned by the CfBT Education Trust, on the state of TESOL in the UK, Williams and Williams (2006) revealed that TESOL teachers' generally had vague career plans and aspirations with a few teachers admitting to having no plans at all. Mullock (2009) discovered that many of the TESOL teachers, in her study of motivation and rewards among TESOL teachers in south-east Asia, felt that the field had no career structure and were concerned about the general lack of recognition and appreciation.

Waites (1999) investigated the professional life cycles and professional development of TESOL teachers in Geneva, Switzerland and Sydney, Australia. According to Waites (1999), major areas of concern for TESOL teachers were the perception of a lack of a career path, few opportunities for promotion, low status, poor working conditions, low salaries and a lack of job security. This supports Bascia et al. (2001); Karavas (2010) and Sun (2010) who report the same areas of concern. In Waites' (1999) research she discovered that job security among TESOL teachers ranged from nil for freelance teachers to some security for those who had yearly renewable contracts, to secure permanent positions for the very few who taught in international organisations. Hargreaves (2002) states that professional cultures and permanent employment have given way to performance contracts which has resulted in an erosion of trust in leadership and between colleagues and the replacement of long-term loyalty with short-term commitment. This supports Johnston (1997) who maintains that the TESOL teachers he interviewed expressed commitment in day-to-day terms. Griffith (2005) also expresses concern at the growing trend of offering TESOL teachers 'freelance work' with no guarantees and Mullock (2009) believes that language schools can combat teacher attrition by offering more permanent employment.

Coombe (2008) states that TESOL teachers are expected to maintain high standards in the classroom and negotiate potentially stressful interactions with administrators, colleagues and

students while contending with low pay and shrinking institutional budgets. Coombe (2008) maintains that the early physical, behavioural and emotional warning signs of long-term stress and burnout include chronic fatigue, anger at those making demands, self-criticism, cynicism, negativity, irritability, a sense of being besieged, frequent headaches, weight loss or gain, depression and feelings of helplessness. This supports Maslach (2003) who, in addition, cites consistent late coming, high absenteeism, poor job performance and a lack of interest and commitment as typical burnout symptoms.

Mede (2009) investigated stress and burnout and the effects of personal variables such as age, gender and teaching experience and perceived self-efficacy in eliciting social support from colleagues and principals. The participants were sixty-three TESOL teachers working at an English-medium university in Istanbul, Turkey. The teachers taught intensive English courses to students at an upper-intermediate level. The students had to pass an English proficiency examination in order to continue their academic studies. Mede (2009) used an adapted version of the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey to measure burnout and two subscales developed by Friedman and Kass (2002): the Perceived Self-Efficacy in Eliciting Social Support from Colleagues (PSESSC) and the Perceived Self-Efficacy in Eliciting Social Support from Principals (PSESSP). He discovered that teachers who reported a lack of social support from colleagues were more likely to experience feelings of emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation whereas a lack of support from principals was a consistent predictor of depersonalisation and reduced personal accomplishment. Mede (2009) states that these findings are in line with previous findings that a lack of support from colleagues and principals was closely associated with teacher burnout. This finding echoes that of Brouwers and Tomic (2001) who found that teachers who received little or no social support viewed themselves as ineffective at being able to elicit such support. Greenglass, Burke and Konarski, (1997) and Sarros and Sarros (1992) report similar findings. Mede's 2009 study also revealed that burnout was more prevalent among younger TESOL teachers who lacked experience and were more prone to excessive job involvement. This supports Friedman and Farber (1992) and Lackritz (2004) who state that younger teachers tend to be under greater pressure than older teachers to build a career. In addition Watts and Robertson (2010) believe that older, more experienced teachers have developed better coping strategies.

Fullan (2001) cites a 1992 study by Fessler and Christensen in which they interviewed 160 teachers across the career span and found that career frustration and burnout are typical of mid-career teachers. They also discovered that teachers suffering from burnout may regain their enthusiasm and experience renewed personal growth if they engaged in a programme of personal development. Waites (1999) discovered that teachers exhibited a greater awareness of the range of professional development that they required than school administrators did who tended to be more limited in their perception of teachers' needs. Waites (1999)

recommends that a personalized approach needs to be taken to professional development such as allowing teachers the opportunity of taking sabbatical leave to conduct research like academic staff and sending teachers to TESOL conferences. According to Waites (1999), TESOL teachers working in Geneva and Sydney viewed professional development as including developing new skills, attending workshops, collaborating with colleagues, reflecting on teaching practices and increasing self-awareness. This finding supports Kabilan (2007) who advocates self-reflection, the sharing of critical reflections between colleagues and the importance of studying further. This in turn supports Kahn (2008) who views professional development as a long-term strategy. The teachers interviewed felt that developing course materials, mentoring new teachers, and attending conferences did not actually constitute professional development.

Crookes (1997) maintains that TESOL teachers are not given the tools to do their job adequately. The administrative and managerial systems in language schools do not allow professionals to function in a professional way. Furthermore, language schools lack the ability to adapt and adjust to new situations and demands. Thus much of the teaching remains at the level of coping. According to Crookes (1997: 75), language schools need to become "learning institutions" by incorporating programmes of professional development for teachers coupled with internal evaluation components so as to assist teachers in reaching their career goals. In addition, language schools should encourage and support teacher action research (Crookes, 1997).

Research, therefore, reveals that TESOL teachers experience a considerable amount of stress and that burnout is a reality in the TESOL industry. The causes of stress and burnout cover the same range of stressors as that of teachers in general. In the case of TESOL, however, these stressors are exacerbated by the prevalence of poor working conditions and are characterized by long teaching hours, a lack of market-related salaries and benefits, job insecurity, a lack of office and classroom space, minimal or no teaching resources and ambiguous school structures and policies. In addition, TESOL teachers are often exploited by the management of unscrupulous language schools. This has led to an erosion of trust between teachers, administrators and management, intense competition between teachers and a lack of collegiality among teachers. Furthermore, TESOL teachers complain of the difficulty of teaching students of different ages and abilities in a single class, student passivity and behavioural problems, an emotional overload based on constant interactions inside and outside the classroom, the weight of unrealistic expectations, time pressure and a lack of support structures and professional development.

According to Brown and Ralph (1992), most schools try to deal with stress by looking at the symptoms rather than removing the causes of stress. Brown et al. (1992) recommend that school management, administrators and teachers draw up a holistic, stress-reducing action plan together. Stress is a whole-school issue and needs to be addressed by the entire staff working together to identify and reduce stressors and develop appropriate supportive strategies.

2.6 Support structures

Social support can reduce the impact of stressors on psychological well-being and job satisfaction and reduce the risk of physical illness (Shumaker and Czajkowski, 1994). Studies of teachers have, however, produced mixed results. Pierce and Molloy (1990), in a study of 750 secondary school teachers in Australia, found that high burnout teachers reported having lower social support than low burnout teachers. However, Griffith et al. (1999) in a questionnaire-based study of 780 primary and secondary school teachers in London, UK found that the relationship between teacher stress and social support at work was independent of demographic factors, the school environment and occupational grade. Griffith et al. (1999) found that both high and low ratings of social support at work were received from teachers at the same schools which indicates that similar challenges can be perceived as more or less stressful depending on the individual's perception of the social environment. We can conclude, however, that good relationships with colleagues and a harmonious atmosphere at work must be important factors in mitigating stress at work.

An effective support network provides practical and emotional support for teachers who experience stress in the workplace. Miller, Zook and Ellis (1989) state that the most common support networks consist of supervisors, colleagues, family and friends. Starnaman and Miller (1992), however, maintain that supervisor support is more effective in reducing stress than the support of colleagues. Greenglass et al. (1997) used the Maslach Burnout Inventory to survey 833 Canadian primary and secondary school teachers. Greenglass et al. (1997) discovered that collegial support is more influential in reducing the impact of teacher stress or burnout than support from family and friends. One can conclude, therefore, that support within the organisation from supervisors and colleagues is more effective than a sympathetic ear from family and friends. Interestingly, Glazer and Hannafin (2006) and Taylor, Sherman, Kim, Jarcho, Takagi and Dunagan (2004) state that cultural differences may influence whether teachers actually seek social support. Taylor et al. (2004) discovered that Korean and Asian-American teachers in the USA were less likely to actively seek social support than teachers from Europe and North America. The researchers suggest that while the collectivist orientation of Asian culture is conducive to the sharing of stressful problems, there may also be a subtle discouragement of such efforts in order to maintain group harmony.

Zhang et al. (2007) maintain that a teacher's social network should cover three areas which are emotional support or the provision of caring and nurturing, informational support which includes physical and material assistance and instrumental support which includes the provision of facts and advice. Research suggests that teachers who have a strong support network tend to be more resistant to the effects of stressful events (Greenglass et al., 1997; Brouwers et al., 2001). Brouwers et al. (2001) studied the relationship between teachers' perceived self-efficacy in eliciting social support and consequent burnout among 277 secondary school teachers in the Netherlands. Brouwers et al. (2001) discovered that teachers who felt that they received little or no social support from their supervisors and colleagues also had little hope that they could elicit such support and had a generally negative view of their ability to do so. In addition, Greenglass et al. (1997) found that teachers with high levels of burnout were less likely to form friendships at work or to establish close relationships with their colleagues. Zembylas and Papanstasiou (2004), state that teachers already tend to be isolated from their peers due to the solitary nature of their jobs. This supports Crookes (1997) who describes this isolation as a state of alienation and Markham (1999) who maintains that feelings of isolation are a major cause of stress among TESOL teachers. Teachers, therefore, have little opportunity to share their successes or failures with colleagues. In addition, teachers who experience burnout tend to isolate themselves even more and their feelings of exhaustion and hopelessness could prevent them from seeking support

Chang (2009) reports that teachers' perceptions of social support have a strong link with teacher burnout. This supports Griffith et al. (1991) who highlight the importance of the individual's *perception* of stressful events. Kahn et al. (2006) maintain that positive social support provides opportunities for the reappraisal of a current stressful situation and may provide new ideas for adaptive responses to work stress. Teachers' perceptions of social relationships are also related to feelings of burnout. When teachers' perceive that they invest more in their work and their schools than what they get back, or when outcomes from students are lower than they had expected, they are prone to burnout (Van Horn, Schaufeli and Enzmann, 1999). In a longitudinal study of 920 Dutch teachers working in primary, secondary and tertiary level institutions, Taris, Van Horn, Schaufeli and Schreurs (2004) discovered that the inequity teachers experience in their three main exchange relationships —with students, colleagues and schools —is related to burnout, especially feelings of emotional exhaustion. Mede (2009) investigated stress and burnout among TESOL teachers in Turkey. He discovered that teachers who received little social support from supervisors tended to depersonalise their interactions with students and colleagues and felt a sense of reduced personal accomplishment. The study also revealed that burnout was more prevalent among younger TESOL teachers who lacked experience and were more prone to excessive job involvement.

This supports Friedman et al. (1992) and Lackritz (2004) who report on the incidence of higher burnout among younger teachers.

The management of language schools need to be more supportive and show greater understanding of the challenges of TESOL teaching, a greater concern for their teachers' and an understanding of the toll that teaching takes on the individual's emotional, mental and physical wellbeing. Thus language schools need to look at ways of decreasing the various stressors that impact on teachers such as reducing class sizes and the consequent administrative load, making language courses less test and exam-oriented, giving teachers greater flexibility in curriculum design and lesson preparation and creating a supportive and collegial environment in which teachers can develop professionally. In addition, language schools need to improve the working conditions of TESOL teachers by providing secure employment with market-related salaries and benefits. Markham et al. (1996) maintain that stress levels among TESOL teachers can be partly attributed to inappropriate programme design and a lack of support from administrators. Recognition of the effort that the majority of teachers put into their jobs would go a long way to alleviating feelings of stress, according to Loh (1995). In her research, Loh (1995) discovered that 60% of the teachers interviewed had thought seriously about leaving teaching. This leads to another concern which is the possibility that large numbers of TESOL teachers are just surviving in the profession and do not enjoy working in their chosen field. The end result of this must be a lack of morale and motivation, decreased work performance and negative attitudes towards teaching.

Sun (2010) advises TESOL teachers to be proactive and to consider forming their own supportive learning communities and engaging in peer mentoring. She, therefore, believes that teachers should build their own support systems so as to reduce stress. These support systems will also enable them to remain current in the field and sustain their own professional development. Mullock (2009), however, states that the literature strongly suggests that by paying attention to the extrinsic factors of employment such as job stability, a market-related salary, medical and pension benefits, and opportunities for promotion and professional development, language schools can slow down and even prevent teacher attrition. These findings support Manuel (2003) who calls for more empirical research into the retention of quality teachers with a focus on exploring the everyday lives of teachers. According to Mullock (2009), in addition to these factors, positive teacher-administrator relationships should be encouraged as a supportive school climate is an important factor in teacher motivation and performance and in avoiding teacher burnout. This supports Manuel (2003) who advocates long-term pastoral care and mentoring programmes for new teachers. Grayson and Alvarez (2008), however, caution that the creation of a supportive school environment may necessitate a shift in philosophy, resource allocation and training opportunities. Nevertheless, it is important for management to create a school climate that offers collegial and intellectual

support for teachers in order to encourage self-growth and improve job satisfaction and retention rates.

Research, therefore, reveals that a strong social support network can reduce the impact of stressors and the incidence of burnout. The facts are, however, that teachers in general and TESOL teachers in particular, are simply not receiving the emotional, informational and instrumental support they need in order to be the best teachers they can be (Zhang et al., 2007). Supervisors and colleagues are vitally important links in the provision of this support and thus conditions need to be created — by the management of language schools —in which support networks are encouraged and nurtured or at the very least in which teachers can form their own support networks. TESOL teachers who do not receive any form of support within the school environment are thus more likely to experience stress and consequent burnout.

2.7 Coping strategies
Stress and burnout may be alleviated by psychological and social resources. Steptoe (1991) maintains that coping responses affect the impact of stress on psychological and physiological well-being. Thus the way in which people currently cope with stress and potential burnout can affect the way in which they view a situation, the challenges involved and their perception of the stressors. Coping strategies range from positive engagement with the problem and the associated emotions to avoidance, disengagement or withdrawal (Tobin, Holroyd, Reynolds and Wigal, 1989). According to Griffith et al. (1999), little research has been done on psychological coping and the perception of stress among teachers. Furthermore, the reliability and validity of the research findings in the field tend to be criticized because investigators often do not use standardized stress inventories (Griffith et al., 1999).

According to Maslach et al. (1981), interventions should address the three components of burnout, namely emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment. Furthermore, Maslach et al. (1981) state that the focus of support and coping strategies should be on changing the job situation rather than the more traditional focus of trying to change the person by making it the individual's responsibility to lower their stress levels. Thus Maslach et al. (1981) view burnout as a result of stressors which emanate from the social environment in which the individual works. This view supports Schonfield (2001) who states that burnout is a consequence of the individual's environment and not a result of a deficiency in the individual. Most preventative measures attempt to change the individual and rely on the assumption that the source of burnout lies within the person and not the working environment. Maslach et al. (1997) state that many psychiatrists, clinical psychologists and social workers support this perspective and view burnout as a psychiatric disorder that is amenable to individual treatment approaches. The organisation, therefore, abdicates

responsibility. However, Hamberger and Stone (1983), Lowenstein (1991) and Mikkelsen, Ogaard and Lovrich (2000) disagree with Maslach et al. (1981) and Schonfield's (2001) views, maintaining that it actually is the individual's responsibility to develop coping skills. These coping skills include reducing isolation by seeking out interactions with others, learning how to change one's reactions to stressful situations so as to restore perspective and balance, creating goals to work towards in order to change negative perceptions of one's job, clarifying sources of frustration and stress and learning how to manage time and resolve conflicts.

Other researchers believe that creating a more engaging workplace which provides employees with a realistic workload, a degree of control over their work, acceptable working conditions, fair treatment, the resources necessary to do their jobs, a strong social support network and market-related salaries is a better way of developing strategies to cope with burnout (Greenblatt, 2002; Maslach et al., 1981, Maslach et al., 1997). Organisational interventions may include employee counselling programmes, wellness programmes[30] which address physical and emotional issues, job rotation to enhance skills and reduce boredom, and interpersonal skills training (Maslach and Goldberg, 1998). Olivier et al. (2003) state that the management of schools and the various education departments in South Africa must acknowledge that the emotional and physical health of teachers is vital for effective job functioning and thus provision should be made for balance in their work programme and for support in coping with stress.

Cowie (2011) maintains that there are three important issues which are often overlooked at language schools in particular and these are the importance of collaboration, allowing teachers to express their emotions and the importance of encouraging an atmosphere of emotional warmth, both inside and outside the classrooms. Coombe (2008) agrees stating that language schools have a responsibility to provide TESOL teachers with adequate resources and clear job descriptions and expectations so as to reduce role conflict and ambiguity, and create clear lines of communication between teachers and administrators. Hepburn and Brown (2001) and Schwab (2001) maintain that teachers' who are satisfied with decisions and the degree of support provided by school administrators have a more positive attitude towards teaching. The researchers suggest that language schools experiment with interventions aimed at improving teachers' collegial relationships within the school so as to promote social connections and align teachers' goals and values closer to their occupational expectations.

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[30] Morrison and MacKinnon (2008:28) state that wellness programmes are only effective if employees are motivated to participate. Motivation may be stimulated by offering incentives, ensuring clear communication about the benefits of the programme, ensuring confidentiality, offering long-term programmes, and hosting the programme on the employers' time.

Language schools, therefore, need to provide a supportive working environment which is conducive to communication, cooperation and collaboration. Teacher collaboration and the consequent creation of a professional learning community have been linked to increased satisfaction in teaching. This supports Nias (1989) who maintains that interpersonal relationships should be at the centre of every aspect of school life. Woods and Weasmer (2004) advocate the benefits of 'collegial investment' while the creation of a stronger sense of teaching efficacy is supported by Ashton and Webb (1986) and Vescio, Ross and Adams (2008). Troman and Woods (2000) maintain that improved work relationships lower stress levels and provide teachers with an enhanced capacity for coping with change. This supports Little (1990) and Zembylas and Barker (2007). Linville and Belt (1982) state that teacher training courses should include information about the nature of stress and burnout, what constitutes stressful classroom situations, the results of prolonged stress and suggestions on how to cope with stress and burnout. Linville et al. (1982) believe that this would better prepare teachers for stressful situations. This supports Olivier et al. (2003) who state that stress management should form part of the curriculum for potential teachers. Griffith et al. (1999) also maintain that training teachers to analyse challenging situations before reacting to them may reduce maladaptive coping responses which could lead to the prevention of accumulated stressors in teachers' work environments.

Carver, Scheier and Weintraub (1989) identify a number of coping strategies used by teachers to manage stress. These include a positive reinterpretation of the teaching role, acceptance of the limitations of the teaching role and seeking support from colleagues and supervisors. This is supported by Starnaman et al. (1992) who report that supportive supervisors reduce stress among teachers and Greenglass et al. (1997) who state that collegial support is effective in reducing stress and burnout. Carver et al. (1989) also mention that some teachers are unable to cope with stress which can lead to behavioral and mental disengagement from the teaching role and in some cases, the use of alcohol and drugs in order to cope with stress. Cooper and Kelly (1993) found that teachers who used palliative coping strategies such as drinking alcohol, smoking and taking medication reported greater stress arising from work overload and interpersonal relationships. This supports Olivier et al. (2003) who maintain that teachers who lack coping mechanisms tend to turn to alcohol and drugs to alleviate stress. Furthermore, McCormick (1997) maintains that the perception of higher stress is associated with such immature defensive coping responses.

Suls and Fletcher (1985) mention cognitive and behavioural disengagement as negative coping strategies that are implemented directly, without the help of others and with immediate consequences. Suls et al. (1985) maintain that disengagement can be beneficial in the short-term, however, relying on this strategy for a long period of time may lead to an overload of

work and disrupt classes and student learning. Chan and Hui (1995), in a survey study of 415 Chinese secondary school teachers, found that this kind of avoidance behaviour correlated significantly with high levels of burnout which may be detrimental to the individual's health. Griffith et al. (1999) found that teachers reporting high job strain had elevated blood pressure and heart rate in the evenings which suggested an inability to unwind after work. Brown et al. (1992) state that excessive stress in the teaching profession can result in increased smoking and above average drinking, an increased incidence of heart disease, increased absenteeism, low resistance to infection and fatigue and early retirements.

Grasse (1982) suggests that teachers use a range of strategies to cope with stress such as reviving interest in their subject by varying materials and teaching techniques, exchanging and sharing information with colleagues, setting realistic goals for their classes to achieve, getting to know their students as individuals, facing problems in a realistic manner and seeking viable solutions to classroom problems. Coombe (2008) advises stressed teachers to establish positive working relationships with their students, colleagues and administrators, to try and focus on teaching rather than becoming overwhelmed by paperwork, and to create a balance between work and leisure time (Grosch and Olsen, 1995; MacBride, 1983; Maslach, 1982). In addition, Coombe (2008) suggests that teachers become more involved in the profession through conference attendance, mentoring, publishing and research. This supports Olivier et al. (2003) who advocate teachers' taking responsibility for their own empowerment.

In Loh's (1995) study of secondary school TESOL teachers in Hong Kong, she discovered that the teachers used various 'soft' methods to cope with stress including talking to friends, listening to music, shopping, reading books and magazines and watching television and movies. Loh states that most of the teachers surveyed were women which may account for the results (ninety-four women and nineteen men). Loh (1995) also found that seeking counselling for stress was the least popular suggestion by far. This may be due to the stigma associated with admitting that one is stressed as others often view it as a sign of weakness and an inability to do the job. Alternatively it may support Taylor et al. (2004) who suggest that Asian teachers are discouraged from seeking assistance with stress and burnout in the interests of maintaining group harmony. Patrick (1984a and 1984b) reports that people who experience burnout are often seen as complainers who will not take responsibility for their actions. This creates the impression that burnout is as a result of a flaw or weakness in the individual. Employees may thus try to hide any signs of burnout, deny problems and avoid seeking help.

Hall, Woodhouse and Wooster (1988) found evidence that experiential, in-service courses in human relations enable teachers to change their behaviours in ways that reduce stress. Hall et al. (1988) surveyed fifty-six British teachers and found that experiential learning and working

together in small groups played an important part in teacher training and reducing stress. Stress management should, therefore, be approached in a systematic way by the school and involve identifying stressors, planning and implementing stress management policies and providing plenty of opportunities to discuss shared experiences based on successful coping strategies. According to Brown et al. (1992), strategies which may be included in such in-service training include assertiveness techniques, communication skills, effective time management, learning how to delegate, relaxation techniques and the development of support networks.

Stein and Cutler (2002) recommend teaching individuals how to adjust their nutrition and sleeping patterns, and training teachers in anger management, biofeedback, positive social skills and self-talk strategies. It should be noted that Keable (1996) maintains that coping involves learning both mental and physical skills. Keable (1996) suggests that it is not sufficient to just teach positive thinking and relaxation techniques as individuals need time to practice applying these techniques to real-life situations. Thus teachers need to be educated about the signs and symptoms of stress and burnout so that they will know when to apply the techniques they have learned.

Troman and Woods (2000) conducted qualitative research using life history interviews with a sample of British urban and rural school teachers who had been diagnosed with anxiety, depression or stress-related illnesses but who had chosen to remain in the profession. Troman et al. (2000) felt that the sample may be regarded as 'critical cases' in that they highlighted issues common to all teachers rather than unique to themselves. Troman et al. (2000) explored the perceptions of the teachers with a focus on how they had remained in the profession by making adaptations to their roles. These adaptations included retreatism which involves submitting to the role changes, withdrawing to the classroom and working in isolation. Retreatism is a source of stress according to Crookes (1997) and Markham (1999). Other adaptations included downshifting which involves reducing one's workload, responsibilities and status and self-actualization which can involve re-routeing one's career through finding new opportunities or relocating to a different school which is more in line with one's values. Some of the teachers interviewed stated that they had coped with stress and gained greater self-fulfillment by downshifting which involved reducing their working hours and increasing their commitment to activities outside the school such as playing sport, involvement in a religious or social club, a hobby and doing voluntary work. However, several of the teachers mentioned that this required a financial sacrifice that not all teachers were in a position to make.

Austin, Shah and Muncer (2005) investigated ways of coping with stress among thirty-eight American and British secondary school teachers using the Ways of Coping Questionnaire (WCQ). The five most popular ways of coping were planning and active problem solving,

exercising self-control, seeking social support, confronting the problem and distancing oneself from the stressful situation. The least popular method of coping was escape-avoidance. Austin et al. (2005) discovered that the teachers with the highest stress levels were the most likely to use negative coping strategies such as escape-avoidance as it allowed the individual teacher to decrease involvement and ultimately withdraw from the situation. Participants also mentioned a number of activities which helped them to alleviate work stress including being active in a social club, spending time alone, exercising[31], listening to music and talking to friends.

Bullough and Baughman (1997), in a ten-year longitudinal case study of an American teacher's development, found that self-regulatory knowledge plays a critical role in emotion regulation. This knowledge refers to how experts know themselves and how they process the knowledge they own. Thus teachers need to be self-reflective in monitoring their own stress levels and emotions when they are in the classroom. Olivier et al. (2003) suggest keeping a daily teaching journal as a record of classroom experiences and as a means of reflecting on one's emotions. Gross (2002) suggests regulating emotion through reappraisal rather than suppression. Reappraisal involves changing one's thinking about a situation so as to decrease its emotional impact whereas suppression involves inhibiting one's emotions. According to Chang (2009), teachers are likely to neglect or suppress their emotions. Thus suppressing, faking or hiding one's emotions can lead to greater overall burnout.

Chang (2009) maintains that teachers should accurately label their emotional experiences, reflect on their emotions and identify ineffective patterns of judgment of classroom events. Liljestrom, Roulston, and deMarrais (2007) state that school management must acknowledge that teaching is an emotional practice and a form of emotional labour. Teachers' emotions are inseparable from their selves, identities and relationships with others, emotions are shaped by the experience of power and powerlessness and emotions can vary with culture and context. Teachers, therefore, should be encouraged to reflect on and talk about their emotions to their supervisors and colleagues rather than suppress them.

Khan (2008) maintains that professional development constitutes a viable coping strategy for stress as it encourages professional interactions with colleagues which can lead to personal growth, it develops a critical stance towards professional work and it leads to reflective attitudes and a new self-understanding. However, Kahn (2008) cautions that professional development is a long-term strategy which requires hard work and commitment. It is important to note that if there is no appropriate support from management and colleagues, unsuccessful attempts at professional development may lead to fatigue and withdrawal. Professional

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[31] The teachers with the lowest stress levels used both competitive and non-competitive exercise more often than those with higher stress levels. Teachers with the highest stress levels used exercise significantly less.

development includes a variety of activities which can enhance career growth such as in-service training which can be part of weekly staff meetings, further education, reading books and journal articles to stay up-to-date with the field, joining international professional associations such as The International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) or Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and attending and delivering papers at professional conferences. Furthermore, participating in regular workshops[32] can be used as a means of raising awareness about current issues, discussing new ideas, evaluating textbooks and creating new materials.

Cowie (2011) researched the emotions that TESOL teachers in Japan felt about their students, colleagues and work. He found that participants who experienced a lack of collegiality and organisational support often turned to the wider TESOL community for collaborative growth and development opportunities. The teachers used professional networks as a way of overcoming vulnerability and a lack of career structure. This included joining professional organisations, email discussion lists and researching joint academic projects. Cowie (2011: 240) states that "Teachers, especially those in very isolated contexts, need to meet others in order to make meaning about what it is they do." One teacher commented that, "Just talking to others who have similar interests and are also inquisitive about teaching and learning, is cathartic and helps you get things out of your system" (Cowie, 2011:238).

MacBride (1983); Riordan and Saltzer (1992) and Suran and Sheridan (1985) maintain that burnt-out individuals should not wait for the organisation to step in and solve their problems but need to embark on rigorous self-analysis such as how one's desire for recognition leads to overwork or how early family experiences have shaped unconscious expectations of a job. Riordan et al. (1992) believe that self-analysis will assist the individual in adjusting unrealistic expectations, clarify spiritual and philosophical values and enable teachers to determine whether their personal ideals match their job situation. Yip (2006), however, cautions that when an individual has a heavy workload and is already feeling burnt-out, self-reflection may in reality be more of an additional burden than a help. MacBride (1983) and Clandfield (2010) advocate physical solutions to stress including healthier living habits, improving nutrition and fitness levels, and embarking on relaxation programmes such as meditation and yoga. Thus becoming involved in outside interests and hobbies all correlate with lower levels of burnout.

Seidman and Zager (1991) investigated positive coping approaches used by 365 American secondary school teachers and found that competitive and low-level physical exercise reduced

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[32] Crookes (1990) recommends a focus on developing local workshops organised and presented by the TESOL teachers concerned rather than a visiting 'expert' from a far-off high-prestige organisation. Crookes (1990) believes that teachers' self-confidence will not develop if they are treated as if they are ignorant and need to be told what to do by more highly skilled and educated individuals.

stress levels which supports Austin et al. (2005) who found exercise to be a positive coping strategy. Other researchers recommend meditation which is supported by Anderson, Levinson, Barker and Kiewra (1999) who, after a five-week standardised meditation programme with ninety-one American secondary school teachers, discovered that meditation, two to five times a week, resulted in a significant decrease in teacher stress. Donatelle and Hawkins (1989) state, however, that wellness programmes tend to reduce burnout temporarily and fail to prevent stressful experiences from recurring.

According to Maslach et al. (1997), burnout has been underrated and trivialised in the workplace as it does not pose major risks for physical injury or death unlike other job hazards. Consequently, the erosion of feelings and skills over time is not seen as an immediate crisis. People thus misjudge the risks and view burnout as "the whining of wimps who can't handle serious work and can't admit to failure" (Maslach et al., 1997:21). Maslach and Goldberg (1998) state that there is rarely any evidence, even anecdotal, to support the conclusion that any of the recommended strategies prevent burnout or assist those who suffer from burnout. Hunnicut and MacMillan (1983) maintain that there are only a few cases where an intervention has been developed, implemented and evaluated in terms of its effectiveness in reducing burnout and, even in those cases, the data is suggestive not compelling. Furthermore, Heaney and Van Ryn (1990) observe that individual strategies are relatively ineffective especially in the workplace as the individual tends to have less control at work than in other contexts. Sauter and Murphy (1995) agree saying that job stress and burnout are not taken seriously by organisations in general as stress and consequent burnout develop slowly over time and the warning signs are often overlooked.

2.8 Conclusion

A review of the literature reveals that teachers in general are stressed for a variety of reasons ranging from student misbehavior and work overload to a lack of collegiality and inadequate support systems. Prolonged stress can lead to behavioral, mental and physical disorders which impact on the individual and the quality of teaching. In addition, prolonged stress can lead to burnout. Teachers who work within the primary and secondary school sectors are in a more fortunate position than TESOL teachers as they work within a government-sanctioned and controlled framework which serves to protect the rights of teachers to a large extent. In addition, they have a relatively standardized system of pay grades and promotional prospects. TESOL teachers, however, find it difficult to enter the formal education system without the prerequisite qualifications. This means that internationally and nationally, private language schools are the main employers of TESOL teachers. In South Africa, there is no governing body that sets standards for the TESOL industry at this stage. The result of this is that TESOL teachers

face the same stressors as other teachers while working in an unregulated industry rife with abuses.

Private language schools are businesses and as such, their main goal is to make a profit. Unfortunately, TESOL teachers are generally viewed as expendable and little time or money is spent on nurturing, training and developing teachers. Opportunities for advancement are very limited and private language schools generally do not offer much in the way of support structures for teachers who experience stress or are in danger of burnout. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the TESOL profession is struggling to gain legitimacy on university campuses while private language schools are under threat from university-affiliated language schools which students favour due to their association with a well-known brand.

In addition, TESOL teacher training courses do not provide trainee TESOL teachers with the coping skills to deal with and overcome stress inside and outside the classroom. Consequently, teachers tend to burn out after a few years and leave the industry. It is grave indeed when a profession has such a high attrition rate that there are very few mentors or guides for those who enter the field. The English language teaching industry is a growing sector in the South African economy and thus creates employment opportunities for many people and different types of businesses. It is, therefore, vital that different aspects of the TESOL teaching industry in South Africa are explored, studied and researched. The South African TESOL landscape is unchartered territory as there are no current studies that focus on the experiences of South African TESOL teachers or the nature of the TESOL industry in South Africa.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The original focus of research in foreign language teaching lay in the analysis of language, that is, a focus on the phonology, morphology, grammar and syntax of a language. The emergence of the field of TESOL was specifically associated with an interest in the acquisition of English as a foreign, second or additional language in children and adults (Edge and Richards, 1998:337). Research in TESOL was generally positioned within a rationalist paradigm in which the quest for 'truth' was deductive and based on reason and not emotion. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011: 32) describe rationalism as "encompassing the objective logic of inquiry, combined with objective and systematic empirical observation and verification and characterised by unbiased inquiry, accuracy and objectivity." Edge et al. (1998: 337) maintain that as TESOL sought to establish itself as a recognised academic discipline, "the attraction of rationalism was strong in the context of the existing hierarchy of respect in the academic world at that time" as reflected in the division between quantitative or 'hard' and qualitative or 'soft' approaches to knowledge.

The past thirty years, however, have seen a growing recognition of the educational orientation of TESOL as contrasted to 'pure' Linguistics or even Applied Linguistics, and an increasing sensitivity to the importance of contextual factors and qualitatively-oriented research including mixed method research. Wright (2010: 259) states that a new agenda of theory and practice has emerged over the years as the field has incorporated the ideas and practices of reflection[33], teacher cognition and professional teaching cultures. This movement has, to a certain extent, displaced the original roots of additional-language teaching in Linguistics, Applied Linguistics and Psychology and has led to a new knowledge base which has, in turn, contributed to the formulation of theory about language teachers' personal and career progression as they learn to teach, the various practices of learning how to teach and an insider's view of teachers' lives (Wright, 2010: 259).

Edge et al. (1998) maintain that it would, however, be a mistake to assume that the emergence of new paradigms such as mixed method research have simply been accepted and that new researchers can merely ignore the broader debates and tensions between quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative approach to research has been, to a large extent, privileged with the attempt to find results that are generalisable and less influenced by subjectivity, and thus generally viewed as more important than using more qualitatively-oriented approaches. This, according to Edge et al. (1998), has led to a form of induced inferiority in the human and social sciences regarding the status of qualitative research which

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[33] This includes an emphasis on learning to teach and becoming a 'thinking' or reflective teacher, viewing self-reflective activities as learning experiences especially the use of diaries and journals, personal enquiry into one's beliefs, narratives and the professional contexts of learning and teaching and the importance of learning from experience (Wright, 2010:273).

has long been perceived as lying at the periphery of the more traditional paradigms of the natural sciences and has led to the trend towards quantitative research which makes use of mathematical, statistical and computational techniques.

Not all TESOL researchers are in favour of the shift from quantitative to qualitative approaches towards research in the field. There are TESOL researchers who express concern at the shift to more qualitative and contextualised research studies. Richards (2003: xx) states that the emergence of qualitative inquiry in the field of TESOL has led to a concern about the quality of the research produced. He states that, "There is a common misconception that QI [qualitative inquiry] is soft, that it can make do with a few interviews and perhaps a dash of transcribed talk." Richards (2003) also believes that qualitative research is not an easy route for a researcher to take as true qualitative research is a craft and requires the development of appropriate skills which he believes have been badly neglected in the TESOL field.

Watson-Gegeo (1988: 575) criticises the superficial nature of many qualitative studies in TESOL which are characterised by impressionistic accounts in which a researcher 'dive-bombs' into a setting, makes a few observations and then takes off again to write up the results. Edge et al. (1998) agree believing that there is a danger that the absence of an accepted and established tradition of research in TESOL leaves the door open to poorly constructed qualitative research, and thus provides the ammunition necessary for rationalists to deny the value of such research. Edge et al. (1998) state that the rejection of rationalistic assumptions and overwhelmingly quantitative research studies imposes a responsibility on the researcher to position a research study within an increasingly complex conceptual and contextual environment. Edge et al. (1998: 347-48) thus describe TESOL researchers as part of a field which "sits sometimes awkwardly at the intersection of linguistics and education and are perhaps committed to doing 'boundary work' if they wish to avoid dogmatism." In addition, researchers should be able to "accept and explore the unsettled realities of our in-between-ness" (Edge et al., 1998: 347-48).

In this research study, I[34] argue that there is a place for both approaches: a controlled and structured, quantitative approach in phase one of the study which yielded numerical data that was quantifiable and generalisable, tempered with the participant-oriented, naturalistic, detailed and contextualised qualitative data in phase two. Therefore, the researcher hoped to obtain the best of both approaches so as to discover the answers to the research questions and obtain insight into the lives and minds of the research participants.[35]

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[34] The first person has been used throughout this thesis as is the norm in primarily qualitative research in the English Studies Department.

[35] The quantitative measure was mainly used to select the sample. For this reason, descriptive rather than more detailed, inferential statistical techniques were used. The researcher thus views this research study as leaning more heavily in the direction of a qualitative study.

Edge et al. (1998: 351) argue that the significant contribution of a doctoral thesis in TESOL can, therefore, be claimed in three ways. These are the further development of an appropriate paradigm for human studies, the extension of the qualitative research tradition in TESOL and the establishment of a knowledge base of TESOL contexts. In this research study, I hoped to extend the qualitative research tradition as there is very little research that has focused on the experience of burnout, available support networks and the coping strategies of TESOL teachers within the context of private language schools. This supports Tracy (2010: 841) who states that a worthy topic for doctoral research should be relevant, timely, significant and interesting and hopefully contain surprises that "shake readers from their common-sense assumptions and practices." With TESOL becoming increasingly popular as a viable career choice, nationally and internationally, and South Africa becoming increasingly well-known as an affordable and desirable destination for English language learning, it is imperative that more research is done on the TESOL teaching experience. Furthermore, I hope that this research provides insight into the lives of the teachers who participated in this study. I also believe that this research study has contributed to the knowledge base of TESOL contexts as it is the first study of its kind in South Africa.

3.2 Aims of the research study

The aim of this study was, therefore, two-fold:

- Firstly, to discover whether TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg experienced burnout by using the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey[36] to determine burnout levels;
  - This question was answered by the results of the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey which constituted phase one of the study; and
- Secondly, to explore the remaining research questions by means of in-depth, semi-structured interviews which constituted phase two of the study:
  - What factors, both inside and outside the classroom, caused stress for TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg?;
  - What support structures were available at the various private language schools in Johannesburg for TESOL teachers who experienced stress and burnout?; and
  - What coping strategies were used by TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg to manage stress and burnout?

Thus, the results of phase one led to phase two of the research study.

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[36] There are three main formats of the Maslach Burnout Inventory: MBI-Human Services Survey, MBI-Educators Survey and MBI-General Survey. [Source: *www.mindgarden.com*, (accessed 20-12-2010)].

3.3. Chapter overview

This chapter begins with looking at a mixed method research design, firstly by defining mixed methods research and then justifying the choice of a mixed methods research design. This is followed by a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of mixed methods which leads into an overview of the quan→QUAL structure of the research design and then a brief look at other research studies that have used the same or a similar design. This then leads into a discussion of phase one, the quantitative phase, which consists of the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey. This discussion includes a look at the strengths and weaknesses of quantitative research and the advantages and disadvantages of surveys. This is followed by a discussion of phase two, the qualitative phase, which consists of semi-structured interviews, the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research and the advantages and disadvantages of using semi-structured interviews.

I then focus on the methodology by looking at the data collection process and the research instruments in detail. Firstly, I discuss phase one, the MBI-ES, in terms of its construction, development, scoring and administration, the reliability and validity of the MBI and finally, the limitations of the MBI. Secondly, I discuss phase two, the semi-structured interviews including a brief look at the role of the researcher in qualitative interviews. This leads into a discussion of the reliability and validity of semi-structured interviews. Finally, I look at the limitations of interviews. I then discuss the data in detail starting with the subjects and the various limitations placed on the sample which is followed by a description of the pilot study. After that, I look at the analysis of the data starting with a description of the analytical techniques used and then the phase one, MBI-ES data analysis, and the phase two, semi-structured interviews data analysis. This is followed by a look at the limitations of the research study and the various ethical considerations involved in the research study.

3.4 Research design: Mixed methods research

This research study was designed as a mixed method research study. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 14) state that mixed method research is the 'third research paradigm' in educational research.[37] It is defined as "the class of research where the researcher…combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study" (Johnson et al., 2004: 17). The researchers view mixed methods as the 'third wave' or 'third research movement' that offers a logical and practical alternative to 'pure' quantitative or qualitative research studies. Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 279) add that "The combination of two different methods can create a synergistic research project in which one method enables the other to be more effective." Furthermore, combining methods can assist

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[37] Johnson et al. (2004:14) prefer to use the terms 'mixed research' or 'integrative research'.

the researcher in "tackling highly complex problems involving several layers of understanding that may require different analytical techniques."

Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007: 129) state that "Mixed methods research is an intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative methods. It recognises the importance of traditional quantitative and qualitative research but also offers a powerful third paradigm choice that often provides the most informative, complete, balanced and useful research results." Thus mixed methods research partners with the philosophy of pragmatism. It combines principles imported from quantitative and qualitative research that are helpful in producing defensible and useable research findings, it relies on combined viewpoints in terms of data collection, analysis and inference techniques and includes local and broader socio-political realities, resources and needs (Johnson et al., 2007).

Definitions of mixed method research are as diverse as the ways in which to conduct such research. Johnson et al. (2007: 119-120) asked leaders in the field of mixed methods research to define the concept. Dr Huey Chen, a leading contributor to the development of mixed methods research, states that "Mixed methods research is a systematic integration of quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study for purposes of obtaining a fuller picture and deeper understanding of a phenomenon. Mixed methods can be integrated in such a way that quantitative and qualitative methods retain their original structures and procedures which constitute a pure form of mixed methods or the qualitative and qualitative aspects can be adapted, altered or synthesised to fit the research and cost situations of the study which constitutes a modified form of mixed methods." Professor Jennifer Greene, a proponent of alternative forms of social programme evaluation with a particular interest in qualitative, democratic and mixed methods approaches, defines mixed methods research as an approach "that ideally involves more than one methodological tradition…along with more than one kind of technique for gathering, analysing, and representing human phenomena, all for the purpose of better understanding." Professor Hallie Preskill, an expert on organisational learning and instructional technologies with a focus on mixed methods research, describes mixed methods research as, "the use of data collection methods that collect both quantitative and qualitative data…using a mixed methods approach increases the likelihood that the sum of the data collected will be richer, more meaningful, and ultimately more useful in answering the research questions."

Johnson et al. (2007: 113) state that mixed methods research attempts to fully respect the wisdom of quantitative and qualitative approaches while seeking a workable middle solution. Thus mixed methods research is an approach to theory and practice that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives and positions. Greene (2005: 207) agrees, describing mixed

methods research as an 'emancipator', because it is an approach that welcomes all legitimate methodological traditions and attempts to facilitate methodological diversity. Furthermore, Guba and Lincoln (2005: 201) state that it is possible to blend elements of one paradigm into another, so that one actually engages in research that represents the best of both world views.

However, there is not yet broad agreement regarding how to define mixed methods research. Morse (1991), for example, states that mixed methods research must come from either a quantitative or a qualitative dominant paradigm, that is, both paradigms cannot be equal, whereas Johnson, Meeker, Loomis and Onwuegbuzie (2004) maintain that many researchers hold ambiguously nuanced positions that typically involve a blending of assumptions, beliefs and preferred analytical techniques. Furthermore, Rossman and Wilson (1994) complain about researchers using mixed methods research as a 'cover' for combining numbers and words in a shameless and eclectic manner while Buchanan (1992) mentions the uneasy alliance between quantitative and qualitative methods. Sutton (1997: 97) believes that despite support for mixed methods research, there is still a general preference for quantitative approaches, and researchers should "conceal or downplay" their use of qualitative techniques if they want to have research papers published. This supports Tracy (2010: 838) who believes that the social sciences have become more methodologically conservative over the past decade citing government and funding agencies' preference for quantitative, experimental and statistically generalisable research.

Sandelowski (2000: 254) states that mixed methods research should not be used because of the misguided assumption that more is better, that it is the fashionable thing to do or that qualitative research is incomplete without a quantitative component. Hesse-Biber (2010: 457) maintains that qualitative data is often employed as "handmaiden" or is "second best" to quantitative data with the goal being to use qualitative data merely to illustrate quantitative results or to assist in building more robust quantitative measures such as survey research questions. She states that some researchers fear that using mixed methods in this way leads to a superficial 'adding' of qualitative methods that is little more than sprinkling in some 'vignettes' to provide narrative examples of the conclusions already reached by means of the quantitative methods.

Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009: 121) hold the view that quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods are merely the 'outlooks' of different communities of researchers who are posited as the three major groups doing research in the social and behavioural sciences. Thus other possible research practices should not be overlooked. Symonds and Gorard (2010: 122) state that, at present, methodological limitations are manifest when students are only taught these three basic research approaches or where mixed methods is favoured as the best method.

According to Symonds et al. (2010), this is becoming so common that funding bodies may start to show preference for mixed methods studies which could lead to single method studies being marginalised.

Gorard (2007: 3), however, advocates moving towards the universal underlying logic of all research, a place where "all methods have a role and a key place in the full research cycle, a place that leaves little or no space for favoured paradigms." Furthermore, Gorard (2007: 1) states that mixing methods is wrong, not because methods should be kept separate but because they should not have been divided at the outset, that is, mixed methods can effectively reinforce the binary positioning of the quantitative and qualitative paradigms, "effectively marginalising the methodological diversity within them." Despite such concerns about mixed method research, the approach continues to gain in popularity. Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 287) state that in the past decade, there has been tremendous growth in the development of mixed methods-specific journals and publications which is a sign of its increasing validation.

Philosophically, mixed method research uses the pragmatic method and system of philosophy. Johnson et al. (2004: 17) maintain that pragmatism offers researchers a useful middle ground methodologically and philosophically. Pragmatism involves the use of induction or the discovery of patterns, deduction or testing of theories and hypotheses, and abduction or uncovering of facts and then relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one's results. Pragmatism is, according to Johnson et al. (2004: 18), "expansive, creative, inclusive, pluralistic and complementary and allows the researcher to take an eclectic approach."

The key characteristics of pragmatism include:
- Knowledge is constructed and based on the reality of the world we live in and our experiences;
- An emphasis on the reality and influence of the inner world of human experience;
- An endorsement of fallibilism, that is, current beliefs and research conclusions are rarely, if ever, viewed as perfect, certain and absolute;
- A focus on eclecticism and pluralism including the view that different and even conflicting theories and perspectives can be useful and that observation, experience and experiment are all useful ways to gain an understanding of people and the world;
- Strong and practical empiricism and a belief that theory informs practice, that is, practical theory and a value-oriented approach to research;
- The view that current truths, meaning and knowledge are tentative and change over time, thus what we discover from research should be viewed as provisional truth; and

- Organisms are constantly adapting to new situations and environments and our thinking follows "a dynamic, homeostatic process of belief, doubt, inquiry, modified belief, new doubt, and new inquiry…in an infinite loop." This process leads the researcher to attempt to improve upon past understandings (Johnson et al., 2004: 18).

Thus both quantitative and qualitative research designs and approaches are important and useful and both can be enhanced by taking a pragmatic viewpoint. The goal of mixed methods research is not to replace either of these approaches but to draw from the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of both in a single research study. There are a number of similarities between quantitative and qualitative methodologies including the fact that both methodologies describe data, construct arguments and explanations from the data, and then speculate about why the outcomes observed happened as they did. Furthermore, both incorporate safeguards into their enquiries to minimise bias and other sources of invalidity and untrustworthiness.

Johnson et al. (2004: 21) state that mixed methods research has the following strengths:
- Quantitative results can be used to develop and inform the purpose of a qualitative study by means of a two-stage sequential design. Words in the form of narratives are used to add meaning to numbers while numbers can be used to enhance narratives;
- Can answer a broader range of research questions and add insights and understanding that may be missed when the researcher is confined to a single method;
  - o This supports Johnson et al. (2007) who maintain that mixed methods research provides a fuller picture and deeper understanding of the data.
- The convergence and corroboration of findings can provide evidence for a stronger conclusion. This supports Hesse-Biber (2010) who states that triangulation provides a more robust understanding of results and can sometimes lead to contradictory results which can be a goldmine of new findings and Symonds et al. (2010) who maintain that multiple findings can either confirm or confound the researchers original ideas thus reducing the chances of inappropriate generalisations;
  - o Tracy (2010: 843), however, warns that triangulation like notions of reliability and validity, does not always fit neatly with research from interpretive, critical or post-modern paradigms that view reality as multiple, fractured, contested or socially constructed. The argument being that just because all data comes to the same conclusion does not mean that this specified reality is correct. Thus findings collected by different methods will differ in form and specificity to a degree that can make their direct comparison problematic (Bloor, 2001: 385).
- Can enhance the validity and reliability of research findings. Chapelle and Duff (2003) state that triangulating multiple perspectives, methods and sources of information adds texture, depth and multiple insights to a research study.

A mixed methods approach can, however, have a number of weaknesses. According to Johnson et al. (2004: 21), these include:

- Researchers have to learn about multiple methods and approaches and understand how to mix them appropriately. This supports Hesse-Biber et al. (2011) who maintain that mixed methods studies require trained researchers who understand both quantitative and qualitative techniques;
- Mixed method approaches tend to be more time-consuming than using only a quantitative or qualitative approach and can also be expensive; and
- Concerns have been raised about the credibility, trustworthiness and validity of mixed methods research. This supports Ihantola and Kihn (2011: 43) who express concerns about mixed methods research. Ihantola et al. (2011) maintain that the mixing of methods can lead to weaknesses in the internal and external validity and reliability of the quantitative component of a research study and the contextual validity, generalisability, transferability and procedural reliability of the qualitative component.

Johnson et al. (2004: 17) state that research in general is becoming increasingly inter-disciplinary, complex and dynamic. Consequently, researchers need to complement one method with another and should understand multiple methods used by other researchers so as to facilitate communication and understanding, promote collaboration and produce solid research. A non-purist or mixed position, therefore, allows researchers to mix and match design components that offer the best chance of answering their specific research questions. Johnson et al. (2004: 17) maintain that "often mixed methods research provides a more workable solution and produces a superior product." This supports Sandelowski (2000: 254) who states that "When done well, mixed-method studies dramatize the artfulness and versatility of research design." Johnson et al. (2004: 18) believe that an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative approaches enables a researcher to combine approaches, methods and strategies in such a way that the resulting mix of approaches is likely to result in complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses. This is one of the main justifications for using mixed methods research, that is, that the product will be superior to mono-method studies.

3.4.1 quan→QUAL research design
Morgan (1998) provides strategies for designing a mixed methods study. He suggests four mixed methods research designs based on the sequencing (time ordering) and importance (priority) of each method. According to Hesse-Biber et al. (2011), a researcher should ask two questions:

- What is the primary research method, and what is the secondary or complementary method? and;
- Which method will come first and which will come second?

According to Morgan (1998) and Morse (1991), deciding on the primary research method is termed the paradigm emphasis. This involves deciding whether to give the quantitative or qualitative components of a mixed study equal status or to give one paradigm dominant or priority status. The time ordering of the qualitative and quantitative components of a mixed study is also important and can be done sequentially or concurrently.

Johnson et al. (2004) present nine mixed-method designs with notation based on Morse (1991). Morse's (1991) notation system is regarded as extremely important by Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2009: 272) as such typologies provide more credibility to the fields of education and the behavioural and social sciences by providing examples of research designs that advance a "common language for the mixed methods field… and provide guidance and direction for researchers." Therefore, when constructing a mixed methods design, the researcher must make two primary decisions: whether to operate largely within one dominant paradigm or not and whether to conduct the phases concurrently or sequentially. Table 3 shows the possible time-order decisions (Johnson et al., 2004:22).

Table 3: Mixed-Method Design Matrix with Mixed-Method Research Designs Shown in the Four Cells

		Concurrent	Sequential
	Equal status	QUAL + QUAN	QUAL →QUAN QUAN →QUAL
Paradigm Emphasis Decision			
	Dominant status	QUAL + quan QUAN + qual	QUAL → quan qual → QUAN QUAN →qual quan → QUAL

Note: 'qual' stands for qualitative; 'quan' stands for quantitative, '+' stands for concurrent, '→' stands for sequential. Capital letters denote high priority or weight and lower case letters denote lower priority or weight (Johnson et al., 2004:22).

This research study, therefore, consisted of a mixed method design consisting of a quantitative phase followed by a primary or dominant qualitative phase (quan→QUAL).[38] The data was collected sequentially with phase one being the quantitative phase and phase two, the qualitative phase. The reasons for this choice were that it was important to determine at the

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[38] Johnson et al. (2004:20) refer to this as a quantitative mini-study followed by a qualitative mini-study in one overall research study.

outset whether the TESOL teachers suffered from burnout as measured by the MBI-Educators survey as the results of this provided a link to the qualitative data on the causes of stress and consequent burnout, available support structures and the types of coping strategies used. Thus the research study used a quantitative method, the MBI-Educators survey, to 'set the scene' and obtain the data that laid the foundation for the qualitative phase, the semi-structured interviews.

Johnson et al. (2004: 19) states that in a mixed methods qualitative-dominant study, the researcher may conduct qualitative interviews but also supplement the interviews with a closed-ended instrument such as a survey to systematically isolate and measure certain factors. If findings are supported across different approaches, then greater confidence will be held in the conclusion. If findings conflict then, at the very least, the researcher has greater knowledge and can modify interpretations and conclusions accordingly. According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2004) in many cases the goal of mixing methods is not to search for corroboration but to expand one's understanding.

To be considered a mixed method research design, however, the findings must be mixed or integrated at some point so the quantitative phase informs the qualitative phase that is, sequentially (Johnson et al., 2004: 20). This is supported by Leech et al. (2009: 267) who state that in a mixed method study, the mixing of quantitative and qualitative techniques occurs within one or more stages of the research process or across these stages. Thus according to Leech et al. (2009), the current research study is a fully mixed, sequential, dominant status design (quan→QUAL) which involves conducting a research study that mixes quantitative and qualitative research within one or more of, or across the stages of, the research process.[39]

Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989: 259) coded the justifications for combining quantitative and qualitative research. The coding scheme isolates five justifications for combining quantitative and qualitative research. The justifications are:
- Triangulation which involves the convergence, corroboration, correspondence or linking of results from different methods. In coding triangulation, emphasis is placed on seeking corroboration between quantitative and qualitative data;
  - Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, Turner (2007: 115) and Morse (1991) identify two types of methodological triangulation:
    - Simultaneous, which is the simultaneous use of quantitative and qualitative methods in which there is limited interaction between the

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[39] Bryman (2008) maintains that in much mixed method research, the quantitative and qualitative findings are presented side by side or more or less separately. After reviewing 232 journal articles, he discovered that in only 18% of the articles were quantitative and qualitative findings genuinely integrated to provide a comprehensive picture of the data.

> > two methods during data collection but the findings complement each other at the data interpretation stage; and
>
> - ▪ Sequential triangulation in which the results of one approach are necessary for planning the next method as in this research study.
>
> - o Thus quantitative and qualitative approaches can be combined to triangulate or corroborate findings which lead to greater credibility and validity as the combined approaches enhance the integrity of the findings.

- Complementarity which involves seeking elaboration, enhancement, and clarification, that is, the use of qualitative data to illustrate quantitative findings;
- Development in which the results from one method help to develop or inform the other method, where development includes sampling and implementation, as well as measurement decisions;
- Initiation which involves the discovery of paradoxes and contradictions, new perspectives on frameworks, and the re-working of questions or results from one method with questions and results from the other method; and
- Expansion which seeks to extend the breadth and range of enquiry by using different methods for different aspects of the research, that is, expansion provides a more comprehensive account of the area in which the researcher is interested and involves building upon the original quantitative or qualitative findings.

Thus the following justifications apply to this research study: sequential triangulation, complementarity and expansion. This research study used sequential triangulation in which the results of one approach — the quantitative phase which consisted of the MBI-Educators survey — were necessary for the implementation of the qualitative component, the semi-structured interviews. The qualitative data sought to illustrate and expand on the quantitative findings thus satisfying complementarity and finally, the research study possessed the quality of expansion as the use of mixed methods enabled the researcher to extend the breadth and range of the enquiry. This is supported by Brown (2001) who states that combining surveys and interviews in a single research study can be an effective strategy.

Bryman (2006: 97) undertook a content analysis of 232 mixed method research studies in which quantitative and qualitative approaches were combined in various ways. In studies with a dominant quantitative approach, questionnaire research and the structured interview dominated. In studies with a dominant qualitative approach, the semi-structured interview dominated. Furthermore, Bryman (2006: 102-3) found that survey methods (82%) and qualitative interviews (71%) accounted for the vast majority of methods employed in the research studies with 57% of the studies based on a research design which combined a survey instrument and qualitative interviewing.

Research studies that have used a quan→QUAL design successfully and which are similar to this research study include Van Tonder et al. (2009: 207) who conducted a mixed method quan→QUAL study on the origins of burnout among fifty-nine secondary school educators in three state schools in Gauteng, South Africa. In the quantitative part of the study, Van Tonder et al. (2009) used the Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey, which revealed which participants scored high and low on the burnout indicators. In the qualitative part of the study, semi-structured interviews were used to explore the nature of and reasons for burnout. The interviews provided rich data on the participants' perceptions, feelings and experiences. An interesting finding of this study was that none of the participants were found to be suffering from high levels of burnout with only five scores actually approaching burnout levels. Van Tonder et al. (2009) defended their findings by maintaining that burnout is not a short-lived phenomenon. Instead it is a syndrome that gets progressively worse over time and those who were just approaching burnout at the time of the study may actually have burnout in a few years' time. The Van Tonder et al. (2009) study uses a similar methodology to the current research study. The current study, however, focuses on the experience of TESOL teachers.

Cephe (2010) used a quan→QUAL design to investigate the factors leading to burnout among thirty-seven TESOL teachers working at a university-affiliated language school in Turkey. Cephe (2010) conducted an initial survey to determine burnout levels using the Teacher Burnout Scale (McCroskey, Richmond, Wrench and Gorham, 2001). Teachers suffering from burnout were then interviewed using open-ended, unstructured interviews. Cephe (2010) coded the interview data by means of identifying major themes. The findings of this study revealed that all of the TESOL teachers manifested burnout to some degree with six of the teachers scoring at the severely affected level of burnout. This group stated that they felt doubtful about their career choice and experienced a great deal of loneliness, insecurity and isolation in their daily working lives. Furthermore, the teachers' identified the main source of their burnout as being interactions with school administrators who they described as indifferent, rude, incompetent and as enforcing a constant round of new rules and regulations without consultation.

Bates (2012) conducted a mixed methods quan→QUAL research study which explored burnout among 353 part-time lecturers on short-term employment contracts at two community colleges in Illinois in the US. The Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey was administered to participants in order to determine overall levels of burnout. Qualitative methods, specifically semi-structured interviews and document review, were then conducted in order to provide further insights into these areas, specifically the risk factors for burnout, strategies that prevent and address burnout, and the role of unions in burnout prevention. Bates (2012: iv) discovered elevated burnout levels among part-time faculty who held multiple part-time positions, those

who taught lower level courses and those whose prospects of full-time employment were diminishing. Bates (2012) also found that there were mismatches in the areas of workload, control, reward, community and fairness.

3.5. Phase One: The quantitative phase
The survey

This research study consisted of two phases. The first phase consisted of a quantitative component, the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey. According to Johnson et al. (2004: 18), quantitative research is characterised by deduction, confirmation, theory and hypothesis testing, explanation, prediction, standardised data collection and statistical analysis.

Johnson et al. (2004: 19) and Nunan (1992: 4) state that the main strengths of quantitative research are:

- To enable the researcher to test hypotheses which were constructed before the data were collected. In this case the hypothesis was that a combination of stressors experienced by TESOL teachers working in private language schools in Johannesburg would lead to the experience of stress and burnout;
- Research findings can be generalised when the data are based on random samples of sufficient size;
- Research can be replicated on many different populations and subpopulations which leads to greater generalisability;
- It results in reliable, 'hard' and replicable data and assumes a stable reality;
- It allows researchers to assess cause and effect relationships as situations can be constructed in such a way that the confounding influence of many variables can be eliminated. Thus Nunan (1992) states that quantitative research seeks facts or causes of social phenomena without regard to the subjective states of individuals;
- Numerical data can be collected quickly and precisely;
- The use of statistical software means data analysis is less time-consuming;
- Research results are relatively independent of the research and less likely to be affected by bias which leads to greater credibility; and
- It is useful for research involving large groups of people.

And, according to Johnson et al. (2004: 19), the main weaknesses of quantitative research are:

- Researchers may miss out on exploring important factors because of restrictions presented by the research instrument. Quantitative research may force responses or people into categories purely because they do not 'fit' the restricted categories of the research instrument; and

- The knowledge produced may be too abstract or general for direct application to local situations, contexts and individuals.

Surveys are printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the participants have to respond, often anonymously. Seliger and Shohamy (1989: 172) state that surveys are used mostly to collect data on phenomena which are not easily observed, such as attitudes, motivation and self-concepts. According to Nunan (1992: 140) the researcher does not 'do' anything to the participants except observe them or ask them to provide data, thus the research consists of collecting data on things and people as they are, without trying to alter anything.

Seliger et al. (1989: 126; 172) and Brown (2001: 35) maintain that surveys have several advantages:
- Surveys can be conducted in the presence of the researcher, by mail, by email or by phone;
- Can be self-administered;
- Can be given to all of the participants involved at the same time;
- Are less expensive to administer than other data collection techniques such as interviews;
- Anonymity can be ensured which means that participants tend to share information of a sensitive nature more easily;
- Allow for control of subconscious bias in which participants may falsify their answers to please the researcher which is a common problem with interviews;
- The items can be designed to limit responses to a narrow range of possibilities or to allow greater flexibility in the responses;
- Can cover a wide geographical area; and
- The data is uniform and standardised across participants and consequently more accurate.

Disadvantages of surveys include:
- A low response rate which may influence the validity of the findings. Brown (2001) suggests that researchers should use the following methods to increase response rates: send a covering letter with the survey, use short surveys, and follow-up with a phone call;
- Incomplete answers which may render the survey data unusable;
- The researcher is often unable to control the environment in which the participants complete the survey. In addition, the researcher is unable to control the order in which participants answer the questions;

- Can be rigid, artificial and impersonal;
- Data tends to be restricted to written answers;
- Need to be kept relatively simple so as to accommodate a wide range of participants from different language and educational backgrounds; and
- Respondents falsifying their responses (Seliger et al., 1989: 126; 172 and Brown, 2001: 35).

In this research study, the researcher did not permit participants to take part in the semi-structured interviews in phase two if they had not completed the MBI-ES survey in phase one. It was imperative to determine whether burnout existed in the surveyed teachers before progressing to the interviews as this information shaped the choice of participants for the interviews and the structure of the interviews.

3.6. Phase Two: The qualitative phase
Semi-structured interviews
The second phase consisted of a qualitative component, the semi-structured interviews. According to Johnson et al. (2004: 18), qualitative research is characterised by induction, discovery, exploration, theory or hypothesis generation, the researcher as the primary instrument of data collection and a qualitative analysis of the data. Maxwell (2005: 9) states that "In a qualitative study, you are interested not only in the physical events and behaviour taking place, but also in how the participants in your study make sense of these and how their understandings influence their behaviour." Thus the focus on what events 'mean' or how they are perceived by the participants is central. Chapelle et al. (2003) state that it is important for largely qualitative studies to explore the details and meanings of experience rather than attempt to test a hypothesis.

Qualitative research can be divided into three approaches: constructivist-interpretive; critical or Marxist and feminist. In this research study, a constructivist-interpretive approach was used whereby a subjective reality was assumed which consisted of stories and meanings grounded in natural settings. In other words, this subjective reality subsumes the existence of an objective reality uncoloured by emotions, feelings and perceptions. This view is supported by Edge et al., (1998: 341) who state that qualitative findings are created interactively rather than discovered from a privileged perspective. The researcher was also supportive of a more critical viewpoint as she believes that many of the injustices experienced by TESOL professionals are rooted in the lack of a power base in the profession, in the way that TESOL is perceived at educational institutions and in society in general. This researcher bias is based on my experience as a TESOL teacher and is acknowledged at the outset. Hesse-Biber (2010: 456) supports this view tempered with a critical perspective in which she maintains that qualitative research not only

offers a multi-layered view of the nuances of social reality but also does not privilege the interests of those who occupy positions of authority and power within a given society.

In addition, qualitative approaches promote deeper listening between the participants and the researcher which enables the researcher to discover deep beliefs and values that only emerge through dialogue. Pinar (1988: 148) supports this view and maintains that "The price for seeking impartiality and comprehensiveness is superficiality and triviality…instead we need to use our personal and shared stories to excavate below the surface of daily life." Furthermore, a critical paradigm involves examining issues of power, control and ideology that dominate one's understanding of the social world, that is, how power dynamics within a social system serve to generate a given set of meanings about social reality and lived experiences. This has particular relevance in the field of TESOL where TESOL teachers are often employed on a series of short-term contracts which result in the teachers finding themselves in a position of weakness and unable to improve their working conditions due to the nature of their employment.

Edge et al. (1998: 341) maintain that educational developments include a growing interest in the lives of teachers and their personal narratives which have begun to permeate the world of TESOL bringing with them new attempts to make space for the actual voices of those who have previously been merely represented. Furthermore, Hesse-Biber (2010: 455) states that qualitative research aims to understand how individuals make meaning of their social context. This social context is not independent of the individual's perceptions but is created through the social interactions of individuals with the world around them. Qualitative research is thus committed to multiple views of social reality whereby the participants become 'the experts' as the researcher interprets their views of reality.

Johnson et al. (2004: 20) and Nunan (1992: 4) state that the strengths of qualitative research are:
- Data are collected in a naturalistic setting. Qualitative research can describe phenomena, as situated and embedded in local and situational contexts, in rich detail. Richards (2009: 149) agrees maintaining that qualitative researchers "reject artificially constructed situations";
- The data are based on the participant's own categories of meaning. This is supported by Richards (2009: 145) who refers to this as "participant-oriented research" and Nunan (1992) who highlights the importance of the actors' own frame of reference within a dynamic reality;
- It provides a description and understanding of respondents' personal experience of phenomena, that is, an insider's perspective;

- It is useful for studying a limited number of cases in depth and provides individual case study information;
- It allows for cross-case comparison and analysis and can be used to describe complex phenomena;
- The researcher can use the primarily qualitative method of grounded theory to generate inductively a tentative but explanatory theory about a phenomenon; and
- Qualitative approaches are thus responsive to local situations, conditions and stakeholder's needs.

Johnson et al. (2004: 20) maintain that the weaknesses of qualitative research include the following:

- Findings may be unique to the participants in the research study. Thus the knowledge produced may not be generalisable to other people or other settings which affects the credibility of the research study;
  - Therefore, there may be a focus on individual results and a failure to make connections to larger situations or the possible causes of the results.
- The density of qualitative data may make it difficult to make quantitative predictions and to test hypotheses and theories;
- Data collection can be time-consuming; and
- Results may be more easily influenced by the researcher's personal bias. Merriam (2009) disagrees, however, stating that in qualitative research, rigour *is* derived from the researcher's presence, the nature of the interpretation of perceptions and the rich, thick descriptions.

Talmy and Richards (2011: 1) state that interviews have long been used as a method in applied linguistics. In quantitative research, for example, interviews have been used to generate insights into cognitive processes in language learning, motivation, language attitudes and language proficiency. In qualitative research, interviews have featured in ethnographic studies, case studies and action research covering a diverse range of topics such as investigations into student and teacher identities, experiences, beliefs and life histories (Talmy et al., 2011: 1).

Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 102) state that there are three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured and open-ended. Structured interviews consist of the same series of questions used with all the participants. The data consists of respondents answers to specific questions and has a high degree of standardisation giving the researcher a high level of control. It is thus easier to compare respondents and generalise from such uniform data. In open-ended interviews, the researcher has a particular topic for the study but allows the participants to take the conversation wherever they want it to go. The researcher is not, therefore, tied to asking a

specific set of questions but is more interested in letting the conversation develop and having the respondents naturally touch on or bring up the topics of importance. The researcher may ask a few broad questions and then allow the respondent to take the discussion forward. The data produced is non-standardised and the researcher has the least control (Hesse-Biber et al., 2011).

Nunan (1992) recommends the semi-structured interview as one of the best means of discovering information as it is allows the researcher to focus on topics and issues and guide the conversation rather than focusing on a list of specific questions which may result in limited responses.[40] This supports Seliger et al. (1989) who maintain that qualitative researchers are more likely to use semi-structured and open-ended interviews which allow the words of the respondents, and their experiences and perspectives to shine through. The format of semi-structured interviews, therefore, allows the participants some latitude and freedom to talk about what is of interest or importance to them. Thus, the researcher asks a specific set of questions but also allows the conversation to flow naturally, making room for it to go in unexpected directions. According to Hesse-Biber et al. (2011), interviewees often have information that the researcher may not have thought of in advance. When this knowledge emerges the researcher using a semi-structured design is likely to allow the conversation to develop and explore new topics that are relevant to the interviewee.

Seliger et al. (1989: 167) defines semi-structured interviews as follows, "there are specific core questions determined in advance from which the interviewer branches off to explore in-depth information, probing according to the way the interview proceeds, and allowing elaboration, within limits." Brown (2001: 35); Nunan (1992: 150) and Seliger et al. (1989: 126) state that semi-structured interviews have the following advantages:

- A high return rate;
- Fewer incomplete answers than surveys as the researcher can clarify ambiguous answers during the interview;
- Allow for digression from a set format, either in the questions or the answers, depending on the circumstances;
    - In addition, semi-structured interviews allow for in-depth information gathering.
- Give the interviewer a degree of power and control over the interview and allow for a measure of flexibility. Furthermore, the researcher is able to make notes about the participants' environment, and non-verbal behaviours such as body language, facial expressions and gestures;

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[40] The semi-structured interview consists of a short, structured section designed to gather biographical data, for example: age, gender, number of years that the person has taught TESOL and number of years at the current language school. Although age and gender differences are not under investigation, this information could be useful for further research.

- Allow the interviewer to gather specific data from all the participants as the format can be designed to elicit the information required; and
- Give the interviewer privileged access into the lives of the participants. This supports Hesse-Biber et al. (2011); Merriam (2009) and Nunan (1992) who highlight the importance of contextual knowledge. Furthermore, Brown (2001) states that interviews are a 'personal' research instrument which yield rich spoken and written data.

In addition, Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 95) state that semi-structured interviews:

- Do not require observation of the participants in a naturalistic setting, that is, interviews can take place in a prearranged setting which is comfortable and convenient for the participants;
- Yield large amounts of data in the form of interview transcripts which are later reduced in the analytical and interpretative process; and
- Enable researchers to find patterns or themes in 'thick descriptions' of social phenomena.

According to Seliger et al. (1989: 166) and Brown (2001: 35), disadvantages of semi-structured interviews include:

- Can be costly, time-consuming and difficult to administer;
- Tend to be limited to small scale research studies;
- Are never completely anonymous;
- Tend to be restricted geographically;
- Depend on the researcher being a skilled interviewer and thus may require extensive training;
- Elements of bias and subjectivity may be introduced and establishing a rapport with the interviewees may lead them to respond in a certain way to please the interviewer. Nunan (1992:150) maintains that the main source of bias is the asymmetrical relationship between the researcher and the participants as the researcher possesses more power than the participants. Thus this "inequitable relationship" will affect the content of the interview as well as the language used.

By means of the semi-structured interviews, the researcher gathered rich, thick descriptive data based on the TESOL teachers perceptions of what they found stressful inside and outside the classroom, what support structures were available to TESOL teachers and how the TESOL teachers coped with stress. This rich, thick data included a description of the setting and the participants as well as a detailed description of the findings with evidence presented in the form of quotes taken from the semi-structured interviews and other field notes. This supports Merriam (2009) who highlights the importance of keeping a research journal and Lincoln and Guba (1985) who suggest that qualitative researchers use an audit trail to assist independent

researchers in authenticating the findings of a study by following the trail of the original researcher. Dunne, Pryor and Yates (2005: 76) also recommend keeping a research diary so that the researcher's "thoughts and feelings may be included as another research text." All the interviews were recorded with the participants' permission and were transcribed by the researcher. (See Appendix 3 for two extracts from the researcher's journal).

3.7. Methodology
3.7.1. Data collection
Prior to the pilot study and data collection, the researcher obtained approval from the head of each private language school identified for this research study. The researcher had identified ten private language schools[41] in Johannesburg via internet research. The researcher emailed the various directors of the language schools requesting permission to conduct doctoral research at the school. Once permission was received, the researcher asked the directors of the participating schools to identify a contact person such as a course coordinator with whom the researcher could liaise in order to inform the participants of the research study and obtain consent from the relevant participants. All participants were asked to sign a consent form (See Appendix 4 for the private language school consent form and Appendix 5 for the participant consent form). By signing the consent form, the participants agreed to take part in phase one and two of the research study. Once all the consent forms had been signed and returned to the researcher, the participants were sent the MBI-ES via email and asked to complete and then email the completed survey back to the researcher. As the participants worked at different private language schools, it was not possible to coordinate all participants to take the MBI-ES at the same time and in the same place. Once the results of the MBI-ES were known, the researcher made contact with those participants who revealed high levels of stress or possible burnout. Arrangements were then made for face-to-face semi-structured interviews with the relevant participants.

3.7.2. Research instruments

3.7.2.1. Phase One: The quantitative phase
The Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey (See Appendix 6 for the MBI-ES)
The MBI-Educators survey (MBI-ES) constituted phase one of the study. The MBI-ES was administered to a sample of forty-three TESOL teachers[42] in order to determine whether TESOL teachers working at private language schools experienced burnout. The results of the MBI-ES provided the answer to research question one which was to discover whether TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg experienced burnout.

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[41] The private language schools that participated in this research study did not wish to be named.
[42] Patton (2002: 209) recommends specifying a minimum sample size "based on expected reasonable coverage of the phenomenon given the purpose of the study."

There are several versions of the Maslach Burnout Inventory:

- The Maslach Burnout Inventory-Human Services Survey (MBI-HSS) is the original survey designed by Christina Maslach and Susan E. Jackson in 1981. The survey is designed for people working in human service occupations such as social workers, nurses, doctors and police officers;

- The Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey (MBI-ES) was designed by Maslach, Jackson and Schwab in 1996. It is an adaptation of the original survey developed for people working in educational settings. The MBI-ES measures the same three dimensions as the MBI-HSS survey namely Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalisation and Personal Accomplishment with a 22-item survey divided into the three sub-scales with a 7-point scale for responses ranging from 0 (never) to 7 (every day). The only difference is the substitution of the term 'recipients' with the term 'students';

  - The higher the respondents score on Depersonalisation and Emotional exhaustion and the lower they score on the Personal Accomplishment scale, the higher their levels of burnout.

- The Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey (MBI-GS) is a new version of the Maslach Burnout Inventory published in 1996 by Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach and Jackson. The survey is based on the original MBI-HSS and applicable to all types of jobs and occupations. The three components of burnout are conceptualised in slightly broader terms with respect to the total job and not only to the personal relationships that may be part of the job. Thus the three components are: Exhaustion, Cynicism (a distant attitude towards the job) and reduced Professional Efficacy; and

- The Maslach Burnout Inventory-Student Survey (MBI-SS) is a version of the survey published in 2002 by Schaufeli, Salanova, Gonzalez-Roma and Bakker. The survey measures burnout in the pre-occupational context outside a specific occupational area, and is used mainly with university students (Salanova and Llorens, 2008: 61).

Each respondent's results are scored by using a scoring key that contains directions for scoring each subscale. The scores are considered separately and are not combined into a single score, thus, three scores are computed for each respondent (Zalaquett and Wood, 1997). The results will then determine whether the sample of teachers being investigated is experiencing burnout.

In terms of the construction and development of the survey, the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Human Services Survey (MBI-HSS) was originally constructed in the early 1980s to measure burnout exclusively in those working in the human service sector such as nursing staff and social workers (Salanova et al., 2008: 59). The survey items are designed to measure hypothetical aspects of burnout and are written in the form of statements about personal feelings or attitudes. A preliminary form of the MBI-HSS, which consisted of 47 items, was

originally administered to a sample of people from a variety of health and service occupations.[43] The occupations represented are those that, according to previous research, had a high potential for burnout as the workers dealt directly with people about issues that were or could have been problematic and stressful. Thus strong emotional feelings were likely to be present in the work setting and it is this chronic emotional stress that can induce burnout (Maslach et al., 1981: 5).

Data from this first sample were subjected to factor analysis using principal factoring with iteration and an orthogonal (varimax) rotation.[44] Ten factors accounted for over three-quarters of the variance. A set of selection criteria were then applied to the items, yielding a reduction in the number of items from 47 to 25 items and then later to the current 22-item survey. Items were retained that met al.l of the following criteria: a factor loading greater than .40 on only one of the factors, a large range of subject responses, a relatively low percentage of subjects checking the 'never' response, and a high item-total correlation (Maslach et al., 1981: 5).

To obtain confirmatory data for the pattern of factors, the survey was then administered to a new sample of 420 people from a similar range of professions. In factor analysis of the 25-item form and later the 22-item form, using principal factoring with iteration plus an orthogonal rotation, the factors that emerged were similar for both frequency and intensity ratings. Thus three of these factors became the subscales of the MBI-HSS and MBI-ES. Nine items in the Emotional Exhaustion subscale describe feelings of being emotionally overextended and exhausted by one's work. The item with the highest factor loading (.84 on frequency and .81 on intensity) was the one that directly referred to burnout, that is, 'I feel burned out from my work'. Five items in the Depersonalisation subscale describe an unfeeling and impersonal response towards the recipients of one's care or service. For both the Emotional Exhaustion subscale and the Depersonalisation subscale, the higher mean scores meant higher degrees of experienced burnout. Some of the component items on each subscale have low loadings on the other, therefore, there is a moderate correlation between the two subscales. This is consistent with theoretical expectations that these are separate but related aspects of burnout (Maslach et al., 1981: 6).

The subscale of Personal Accomplishment contains eight items that describe feelings of competence and successful achievement in one's work with people. In contrast to the two

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[43] Occupations represented in both the scale development and MBI normative samples presented in Tables 4 and 5 consisted of the following: 845 social security administration public contact employees, 142 police officers, 231 nurses, 125 agency administrators, 222 teachers, 97 counsellors, 91 social workers, 68 probation officers, 63 mental health workers, 86 physicians, 40 psychologists, 31 attorneys and 77 others (Maslach et al., 1981:2).

[44] Varimax rotation is often used in surveys to see how groups of questions (items) measure the same concept. The goal of a varimax rotation is to minimise the complexity of the components by making the large loadings larger and the small loadings smaller within each component. [Source: *www.statsexplained.org/Aboutvarimax,* (accessed 21 September, 2012)].

other subscales, lower mean scores on this scale correspond to higher degrees of experienced burnout. The Personal Accomplishment subscale is independent of the other subscales and its component items do not load negatively on them, that is, Personal Accomplishment cannot be assumed to be the opposite of Emotional Exhaustion or Depersonalisation as the correlations between the Personal Accomplishment subscale and the other subscales are fairly low (Maslach et al., 1981: 6).

Thus, the MBI, in its various forms, is designed to assess the three aspects of the burnout syndrome: Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalisation and a lack of Personal Accomplishment. Each aspect is measured by a separate subscale:
- The Emotional Exhaustion subscale assesses feelings of being emotionally overextended and exhausted by one's work;
- The Depersonalisation subscale measures an unfeeling and impersonal response towards recipients of one's service, care, treatment or instruction; and
- The Personal Accomplishment subscale assesses feelings of competence and successful achievement in one's work with people.

Burnout is, therefore, conceptualised as a continuous variable ranging from low to moderate to high degrees of experienced feeling. It is not viewed as a dichotomous variable, which is either present or absent. A high degree of burnout is revealed by high scores on Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalisation and low scores on the Personal Accomplishment subscale. The high score corresponds to the upper-third of the normative distribution. A moderate degree of burnout is reflected by moderate scores on the three subscales which correspond to the middle-third of the normative distribution. A low degree of burnout is revealed by low scores on the Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalisation subscales and in high scores on the Personal Accomplishment subscale. The low scores correspond to the lower-third of the normative distribution (Maslach et al., 1981: 1-2).

Each completed survey is scored using a scoring key which contains directions for scoring each subscale and dimension. If desired, each score can then be coded as low, moderate or high using the numerical cut-off points listed on the scoring key (See Table 4 for the categorisation of the MBI scores and the numerical cut-off points). The MBI scores for a group of respondents can be treated as aggregate data. Means and standard deviations for each subscale are computed for the entire group and can be compared to the normative data in Table 5 which shows the means and standard deviations for the MBI subscales. Whenever statistical analyses are performed with the MBI, it is recommended that the original numerical scores are used rather than the categorisation of low, moderate, and high because the power of statistical analysis is enhanced by using the full range of scores (Maslach et al., 1981: 1-2).

Table 4

Categorisation of MBI Scores with Numerical Cut-Off Points

Range of experienced burnout			
MBI Subscale	Low (lower third)	Moderate (middle third)	High (upper third)
Emotional Exhaustion			
Frequency	≤ 17	18 - 29	≥ 30
Intensity	≤ 25	26 - 39	≥ 40
Depersonalisation			
Frequency	≤ 5	6 -11	≥ 12
Intensity	≤ 6	7 -14	≥ 15
Personal Accomplishment			
Frequency	≥ 40	39 -34	≤ 33
Intensity	≥ 44	43 -37	≤ 36

(Source: Maslach et al., 1981:2)

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations for the MBI Subscales

MBI Subscales			
	Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalisation	Personal Accomplishment
Frequency (n = 1400)			
M	24.08	9.40	36.01
SD	11.88	6.90	6.93
Intensity (n = 1936)			
M	31.68	11.71	39.70
SD	13.84	8.09	7.68

(Source: Maslach et al., 1981:3)

In terms of the administration of the MBI-ES, the survey is self-administered and takes approximately 20-30 minutes to fill out. Complete instructions are provided for the respondent on the survey. According to Maslach et al. (1981: 2), in order to minimise response biases:

- Respondents should complete the MBI-ES on their own without knowing how other respondents are answering. Respondents can be tested individually or as a group; and

- The researcher should ensure that respondents are aware that their responses are confidential. Due to the sensitive nature of some of the items, it is important that respondents feel comfortable about expressing their true feelings. This supports Zalaquett et al. (1997) who emphasise the importance of confidentiality being ensured if

respondents are expected to be completely truthful. Ideally, they should be able to complete the MBI anonymously. If anonymity is not possible, then the researcher should use a number or a code to identify the person. In this case, the researcher decided to use pseudonyms in order to protect the identities of the respondents.

3.7.2.1.1. Reliability of the MBI

Nunan (1992: 14) states that reliability refers to the consistency and accuracy of the results obtained from a research study and the extent to which a study can be replicated. Reliability consists of internal and external reliability.

Internal reliability

Internal reliability is defined as the degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with the data in the same way as the original researcher did, that is, it refers to the consistency of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Edge et al., 1998: 344).

According to Maslach et al., (1981: 7), the reliability coefficients for the MBI are as follows:
- Internal consistency was estimated using Cronbach's coefficient alpha[45] which yielded the following for the subscales:
    o The Emotional Exhaustion subscale: .90 for frequency and .87 for intensity with a standard error of measurement of 3.80 for frequency and 4.99 for intensity;
    o The Depersonalisation subscale: .79 for frequency and .76 for intensity with a standard error of measurement of 3.16 for frequency and 3.96 for intensity; and
    o The Personal Accomplishment subscale: .71 for frequency and .73 for intensity with a standard error of measurement of 3.73 for frequency and 3.99 for intensity.

South African studies using the MBI have confirmed a three-factor structure and have revealed good internal consistency (Storm and Rothmann, 2003). Storm et al. (2003) also confirmed the cross-cultural efficacy of the MBI for different race and language groups. Pretorius (1994) used the MBI to measure the burnout levels of ninety-four faculty members at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. Analysis of the results indicated that the inventory can be considered a reliable measure of burnout. Confirmatory factor analysis indicated that the factorial structure of the scale was similar to those reported for educational groups in North America. In terms of test-retest reliability, studies have also found the MBI sub-scales to be

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[45] Cronbach's coefficient alpha is commonly used as a measure of internal consistency or reliability. [Source: Bland, J.M. and Altman, D.G. Statistics notes: Cronbach's Alpha. [Source: *www.bmj.com,* (accessed 08-02- 2011)].

stable over time (Leiter and Durup, 1994). Furthermore, Jackson and Rothmann (2005) used an adapted version of the MBI-GS and a biographical questionnaire to study burnout in 1170 educators in the North West province of South Africa. The researchers discovered that the three factors of the MBI showed acceptable internal consistencies and construct equivalence for two different language groups.

External reliability

External reliability rests on the concept of independent researchers being able to discover the same phenomena or generate the same constructs in the same or a similar research setting (Edge et al., 1998: 344). In terms of external reliability, the MBI is a stable instrument and is quantifiable using the scoring key provided (Maslach et al., 1981: 7). If an independent researcher replicated this study using the MBI-ES and a similar sample of TESOL teachers working at private language schools, the researcher would come to the same conclusion. Campbell and Rothmann (2005) report four South African studies that have used the MBI-GS with senior managers, local government officials, police officers and call centre staff. The researchers undertook a psychometric assessment of the MBI and concluded that the MBI is a reliable instrument for use in South Africa.

3.7.2.1.2. Validity of the MBI

Nunan (1992: 15) defines validity as the extent to which a research study actually investigates what the researcher claims to investigate. Validity can be divided into internal and external validity.

Internal validity

Internal validity is concerned with credibility and whether the research findings match reality, that is, is the researcher observing or measuring what they think they are measuring? And has the researcher taken steps to ensure that the research results are not affected by external variables?

According to Seliger et al. (1989: 94-104), factors that can affect internal validity or the credibility of the research findings are:

- Subject variability: as one assumes that the population used in the research is representative of the general population to which the research results would apply. The research can achieve greater representativeness by using random sampling in which subjects are chosen at random from a larger pool of potential subjects;
  - In this research study, a purposive or convenience sample was used and there was no need to randomly assign participants to different groups or to undergo different procedures. However, there was an element of random selection in the

fact that the TESOL teachers who participated in the research study were from different private language schools, ages, genders and backgrounds;
  o Strict limitations were also put in place to control subject variability (see Subjects).
- Size of subject population: small populations tend to magnify the effects of individual variability which can cause possible distortions to the data. The greater the size of the population, the smaller the effect of individual variability and the smaller the number of subjects, the more the study is susceptible to biases created by an over-representation of some subject characteristic;
  o Merriam (2009), however, maintains that a small sample can be selected precisely because the researcher wishes to understand the particulars rather than what is generally true of many;
  o Although this research study involved a small number of participants (forty-three), the researcher selected participants from different private language schools as it was possible that over-representation of TESOL teachers from a particular language school would have distorted the data as those teachers may have been experiencing elevated stress levels due to internal conflict at the school.
- Time allotted for data collection: this factor is important when the researcher is investigating a change in the sample population over time;
  o In this research study, the main aim was to investigate burnout at a particular point in time, that is, to obtain a 'snapshot' view of the phenomenon. This supports Nunan (1992: 140) who states that the "purpose of a survey is generally to obtain a snapshot of conditions, attitudes and events at a single point in time." The passage of time was thus not of concern in this research study.
- Comparability of subjects: the researcher placed strict limitations on the participants in the study so as to increase the comparability of the participants (see Subjects).
- History, attrition and maturation; these factors are important when time is necessary for a particular treatment to have an effect, that is, the research may be negatively affected by the passing of time. In terms of history, longitudinal studies may be negatively affected by the passage of time. Attrition is when the composition of the population changes the longer the study continues which affects the data negatively, and maturation is particularly significant with research involving younger subjects who may mature and thus change over the course of the research study;
  o In this research study, the effects of history, attrition and maturation did not affect the study.
- Instrument and task sensitivity; refers to the effect that the test or instrument has on the subjects as participants may become test-wise with the pre-test or pilot creating a

practice effect, that is, the pre-test instrument or pilot study may affect the attitudes of the subjects by sensitising them to the questions;

- o Instrument sensitivity is one of the reasons why Merriam (2009) advises researchers to use multiple methods of data collection such as surveys, interviews, documents and observations. This enhances the credibility of a study. Thus data can be compared and cross-checked.
- o All the participants completed phase one, the MBI-ES and then selected participants completed phase two, the semi-structured interviews. Participants who did not complete phase one could not take part in phase two. The MBI-ES is a confidential document and participants were assured that people other than the researcher and the researcher's supervisors, would not have access to the completed surveys and the results.
- o Some participants may have falsified their responses on the MBI-ES so that burnout could not be detected. Conversely, some participants may have chosen responses which indicated high burnout, when in fact the responses were not indicative of their true feelings. However, there was no advantage to the participants in falsifying their responses on the survey. The researcher ensured that participants understood that there were no right or wrong answers.

External validity

External validity refers to being able to generalise the findings to situations outside that in which the research was conducted, that is, the transferability of the research results from the sample to a wider population (Edge et al., 1998). Lincoln et al. (1985) maintain that the burden of proof lies less with the original researcher than with the person seeking to make an application for the research elsewhere as the original researcher cannot know the contexts to which transferability may be sought. The onus is, however, on the original researcher to provide sufficient descriptive data to make transferability possible.

According to Seliger et al. (1989: 106-110), factors that can affect external validity are:

- Population characteristics: this is concerned with the degree to which the sample population in the study have the same characteristics as the population to which the research findings are to be applied, that is, is the population used in the research a specific subset of the larger population?
  - o In this research study, the sample population consisted of TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg. The teachers came from a range of backgrounds with different qualifications and teaching experiences and also differed in terms of age and gender. The researcher did, however, restrict the sample to first language speakers of English so that the results could be

applied to the general population of English-speaking TESOL teachers working at private language schools in South Africa. The researcher would be cautious though about applying the results of the research to native speaker TESOL teachers working in other countries as the working conditions of TESOL teachers and perceptions of the profession differ from one country to another.

- Interaction of subject selection and research: this is a problem with paid or volunteer subjects as they may not be representative of the wider population to which the research findings are generalised.
  - In this research study, the participants did not receive any form of payment and were not volunteers from the general public. There was no danger of subjects participating in the study for monetary reasons or subjects volunteering to participate in the study so as to attract attention.
- The effect of the research environment: the fact that subjects are aware of what the study is about may change their behaviour which distorts the research results. Subjects may, therefore, feel they are suffering from burnout when in fact they are not because just knowing the study is about burnout may heighten the participants' awareness of the phenomenon.
  - In this research study, it was not possible to conduct the research without the participants being aware of the nature of the research. Burgess (1984: 48) maintains that covert research, in which the subjects are not aware of being studied or the true nature of the study, can actually limit the range of research activities as the researcher only has access to those situations which are observed. It is, therefore, not possible to conduct interviews, collect life-histories or documentary evidence produced by a particular group of people.
- Researcher effects: the researcher may unintentionally ask leading questions so as to obtain the information being sought or provide clues through a change in the tone of voice or body language;
  - All data was collected and analysed in an objective manner and the findings reflect the actual data obtained from the subjects. In addition, the researcher kept a research journal which provided a detailed account of the methods, procedures and decisions made in carrying out the research.
  - Seliger et al. (1989: 104) mention the importance of retrievability which refers to the researcher being able to 'retrieve' their research records such as participants' responses on surveys and interview transcripts. It is important that the researcher keep meticulous records of data collected so that the data can be inspected and reviewed if necessary. Thus the researcher should collect the data by mechanical means such as audio recording and transcripts of interviews should be made.

- The effect of time: this is concerned with the degree to which the time frame of the research context can be applied to the real world to which the results will be generalised.
    - In this research study, the aim was to obtain a 'snapshot' in time and not to conduct a longitudinal study of burnout. The researcher wanted to discover whether TESOL teachers currently working in private language schools were experiencing burnout.

According to Maslach et al. (1981: 7), convergent validity, the degree to which a measure is correlated with other measures that it is predicted to correlate with, was demonstrated by respondents MBI scores being correlated with behavioural ratings made independently by a person who knew the individual well such as a co-worker or spouse. MBI scores were also correlated with the presence of certain job characteristics that were expected to contribute to experienced burnout such as lack of control and work overload. Finally, the MBI scores were correlated with measures of various outcomes that had been hypothesised to be related to burnout such as dissatisfaction with opportunities for personal growth and development on the job and the belief that one's work was not very meaningful or worthwhile. The three sets of correlations provided substantial evidence for the validity of the MBI.

Maslach et al. (1981: 9) state that it is important to distinguish the MBI from measures of other psychological constructs that might be confounded with burnout such as feelings of dissatisfaction with one's job. By so doing, discriminant validity, which tests whether concepts that are supposed to be unrelated are actually unrelated, would be demonstrated. One would expect the experience of burnout to have some relationship to lowered feelings of job satisfaction, however, it was predicted that they would not be so highly correlated as to suggest that they were actually the same thing. Maslach et al. (1981: 9) conducted a comparison of ninety-one social service and mental health workers scores on the MBI and the JDS measure of 'general job satisfaction' to provide support for this reasoning. The researchers found that job satisfaction had a moderate negative correlation with Emotional Exhaustion ($\underline{r}$ = -.23, p < .05) and Depersonalisation (frequency only $\underline{r}$ =-.22, p <.02) as well as a slightly positive correlation with Personal Accomplishment (frequency only $\underline{r}$ =.17, p < .06). The researchers concluded that since less than 6% of the variance is accounted for by any one of these correlations, one can reject the notion that burnout is simply a synonym for job dissatisfaction.

It might also be argued that scores on the MBI are subject to distortion by a social desirability response set because many of the items describe feelings that are contrary to professional ideals. To test this idea, forty graduate students in social welfare were asked to complete the MBI and the Crowne-Marlowe (1964) Social Desirability (SD) scale. Maslach et al. (1981)

maintained that if reported burnout is not influenced by a social desirability response set, then the scores on the MBI and the SD scale should be uncorrelated. The results supported this hypothesis as none of the MBI subscales were significantly correlated with the SD scale at the .05 level.

3.7.2.1.3. Limitations of the MBI

Rothmann (2003: 20) reports that more research is needed regarding the phrasing of MBI items as well as the conceptualisation of the dimensions. According to Rothmann (2003), a major criticism of the MBI is the lack of clinically validated cut-off points. Schaufeli and Bakker (2001) mention the same concern. Future research should focus on the development of clinical burnout guidelines to enable comparison and identification according to national guidelines. This supports Schaufeli and Van Dierendonck (1995) who found that levels of burnout differed among national samples, therefore, comparisons with norms in other countries are impossible. This may mean that the experience of burnout may be influenced by national and geographical factors, that is, some cultures may be more susceptible to the experience of burnout based on local working conditions. For this reason, the results of this research study cannot be generalised to populations of TESOL teachers working at private language schools in countries other than South Africa.

Rothmann (2003: 22), also states that there are many unanswered questions in studies of burnout in the South African context such as research studies using small and non-representative samples, a lack of relevant statistical analyses and exclusive reliance on cross-sectional survey designs. Rothmann (2003) maintains that the factorial validity of all measuring instruments of burnout as well as factorial invariance for different language and occupational groups in South Africa should be researched. This supports Byrne (1991b) who calls for more rigourous research into the use of burnout measures.

A further limitation is the issue of respondent privacy. Participants should complete the MBI survey on their own without knowing what other participants have filled in and without being influenced in terms of their responses. Some participants may discuss their responses with their colleagues and other participants may not be able to complete the survey at work and thus may take the survey home and discuss their responses with family members or friends which may influence the way they respond to the statements.

3.7.2.2. Phase Two: The qualitative phase

Semi-structured interviews (See Appendix 7 for the semi-structured interview questions)
Semi-structured interviews with the TESOL teachers constituted phase two, the qualitative
phase of the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample[46] of twenty
TESOL teachers in order to determine the answers to the remaining research questions: what
causes stress and consequent burnout among TESOL teachers, what support structures are
available at private language schools and how do TESOL teachers cope with stress? The
researcher did not permit subjects to participate in phase two of the study if they had not
completed the MBI-ES in phase one. It was imperative to determine whether burnout existed in
the teachers sampled in the survey before progressing to the interviews as this information
shaped the structure of the interviews. The interviews typically took place in sessions of
approximately forty-five minutes to one hour per interviewee. The aim was to obtain rich and
detailed qualitative data from selected TESOL teachers who were experiencing high stress levels
and burnout.

Thus, the overarching goal of the semi-structured interviews was to discover overall concerns
about and experiences of working as a TESOL teacher that might have led to teachers feeling
stressed and burnt out, to explore these issues in-depth and to obtain detailed, descriptive
data. Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 94) state that interviews are a good data collection method
when used in conjunction with surveys as "qualitative interviews can be used to yield
exploratory and descriptive data that may or may not generate theory…can be used as a stand-
alone method or in conjunction with other (quantitative) methods such as surveys."

The researcher developed the semi-structured interviews as an extension of the research
questions. The semi structured interview consisted of a brief bio data section that had a two-
fold purpose, namely to obtain biographical information and to allow the participants an
opportunity to talk about themselves before answering the research questions. Greenwood and
Parsons (2000) state that it is important to put participants at ease in order for them to open up
about their experiences and to allow the researcher to acquire in-depth perspectives on the
research questions. Thus the researcher aimed at creating a clear and simple set of interview
questions[47] which not only covered the research questions but also allowed the researcher the
flexibility to further explore important points raised by the participants.

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[46] A total of twenty TESOL teachers participated in phase two of the research study. Selection criteria were based on the results
of the MBI-ES, that is, those TESOL teachers whose survey results indicated burnout.

[47] The researcher asked participants about stressors rather than burnout in the interview questions because participants might
have been unaware that they were suffering from burnout which could have resulted in skewed data. Furthermore, participants
may also have been reluctant to admit to experiencing burnout which tends to carry a social stigma and is perceived as largely
dysfunctional.

The first draft of the semi-structured interview questions was exposed to internal testing. The researcher asked two colleagues[48] to make a preliminary assessment by looking for ambiguous and/or leading questions. Based on this assessment, the researcher made adjustments to the semi structured interview. These adjustments mainly involved simplifying the questions, reducing the amount of bio data required and bringing the questions in line with the research questions. The researcher then sent the final draft of the interview questions to the same colleagues who assessed it in terms of content validity in order to determine whether the appropriateness and completeness of the contents matched the purpose of the interview questions (Barriball and While, 1994). The semi-structured interview questions were found to possess content validity, to be clearly constructed and unambiguous, and allowed the researcher the flexibility to explore points that may arise during the interview.

Tracy (2010: 842) discusses the importance of being 'self-reflexive' researchers who are able to examine their impact on the scene and note other's reactions to them. By practicing sensitivity to the scene, researchers are able to think about what types of knowledge are available, as well as that which is likely to be hidden. Bamburg and Georgakopolou (2008: 2) refer to such hidden information as "small stories" which may constitute contradictory and ambiguous responses but actually function as a form of narrative capital through and with which interviewees construct and manage a sense of themselves. Researchers who are prepared to delve beneath the 'surface words' also need to interrogate their own "opinions and ask for feedback from participants… (and) their field notes should include self-reflexive commentary about subjectivity." Krizek (2003: 149), however, maintains that the researcher needs to be careful not to over-use stories of personal experiences or what the researcher perceives to be hidden information in a research study but to rather "illuminate the reader's understanding of the cultural event, place or practice."

Pezalla, Pettigrew and Miller-Day (2012: 166) maintain that the researcher, and not the questions, is actually the research instrument in qualitative interviewing and that unique researcher attributes have the potential to influence the collection of data. The qualitative interview is thus an exchange between two parties and it is important for the researcher to reflect on the ways in which his or her presence, actions and words affects the organisation of the interview. Owens (2006) states that it is through the researcher's facilitative interactions with the participants that a conversational space is created. This is a space in which the participants feel safe to share their stories about their experiences. This view is supported by Pezalla et al. (2012: 167) who advise that this conversational space takes the form of an interviewing space where empathy, transparency and unconditional positive regard are felt. In addition, it is important to establish a sense of personal connection and rapport with the

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[48] Both colleagues held Masters degrees in Education and had five experience as educational researchers.

participants as the qualitative interview is actually a partnership. Malozzi (2009: 1045) believes that this is the only way that rich and detailed information about participants' lives is imparted, saying "the essential self…is not automatically revealed in a neutral environment but can and might need to be benevolently coaxed out into a safe environment, where it can be actualised."

There are, however, researchers who advise against this approach to interviewing. Tanggaard (2007) questions the assumption that empathy and self-disclosure establish rapport and understanding by suggesting that empathy is an undesirable interviewer quality as it tends to create a superficial form of friendship between researcher and participant. Furthermore, self-disclosure may actually distance the interviewer from the participants as it portrays the interviewer as more knowledgeable than the participant.

3.7.2.2.1. Reliability of semi-structured interviews

Lincoln et al. (1985) maintain that reliability in qualitative research should be viewed as consistency rather than replication, that is, rather than demanding that outsiders come up with the same results, a researcher wishes outsiders to concur that, given the data collected, the results make sense. Thus the results are consistent and dependable. The question is therefore, not whether the results will be found again but whether the results are consistent with the data collected. This supports Merriam (2009) who states that replication of a qualitative study will not yield the same results, however, this does not discredit the results of the original study. Several interpretations of the data can be made, and all stand until directly contradicted by new evidence. Thus, if the findings of a study are consistent with the data presented, the study can be considered dependable.

Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 53) suggests that researchers use Gay and Airasian's guidelines (2003: 536) for evaluating reliability in qualitative studies which consists of:

- A description of the setting of the interviews and the researcher's relationship to the participants;
  - This description formed part of the research journal. This supports Merriam (2009) who maintains that good qualitative research gets much of its claim to reliability from the researcher's ability to show convincingly how they got the data and how they built confidence that this was the best account possible. Furthermore, Bird (2005: 235) states that there is little value in a face-to-face interview unless the researcher added "observations and interpretations" of the event which increases the rigour of the research.
- All field documentation should be comprehensive, fully cross-referenced and annotated, and rigorously detailed and form part of the research journal;

- Observations and interviews must be documented using multiple means such as written notes and audio recordings;
  - The researcher kept a research journal and recorded the interviews which were then transcribed.
- The interviewer's training should be documented;
  - In this case, the researcher is a trained interviewer who has completed training in interview techniques. The researcher, in the course of her work as a writer, has conducted interviews with a range of people, from general workers to people who work at executive management level.
- Key informants must be fully described;
  - This aspect formed part of the research journal.
- The construction, planning and testing of all instruments must be documented;
  - This forms part of the methodology section of this thesis.
- Sampling techniques must be fully documented and need to be sufficient for the study.

Internal reliability

Reliability refers to the internal consistency of field observations. The researcher needs to ask such questions as:

- Whether the collected data was reasonable? and
- Does the data fit together? That is: does the data add up and is there consistency in the observations over time and in different social contexts?

Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson and Spiers (2002) maintain that methodological coherence is an important factor in ensuring the internal reliability of a research study. Thus the aim is to "ensure congruence between the research question and the components of the method" (Morse et al., 2002: 18). The question must match the method which must in turn match the data collected and the analytic procedures used to interpret the data. In this research study, the researcher felt that the research questions were best answered by using a mixed method approach consisting of an initial survey and followed by semi-structured interviews. In addition, the various data analysis techniques used in this study are consistent with the type of data gathered.

External reliability

External consistency refers to verifying or cross-checking observations with other divergent sources of data, that is, triangulation. Thus it is important to look for evidence that confirms and supports findings. Morse et al. (2002: 18) state that it is important for the researcher to "think theoretically" as ideas that emerge from the data can be reconfirmed in new data which can result in new ideas that "must be verified in data already collected." Thus the ability to think theoretically requires a combination of micro and macro perspectives, "an inching

forward without making cognitive leaps, constantly checking and re-checking, and building on a solid foundation"(Morse et al., 2002: 18).

The qualitative component, the semi-structured interviews, required a more inferential approach than the surveys and one which relied on the researcher's interpretive ability and judgment. Specific procedures were put in place to ensure that patterns and themes in the data were confirmed. These procedures included inter-rater reliability which was established by allowing two different colleagues to examine the data collected from the interviews in order to establish agreement regarding the selection of the interview themes (Seliger et al., 1989: 185-6) and re-grounding whereby the researcher returned to the interview data a second time in order to compare the patterns and themes with those obtained from the first viewing so as to confirm initial conclusions (Seliger et al., 1989). The interview data is presented in terms of themes that emerged from the interviews supported by quotes taken from the transcripts. The themes are limited to those that pertain to the research questions.

The interview themes were open to a more subjective interpretation than the results of the MBI-ES. The researcher used the techniques of inter-rater reliability and re-grounding to increase the level of internal reliability (Seliger et al., 1989: 186). The data which was obtained from the interviews revealed patterns and themes, arising from interviews about stress, support structures and coping strategies, which would be common to any sample of TESOL teachers working at private language schools in South Africa. If an independent researcher interviewed a similar sample of TESOL teachers using the same questions, similar themes and patterns would emerge.

3.7.2.2.2. Validity of semi-structured interviews

Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 48) state that obtaining validity in qualitative analysis is not an end goal that the researcher can easily achieve. This supports Richards (2009: 149) who states that validity and reliability remain contested in qualitative research and that validity should rather be viewed as a process whereby the researcher earns the confidence of the reader that the researcher has "gotten it right." Thus in qualitative research, trustworthiness is key.

Edge et al. (1998: 345) maintain that "Rather than accept or redefine the traditional terms of objectivity, reliability and validity, the 'type of truth' which is appropriate to the demand of qualitative enquiry is that it be a credible version of what happened both in description and interpretation." Therefore, qualitative enquiry will not deliver generalisations that can be abstracted and applied; instead it aims to produce understandings of a particular context or situation that someone with knowledge of another context or situation may be able to make use of. It is thus a case of the researcher being dependable. Dependability is, therefore, not a

matter of replicability, according to Edge et al. (1998: 345), but rather a case of taking care that the inevitable changes in the research context and its participants are investigated, and the emerging design of the research itself is properly documented so that all decisions made and conclusions reached are justifiable.

Lincoln et al. (1985: 289-331) state that credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are viable alternatives to the more traditional view of what constitutes valid and reliable research. Guba and Lincoln (1982) suggest that the credibility of a qualitative study is enhanced by means of triangulation through the drawing on of different data types, and the gathering of data in different ways, from different participants. Thus the very richness of the description and interpretation offered leads to transferability. Guba et al. (1982) also advocate careful documentation of the research study — an interrogation of the context —including records of reflection and decision-making according to which the steps of the research process could be reconstructed and thereby rendered confirmable and dependable. This supports Edge et al. (1998: 350) who maintain that the mechanical following of procedures cannot guarantee authenticity but it can be demonstrated by careful and honest documentation of procedure. Edge et al. (1998: 350) state that this authenticity "is not idiosyncratic to the researcher because it insists that an authentic individual statement is only possible once it has been informed by the experience, perceptions and interpretations of others, to whom it grants space and voice" and so that "readers will recognise a genuinely inhabited statement and feel it worthwhile to ask of themselves, 'What can I learn from this?'" Furthermore, in support of this view, Tracy (2010) sees credibility as a combination of trustworthiness, verisimilitude and plausibility.

Transferability, according to Tracy (2010: 845), can be achieved when readers feel as though the story of the research overlaps with their own situation and they intuitively transfer the findings of the research to their own actions and lives. Researchers can increase the transferability of their research by gathering direct testimony, providing rich description and writing accessibly with clarity and comprehensibility. Furthermore, transferability also relates to "evocative storytelling" (Ellis, 1995: 145) which has the power to create in readers the idea that they have experienced the same thing as described in the research, albeit it in another arena.

According to Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 54), in an interview with David Karp[49], Karp maintains that with a qualitative study, the researcher trades breadth for depth but "in the end, the test of validity, of whether you have been well-disciplined by the data, whether you really have

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[49] Professor David Karp has written a series of books and articles on mental illness. He is regarded as a methodological craftsperson artfully combining personal experience (Professor Karp has suffered from clinical depression for most of his adult life) with in-depth interviewing. He is currently a professor of Sociology at Boston College in Massachusetts, USA. [Source: *https://www2.bc.edu/~karp/index.html*, (accessed 17 September 2012)].

discovered some underlying social forms, is whether the real experts, those you've studied, when they read your work say, 'You've captured it!...you found a way to convey my experience. It lets me understand my own life more deeply'."

Tracy (2010: 840-844) suggests eight key markers of quality in qualitative research which are:
- A worthy topic that is relevant, timely, significant and interesting;
- Rich rigour using sufficient, abundant and appropriate theoretical constructs, data and time in the field. In addition, the study should contain an appropriate sample and the data collection and analysis process should be meticulously described;
    - The quality of rigour also provides the study with face validity which refers to whether a study appears, at face value, to be reasonable and appropriate. Tracy (2010) states that there are certain questions the reader needs answered such as whether there is enough data to support the claims, whether the data is significant and interesting and whether the researcher used appropriate procedures in terms of field note style, interviewing practices and analysis procedures.
- Sincerity, as it is vital that the study is characterised by the researcher's self-awareness of the influence of subjective values, biases and inclinations on the research and is transparent about the methods used and challenges found;
- Credibility, which is enhanced when the research contains thick, detailed descriptions and a focus on showing rather than telling. In addition, Tracy (2010) advises researchers to include triangulation or crystallisation of methods in their research studies;
    - Triangulation assumes that if two or more sources of data, types of data collected or researchers come to the same conclusion, then the conclusion is more credible than it would be if it stemmed from a single source of data whereas crystallisation also involves gathering multiple types of data and using various methods or multiple researchers but it assumes the goal of doing so is not to discover a more valid singular truth but to open up a more complex, in-depth understanding of the issue.
- Resonance, whereby the research influences, affects or moves the reader through aesthetic, evocative representation, naturalistic generalisations[50] and transferable findings;
    - Dadds (2008) refers to the ability of research to transform the emotional disposition of the reader as empathic validity while Tracy (2010: 843) describes a good research study as akin to a good song or a fantastic meal, "a good

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[50] According to Tracy (2010), naturalistic generalisation refers to the ability to provide readers with a vicarious experience and an intuitive understanding of the scene.

(research) report is never boring…it surprises, delights, and tickles something within us."

- A significant contribution in which the research makes a significant impact conceptually or theoretically, practically, morally and methodologically;
- An adherence to ethical standards; and
- Meaningful coherence, in which the study achieves its stated goals, uses methods and procedures that fit those goals and meaningfully interconnects literature, research questions, findings and interpretations with each other.

Furthermore, Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 48-52; 318) suggest Kvale's (1996) three-part model for judging the validity of qualitative data. The model consists of:

- Validity as craftsmanship which refers to the readers' perception of the credibility and integrity of the researcher and the research. This involves how well the research has been checked and double-checked for errors and omissions, how thoroughly the researcher investigated the findings by means of looking for negative cases in the data, going back to participants to clarify points, and ensuring sampling procedures match the given research questions;
    - In addition, Kvale (1996: 242) maintains that a further important aspect of validity as craftsmanship is the ability of the researcher to theorise from the qualitative data and to tell a convincing story.
- Communicative validity refers to a dialogue among those considered as legitimate 'knowers', that is, those researchers who may make competing claims to knowledge building. Thus each interpretation of a given research finding is open for discussion and refutation by a wider community of researchers.
- Pragmatic validity refers to the extent to which research findings impact on the research participants as well as changes that occur in the wider context within which the study was conducted. One pragmatic outcome of the research, for example, would be significant improvements in the working conditions of TESOL teachers or a form of participatory action research or collaborative enquiry focused on creating support networks for teachers. Action research thus aims to contribute to the practical concerns of people in an immediate and problematic situation and to further the goals of social science simultaneously. There is thus a shared goal of social activism and change.
    - Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 260), however, note that pragmatic validation raises the issue of power and truth in social research, that is, "who has the power to decide how the results of a research study will be applied to a real-life situation? Or the direction of proposed change? And where does the power lie to decide what kinds of truth seeking are to be pursued?"

3.7.2.2.3. Limitations of interviews

One of the biggest drawbacks of using interviews is the cost. In this research study, the cost could be divided into monetary and time costs. The researcher conducted the interviews at the different language schools and thus had to travel to the various schools which cost money in terms of petrol and payment for parking in some cases. With regard to time, setting up the various interviews was particularly time-consuming as interviews needed to be set up on days and at times that suited the participants. In addition, there was a considerable time investment involved in the transcription, analysis and coding of the interview data.

Most of the interviews had to be conducted in the afternoons as all of the language schools held classes between 9.00 and 1.00. Thus the researcher needed to take time off work in order to conduct the interviews. This supports Appleton (1995: 94) who maintains that "Interviews can be costly and time-consuming in terms of organising and travelling to the interviews and the length of the interview itself." In this research study, the researcher conducted one interview per session due to time constraints and in order to prevent interviewer fatigue. This supports Presser and Zhao (1992) who state that the higher the interviewer's fatigue levels, the greater the possibility of errors of judgement.

With interviews, the quality of the data generated is dependent on the skills and expertise of the interviewer and on the willingness of the participants to provide accurate and complete answers to the interview questions. Breakwell, Hammond and Fife-Schaw (2000: 238) mention that "People may provide inaccurate information or even lie due to embarrassment, feelings of inadequacy, low self-esteem, nervousness, memory loss and confusion." Furthermore, De Vaus (2002) states that some interviewees may give what they consider to be socially acceptable responses rather than authentic responses. Block (2000: 759) explains that interview data should not be seen as a reflection of the participants memory of an event but as a "voice adopted by the research participant in response to the researchers' prompts and questions. These voices might or might not truly represent what the research participant…would choose to say in another context…or occasion." Thus the researcher needs to be aware of this possibility and put participants at ease in order to try and discover the reality of the participants' perceptions. It is, therefore, vital that interviewers have at least some experience conducting interviews. De Vaus (2002) agrees and maintains that poor interview techniques can lead to ambiguous and distorted responses. In this research study, the researcher started each interview with the bio data section of the semi-structured interview. Thus each participant spoke about themselves and their experience teaching TESOL before the research questions were asked. This was instrumental in creating a comfortable atmosphere thereby putting the participants at ease.

Data can also be misinterpreted or distorted by interviewer bias which in many cases may be unintentional. Thus it is vital that the interviewer is aware of the influence of their personal experiences, opinions and feelings and ensures that the integrity of the data gathered is protected. De Vaus (2002: 45) states that interviewer bias is a real danger with some interviewers placing their own interpretation on questions, others who selectively focus on information and ideas that serve to confirm their preconceived hypotheses, those who may contaminate interviewees responses with their own opinions and the rare few who may even fabricate results. Thus interviewer bias affects the validity and reliability of the data. In order to limit the effects of interviewer bias, De Vaus (2002: 45) advises researchers to "Cultivate a scientific approach and a healthy scepticism about their hunches, hypotheses and conclusions." The researcher ensured that the participants were asked the bio data and research questions only so as not to influence the interview process or taint the resulting data.

3.8. Data

3.8.1 Subjects

In this research study, forty-three TESOL teachers completed phase one, the MBI-ES survey, and twenty TESOL teachers completed phase two, the semi-structured interviews. Hesse-Biber et al. (2011) state that the number of individuals who are sampled can vary greatly, depending on the nature of the research question, the researchers' access to the sample, and factors such as time available and funding. Kvale et al. (2009: 113) offer the following advice to researchers as to how many individuals need to be interviewed, "Interview as many subjects as necessary to find out what you need to know." In addition, Maxwell (2005: 9) states that qualitative researchers typically study a relatively small number of individuals or situations and preserve the individuality of each in their analyses, rather than collecting data from large samples and generalizing across individuals and situations. It is thus important to understand how events, actions and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which they occur. This supports Leedy (1993) who maintains that qualitative researchers tend to select a few participants who can best provide information on the topic being researched rather than sampling large numbers of people in order to make generalizations about their behavior.

Morse (2000) indicates that if the topic being studied is obvious and clear, then fewer participants are needed than if the topic is hidden beneath the surface. In addition, Sandelowski (1995) maintains that determining an adequate sample size in qualitative research is ultimately a matter of judgment and experience in evaluating the quality of the information collected against the uses to which it will be put, the research method and sampling strategy. Furthermore, an adequate sample size is one that permits — by virtue of not being too large — deep analysis of the data which results in a rich understanding of experience (Sandelowski, 1995). This supports Braun and Clarke (2006: 17) who state that one of the reasons why

qualitative research tends to use smaller samples is because the analysis of the data can be very time-consuming.

The research sample was limited to:
- TESOL teachers who worked at private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa because these teachers faced a unique set of circumstances as there are, as yet, no strict guidelines to regulate the TESOL industry in South Africa;
- TESOL teachers who are South African citizens because the research study was set in the South African context and against the background of the challenges of pursuing a career in TESOL at a private language school in Johannesburg, South Africa;
   - Citizens of other countries who work in South Africa as TESOL teachers would experience a different set of challenges.
- TESOL teachers for whom English is their first language or mother tongue as TESOL teachers who are mother tongue speakers of other languages experience a range of different stressors associated with teaching a language that is not their mother tongue (Braine, 1999; Brutt-Griffler and Samimy, 1999); and
- TESOL teachers who had a minimum of two years TESOL teaching experience as these teachers would have had adequate experience in the field.

Sandelowski (2000: 248) maintains that a key difference between quantitative and qualitative research is the kind of sampling used. Qualitative research typically involves purposeful sampling to enhance the understanding of rich, thick and detailed information. Purposeful sampling is oriented towards the development of ideographic knowledge whereby generalizations can be made from and about individual cases. Quantitative sampling, however, ideally involves probability sampling to permit statistical inferences to be made. Probability sampling is oriented toward the development of nomothetic knowledge, that is, generalizations from samples to populations. According to Sandelowski (2000: 248), purposeful and probability sampling can be combined effectively. For example, in a quan→QUAL study such as the present research study, research participants' scores on the MBI-ES survey can be used to initiate a criterion sampling strategy. Criterion sampling is a form of purposeful sampling of cases on preconceived criteria such as the scores on an instrument. So cases may be chosen for the QUAL stage because they represent an average score or typical case or even because they reveal extreme scores.

The data was thus collected from a purposive sample of TESOL teachers employed at various private language schools in Johannesburg at the time of the study. Leedy (1993) states that in purposive sampling, people are selected for a particular purpose. In this case, to determine whether the participants experienced burnout, to determine what causes stress and

consequent burnout, to investigate support structures and to discover coping strategies among TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg. There is also an element of convenience sampling here as the researcher selected those subjects who were currently working at private language schools in Johannesburg and who were thus readily available to be surveyed and interviewed. Schleiser and Saito (2005) state that a convenience sample is one in which the subjects are chosen because they happen to be situated spatially or administratively near to where the researcher is doing data collection. The nature of the study did not require the researcher to randomly assign subjects to groups or manipulate the MBI-ES survey or the semi-structured interviews for different groups thus the available sample of a range of TESOL teachers who fell within the limitations was suitable for the purposes of this research study.

3.8.2. Data analysis

Johnson et al. (2004: 22) describe the mixed methods research process model (Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie, 2003) which posits a step-by-step conceptualisation of the data analysis process. The researcher followed these stages in this research study:

- Data reduction refers to reducing the size of the quantitative data by means of statistical techniques such as descriptive statistics and reducing the size of the qualitative data by thematic analysis;
- Data display refers to describing the qualitative data pictorially by means of charts, graphs, networks or lists;
- Data transformation is an optional stage whereby the quantitative data is converted to narrative data that can be analysed quantitatively. Qualitative data may be converted into numerical codes that can be represented statistically. Data correlation occurs when quantitative data is correlated with qualitative data that has been converted into numerical codes and qualitative data is correlated with quantitative data that has been converted to a narrative;
  - The researcher did not do this optional stage in the current research study.
- Data consolidation whereby both quantitative and qualitative data are combined to create new or consolidated variables or data sets;
- Data comparison refers to the comparison of data from the quantitative and qualitative data sources; and
- Data integration whereby both quantitative and qualitative data are integrated into a coherent whole or two separate sets, that is, the quantitative and qualitative sections of a coherent whole.

3.8.3. Description of analytical techniques:

3.8.3.1. Phase one: MBI-ES data analysis

Brown (2001) states that the purpose of compiling the data is to put it into written form that will later be useful for storing and accessing, sorting and analysing. In the case of the MBI-ES, the completed surveys constituted the written record. The MBI-ES surveys were sent to the research participants via email. The researcher asked the participants to complete and return the surveys within one week.

The MBI-ES is designed to measure and assess the following three aspects of burnout:

- Emotional Exhaustion which involves a reduction in emotional resources including feelings of being emotionally overextended, drained and exhausted;
- Depersonalisation which refers to an increase in negative, cynical and insensitive attitudes towards work, colleagues and students. Depersonalisation often manifests as an unfeeling and impersonal response to the recipients of one's care and instruction; and
- Lack of Personal Accomplishment which is a feeling of being unable to meet other's needs and satisfy the essential components of job performance.

Thus the frequency with which the respondent experiences feelings related to each of the subscales is assessed using a six-point response format ranging from never to every day.

The completed surveys were analysed using the MBI scoring key. According to the scoring key (Maslach et al., 1981), the three areas of the MBI should be scored separately. This resulted in three sets of scores for each respondent: emotional exhaustion (EE), depersonalisation (DP) and personal accomplishment (PA). The scores were then transferred from the survey forms and entered into an Excel spreadsheet which was divided into three sections representing the three subscales: EE, DP and PA.

According to the scoring key, the Emotional Exhaustion subscale consists of MBI-ES questions 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 13, 14, 16 and 20 (refer Appendix 6 for the MBI-ES). These items measure the respondents' level of emotional exhaustion. The frequency scores were added together to result in the respondents' final EE score. Scores of 27 and higher are considered to show high levels of emotional exhaustion, scores of between 17 and 26 show moderate levels of emotional exhaustion and scores between 0 and 16 show low levels of emotional exhaustion.

The Depersonalisation subscale consists of MBI-ES questions 5, 10, 11, 15 and 22 (refer Appendix 6 for the MBI-ES). These items measure the respondents' depersonalisation level. The frequency scores were added together to result in the respondents' final DP score. Scores of 13 and higher are considered to show high levels of depersonalisation, scores of between 7 and 12

show moderate levels of depersonalisation and scores between 0 and 6 show low levels of depersonalisation.

The Personal Accomplishment subscale consists of MBI-ES questions 4, 7, 9, 12, 17, 18, 19 and 21 (refer Appendix 6 for the MBI-ES). These items measure the respondents' sense of personal accomplishment. The frequency scores were added together to result in the respondents' final PA score. These scores are, however, scored in the opposite direction to the EE and DP subscales. Thus, scores between 0 and 31 show high levels of personal accomplishment, scores between 32 and 38 show moderate levels and scores of 39 and higher show low levels of personal accomplishment.

3.8.3.2. Phase two: Semi-structured interviews data analysis

The data obtained from the semi-structured interviews was analysed by means of thematic analysis. According to Braun et al. (2006: 4), thematic analysis is the first qualitative method of analysis that researchers should learn and needs to be considered a "method in its own right." Thematic analysis is defined as, "a realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method,[51] which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences…are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society… [the method can] reflect reality, and unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality'" (Braun et al., 2006: 9). The researchers state that thematic analysis is widely used but there is no agreement about how to define it and the process of doing it thus making it a "poorly branded method" (Braun et al., 2006: 6). Even though much of the analysis normally conducted by qualitative researchers is thematic, it is often called something else such as discourse or content analysis or it may not be identified as a particular method with the researchers in question merely stating that the data was subjected to qualitative analysis for commonly recurring themes.

Thematic analysis is not just a collection of extracts with little or no analytic narrative nor is it a selection of extracts with analytic comment that is a mere paraphrasing of the content (Braun et al., 2006: 25). The extracts in thematic analysis need to illustrate the analytic points that the researcher made about the data and should be used to support an analysis that goes beyond their specific content, to make sense of the data and to tell the reader what the data means. Thematic analysis, therefore, involves searching across a data set such as a number of interviews to find repeated patterns of meaning or themes. A theme is a patterned response or meaning within the data set and the importance of the theme lies in whether it captures

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[51] According to Burr (1995), in a constructionist perspective, meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced, rather than inhering in individuals. Thematic analysis conducted within a constructionist framework cannot and does not seek to focus on motivation or individual psychologies but instead attempts to theorise the socio-cultural contexts and structural conditions that enable the individual accounts that are provided.

something important in relation to the research questions (Braun et al., 2006: 10). In this research study, the researcher provided a detailed account of a group of themes that emerged from the data during the analysis rather than providing a thematic description of the entire data set.

The researcher followed six phases of data analysis as suggested by Braun et al. (2006: 18-23) and loosely based on the work of Attride-Stirling (2001: 385-405):

Phase one consisted of immersing oneself in the data in order to become familiar with the content. This immersion involved repeated reading of the data in an active way by making notes and searching for meaning and patterns. This supports Ryan and Bernard (2003: 11) who state that the researcher should "get a feel for the text by handling the data multiple times." Attride-Stirling (2001: 390) refers to this step as "devising a coding framework" which may be based on identifying specific topics or words or recurrent issues in the text. In the case of interview data, the data needed to be transcribed into written form in order to conduct a thematic analysis. Brown (2001) maintains that interview transcripts thus constitute the written record. Green, Franquiz and Dixon (1997: 172) state that "A transcript is a text that re-presents an event; it is not the event itself…what is re-presented is data constructed by a researcher for a particular purpose, not just talk written down." With regard to the interview transcriptions, the researcher decided to:

- Transcribe the entire interview session rather than summarise the key points of the interview;
- Supplement the verbal transcriptions with written notes in which non-verbal data such as pauses, facial expressions and hand gestures were transcribed. This supports Braun et al. (2006) who maintain that a rigorous and thorough transcript consists of a verbatim account of verbal and non-verbal utterances such as coughing, facial expressions or the use of gestures; and
- Transcribe the data herself rather than use a transcription service (Hesse-Biber et al. 2011: 302). This supports Bird (2005: 233) who states that transcribing her own research "developed and honed her awareness of transcription as a key element in data analysis."

Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 303) states that a positivist might dispense with some of these questions, opting to view the transcription process as a simple translation from oral to written language, something that can be done by listening to the interview and typing what one hears. What is transcribed is thus regarded as 'the truth' and each transcription is considered to contain a one-to-one correspondence between what was said orally and the printed word. A constructivist-interpretative viewpoint, however, would not see the transcription process as so

transparent as it stresses the importance of the researcher's viewpoint and experiences during the interview process and the researcher's influence on the transcription process itself. The researcher, therefore, felt it was important to transcribe the interviews personally.

Transcribing research data is not a passive act but rather an interactive one which engages the researcher in the process of deep listening, analysis and interpretation. This supports Braun et al. (2006: 17) who state that transcription is "an interpretive act, where meanings are created rather than simply a mechanical one of putting spoken sounds on paper." Furthermore, Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) maintain that data analysis begins during the transcription process as the act of transcribing facilitates the close attention and interpretive thinking required for data analysis. It provides the researcher with a valuable opportunity to actively engage with the research material from the beginning of data collection. It also ensures that researchers are aware of their impact on the data early in the gathering process and have the opportunity to connect with the data in a grounded manner which enhances the trustworthiness and validity of the data-gathering techniques (Hesse-Biber et al., 2011: 304).

Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 305; 314) refer to the process described above as the 'art of the memo' saying that it is a vital step for researchers "who want to get a closer picture of their data to build theory and to potentially draw out some findings." Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 305; 314) describes a similar process to Braun et al. (2006) which involves a close reading of the transcripts and careful thought about the data and the use of descriptive memos such as written notes or visual aids such as mind maps to summarise the data. The researcher needs to identify and include key quotes as well. The analytic memos are, therefore, not only written ideas about the analysis and interpretation of the data but also ideas and impressions about the data and how it fits together. Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 305; 314) state that memos are pathways to the meaning of the data, an intermediate step between the researcher, the researcher's interpretation and the write-up of the data.

Phase two involved generating initial codes from the data. These codes identified interesting features of the data and the data was sorted into meaningful groups. According to Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 308-9), the coding process starts with the researcher's engagement with the data and ends with a theory generated from or grounded in the data. The researcher worked systematically through the data set and identified interesting aspects in the data items that formed the basis of repeated patterns (themes) across the data set. The researcher used highlighters to indicate potential patterns as suggested by Attride-Stirling (2001); Braun et al. (2006: 19) and Alhojailan (2012). This supports Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 315) who maintain that there is no predefined set of coding categories as the analysis is primarily inductive and relies on the researcher's insights. All actual data extracts were coded and then collated together

within each code. Braun et al. (2006: 19) state that no data set is without contradictions and thematic analysis produces an overall conceptualisation of the data patterns, and relationships between them but it is important that the researcher does not smooth out and ignore tensions and inconsistencies within or across data items. It is thus important that accounts which departed from the dominant story in the analysis were retained (Braun et al., 2006: 20). Hesse-Biber et al. (2011: 315) in private correspondence with David Karp (2004) quotes Karp as saying, "especially at the beginning you will hear people say things that you just hadn't thought about" and the researcher must ensure that cognisance is taken of "the words of people who *do not fit the pattern*."

Phase three involved searching for themes within the coded data. The researcher used visual representations such as mind maps to sort the codes into themes and investigated the relationships between codes, between themes and between different levels of themes such as main and sub-themes. Thus at the end of this phase, the researcher had a collection of possible themes and sub themes and extracts of data that had been coded in relation to them. According to Braun et al. (2006: 20), the researcher should, at this stage, begin to have a sense of the significance of individual themes.

Phase four involved reviewing the various themes so as to refine them in order to achieve coherence and find clear and identifiable distinctions between themes. The researcher approached this phase by reviewing at the level of the coded data extracts and re-reading all the collated extracts for each theme to see whether they formed a pattern. The researcher then reviewed at the level of the entire data set. Braun et al. (2006: 21) maintain that it is vital to consider the validity of the individual themes in relation to the data set and to check whether the themes accurately map and reflect the meanings evident in the data set as a whole. Therefore, there were two aims in re-reading the data which were to ascertain whether the themes worked in relation to the data set and to code any additional data within themes that had been missed in the earlier coding stages. At the end of phase four, the researcher had a clear idea of the different themes, how they fitted together and the overall story they told about the data (Braun et al., 2006: 21).

Braun et al., (2006: 22) state that phase five consists of defining and naming the various themes and then analysing the data within the themes. Thus the themes were organised into a coherent and internally consistent account with an accompanying narrative. The researcher conducted a detailed analysis for each theme and identified the story that each theme told. In addition, sub-themes were identified which were useful in giving structure to particularly large and complex themes and also for demonstrating the hierarchy of meaning within the data. Attride-Stirling (2001: 393) maintains that at this stage, the researcher needs to return to the

original text but rather than approaching the text in a linear manner, the researcher should read the original text through the lens of the identified themes. The various themes thus become a tool which "anchors the researcher's interpretation" of the data.

Once the researcher had a set of fully worked out themes, the final analysis and writing-up of the data began which constituted phase six (Braun et al., 2006: 23). The story of the data needed to be written in a way that convinced the reader of the merit and validity of the analysis. In addition, the write-up needed to contain sufficient evidence of the themes extracted from the data, that is, enough data extracts to demonstrate the prevalence of the theme. The researcher chose extracts which demonstrated the essence of the point being made. According to Braun et al. (2006: 23), the extracts thus needed to be embedded within the analytic narrative that illustrates the story being told about the data. Furthermore, the analytic narrative needed to go beyond a mere description of the data and make an argument in relation to the research question.

Thematic analysis has several advantages which include (Braun et al., 2006: 27-8; 37):

- It is a relatively easy and quick method to learn and do;
- It is accessible to novice researchers with little or no experience of qualitative research;
- The results are generally accessible to the general public;
- It can usefully summarise key features of a large body of data and offer a 'thick' description of the data set;
- It is flexible and allows for a range of analytic options thus the potential range of statements about the data is broad. Braun et al. (2006: 28) states that thematic analysis is "a flexible approach that can be used across a range of epistemologies and research questions."
- It can highlight similarities and differences across a data set;
- It can generate unanticipated insights into a data set; and
- It allows for social as well as psychological interpretations of data.

There are a number of limitations of thematic analysis. These include:

- A loss of context due to a focus on the written transcription. Stone (1997: 37) compares this to "reading song lyrics without having heard the song." The researcher overcame this limitation by keeping a research journal which contained contextual notes.
- A loss of content as the researcher selects themes and then discards the rest of the information which does not pertain to the selected themes. Stone (1997: 38) refers to this as "systematically throwing away information" while Bird (2005: 237) recalls how as a novice researcher she used only the data that served her purposes, "and the rest of the life experiences I discarded."

3.9. Limitations

In this research study, the following methodological limitations apply:

- This study focused on a specific group of TESOL teachers at a particular point in time. The research study is thus a cross-sectional study. It is static and time-bound. It would have been interesting to conduct the same study longitudinally, that is, to measure burnout levels at the beginning of a year using the MBI-ES and semi-structured interviews and then to measure burnout again at the end of the year. Thus one could see whether after the period of one year, without any interventions to assist those suffering from burnout, if participants experienced higher levels of burnout as measured by the survey and in the semi-structured interviews. One, therefore, could gain rich comparative data if the study were conducted over a period of time;

- It was not possible for the MBI-ES survey to be administered anonymously. This was due to the schools being in different locations and the fact that the participants could not be gathered as one group in order for the MBI-ES to be administered. Thus the fact that the MBI-ES was not anonymous and the researcher knew who had filled in each survey may have affected the responses. It is possible that teachers who were experiencing burnout falsified their responses out of concern that the results may be made available to their supervisors, despite reassurances that the results were confidential. For many people, being burnt-out carries a stigma and that, along with the very real need to hold on to one's job in the TESOL industry, could have affected the final number of participants for the semi-structured interviews. Thus there may have been more than twenty teachers suffering from burnout out of the forty-three teachers who participated in the study;

- The researcher initially struggled to convince the various language schools to participate in the research study. Most of the schools were concerned that the research study would show them in a negative light. This is the reason that all the schools involved in the study chose to remain anonymous; and

- Overall, a small number of participants, forty-three, took part in the research study. The total number of potential participants was eighty-seven. There were a number of reasons why teachers did not want to participate in the study such as a lack of time to commit to participation, concerns about school administrators and management accessing the results or recognising the statements of the participants in the semi-structured interviews and a concern that involvement in the study meant that others would think the participants were actually experiencing burnout.

3.10. Ethical considerations

The following ethical guidelines were put in place (Seliger et al., 1989: 196):

a. All participants were fully informed of the purpose of the research study by means of the participant consent form;

b. All participants received and signed the participant consent form which allowed the researcher to gather data based on the MBI-ES and the semi-structured interviews;

c. Participants could withdraw from the research study at any time;

d. The dignity and wellbeing of the participants were protected at all times;

e. The research data is confidential and the names of all subjects were changed.

Tracy (2010: 847) states that the following ethical areas are important when conducting research:

- Procedural ethics refers to ethical actions which are necessary in large organisations and institutions. These include not harming the participants in any way, avoiding deception, ensuring that participants give informed consent and that data is kept confidential and private. In addition, procedural ethics emphasise the importance of accuracy, avoiding fabrication, fraud, omission and contrivance.
  - o In this research study, data was kept in a locked filing cabinet to which only the researcher had access;
  - o Privacy was achieved by providing participants with pseudonyms. Tracy (2010: 847) states that this may be necessary in order to protect the participants as people who know certain facts about an individual such as their profession, designation, area of residence or ethnic background may be able to use that information to deduce damaging or private information about the participant based on the data.

- Situational ethics refers to ethical practices that refer to unpredictable moments that occur in the field. Each circumstance is different and researchers must reflect on, and question, their ethical decisions.
  - o In this research study, the researcher understood that some participants may not have felt comfortable discussing the causes of stress at their respective schools or their personal experience of burnout. The researcher resolved to change the direction of the discussion or terminate the interview if any participant became distressed or appeared to be uncomfortable.

- Relational ethics refers to an ethical self-consciousness in which researchers are mindful of their character and the consequences of their actions on others. Tracy (2010: 847) refers to this as "an ethic of care suggestive of mutual respect, dignity, and connectedness between researcher and researched." Thus it is important to be reliable and punctual and to keep promises made to participants such as sharing findings. In addition, it is important that researchers not confuse voyeuristic and scandalous stories obtained by misleading or tricking participants with great research stories. Furthermore, researchers should also anticipate how their findings may be distorted or misread by the general public and policy makers.

3.11. Pilot study

A pilot study of phase one, the MBI-ES, and phase two, the semi-structured interviews was conducted with eight TESOL teachers who fitted the criteria of the research study. These teachers were not included in the actual research study due to having completed the MBI-ES and the semi-structured interviews during the pilot study. Sampson (2004: 383-4) states that a pilot study can be used to enhance the primary research study by leading the researcher to refine the research instruments and discover potential research problems early on so that the researcher does not face the actual research in a state of "blind ignorance." Thabane, Ma, Chu, Cheng, Ismaila, Rios, Robsen, Thabane, Giangregorio and Goldsmith (2010: 2) maintain that it is vital for researchers to conduct a pilot study as it is an often neglected component of a research study with the reality being that "pilot studies receive little or no attention in research training…many just mention it in passing or provide cursory coverage of the topic."

There are several advantages to conducting a pilot study including:
- Identification of gaps in the research design which can be rectified sooner rather than later when the research study has already commenced;
- Helping researchers to spot ambiguities in the content of the surveys, in the interview questions or in the administration of the surveys and interviews;
  - Researchers need to assess their interview questions in order to confirm that the questions do yield the desired information and to detect possible weaknesses in the questions such as ambiguity and redundancy. This supports Hesse-Biber et al. (2011) who suggest pre-testing interview questions in order to reword, refine and validate the questions. Morse et al. (2002) state that verification strategies may be problematic in pilot studies where data are thin. However, Morse et al. (2002: 20) continue saying, "the purpose of pilot studies, if used in qualitative inquiry, is to refine data collection strategies rather than to formulate an analytic scheme or develop theory."
- By going through a 'practice run' by means of the process of analysing and evaluating a limited amount of data, the researcher can achieve the distance required to focus on the wider issues of importance;
  - Sampson (2004: 392) states that it is invaluable that researchers reflect in greater depth on the nature of the activity in which they are engaged. She refers to this as "being prepared and being better prepared." and
- Thabane et al. (2010: 4) state that pilot studies enable researchers to assess the feasibility of the processes that are key to the success of the main study, highlight time and resource problems that may damage the main study and serve to uncover potential human and data management problems.

The researcher's main aim in conducting the pilot study was to determine whether the participants found the MBI-ES and the semi-structured interview questions unambiguous. Confusing questions would have a negative impact on the results of the study. The researcher also viewed the pilot study as an opportunity to practice the data analysis and interpretation.

In terms of the MBI-ES, the eight participants stated that the MBI-ES was straightforward and they were able to complete the survey in less than fifteen minutes. Two of the participants did, however, state that they had found the survey questions to be rather simplistic and would have preferred questions that were TESOL-specific rather than questions related to teaching in general. The researcher decided not to adapt or revise the MBI-ES questions as the MBI-ES is a standardised survey instrument with a scoring key based on the original questions as conceived by the creators of the survey. The researcher was concerned that changing the format of the questions may have resulted in distortion of the data and the way in which the data was scored. All of the participants found the semi-structured interview questions easy to understand and answer and felt that the gathering of biodata at the beginning of the interview served to relax the interviewees. None of the participants said they had felt uncomfortable during the interviews or advised that the questions be rephrased.

Furthermore, the researcher discovered that while the MBI-ES data analysis was reasonably straightforward, the thematic analysis of the semi-structured interview data was much more complex and time consuming. This alerted the researcher to allow for more time for data analysis during the actual research study.

3.12 Conclusion
The choice of a mixed methods design was a result of the way in which burnout was conceptualised. According to Van Tonder et al. (2009), the quan→QUAL research design should overcome the implicit bias that stems from single-method, single-observer and single-theory research studies. Furthermore, mixed method studies are informed by several paradigms, most commonly the positivist with quantitative methodologies and the interpretive with qualitative methodologies.

Quantitative studies reveal certain 'laws' with which to understand behaviour and these are obtained through data-gathering methodologies such as experiments and surveys. The social world which is patterned and regular is, therefore, perceived as existing outside of the researcher. Burnout is thus viewed as a patterned and recurring phenomenon that is measurable using established, reliable and valid surveys such as the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Van Tonder et al., 2009). The quantitative phase was appropriate for establishing the burnout levels of the TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg.

Qualitative studies rest on the belief that socially ascribed meaning is the actual reality and that the subjective experience of a participant is real and holds the key to understanding phenomena (Van Tonder et al., 2009). Thus the advancement of scientific knowledge implies interacting with and listening to people to obtain a complete understanding. Meaning, according to Van Tonder et al. (2009: 208), can only be discovered through "a detailed study of the narrative or…transcript of research participants derived from a situated activity where the researcher is in, and not outside, the world." In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the twenty participants who tested highest for burnout, that is, whose scoring profile fitted the established pattern for the burnout syndrome. These interviews represented a more natural form of interacting with people which complemented the MBI survey.

Quantitative and qualitative approaches are linked in the conceptualisation of burnout for the purposes of this study. Burnout is believed to be a discernible and measurable phenomenon of generally known parameters, that is, it is possible to measure and detect noticeable and consistent patterns in the phenomenon at a general level. At the same time, it is also believed that the nature and onset of stress and burnout, for any person, is individual and the result of a variety of factors, including perceptions, interpretations and internalisations of the meaning of situations. From this perspective, it follows that the investigation of burnout should encompass both paradigms and that knowledge of the phenomenon should be both objectively and subjectively discernible. Methodologically, knowledge of burnout and, specifically, of the levels and incidence of burnout can be accessed through a well-established survey such as the MBI, while the origins and sources of burnout can be established through qualitative procedures such as semi-structured interviews.

In the following chapter, the findings of the research study are presented. Firstly, the findings of the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey are presented and then the findings of the semi-structured interviews are presented by theme and sub-theme. The findings reveal what factors cause teachers to feel stressed thereby contributing to burnout, what kind of support structures are available for stressed teachers and what type of coping strategies stressed teachers use to manage stress and burnout.

Chapter 4: Research findings

4.1 Introduction

Woods (1999: 137) maintains that there is often no awareness of impending burnout. Woods (1999) calls this a lack of the "anticipation of burnout." The individual is thus unprepared and unaware that stress-inducing factors are multiplying, dissonance is deepening and the self is becoming increasingly damaged. The unique problems that affect the TESOL industry occur globally, however, Bolton, Graddol and Meierkord (2011: 459) maintain that "Teachers in many Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts [such as South Africa] face problems in terms of conditions, facilities and resources very different from those that impinge on 'Northern' institutions." In addition, it must be remembered that teachers working in South Africa operate within a multilingual and multicultural environment in which the possibility of stress and consequent burnout is higher than for teachers working in monolingual and less diverse contexts.

4.2 Research findings for part one: Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey
4.2.1 Analysis

A total of forty-three TESOL teachers participated in this research study. (See Appendix 8 for biodata of participants). The raw scores of the MBI-ES were scored using the scoring key. The results revealed that twenty of the forty-three participants (46%) suffered from high levels of burnout. The results of the three subscales are presented below:

Emotional Exhaustion subscale
Maslach et al. (1981) maintain that the main sources of emotional exhaustion are work overload coupled with personal conflict at work. On the EE subscale, twenty of the forty-three respondents scored 27 and higher which represented high levels of emotional exhaustion, nine respondents scored between 17 and 26 which represented a moderate level of emotional exhaustion and fourteen respondents scored between 0 and 16 which represented low levels of emotional exhaustion. (See Graph 1 for the results of the Emotional Exhaustion subscale).

Graph 1: Frequency distribution of the Emotional Exhaustion Subscale
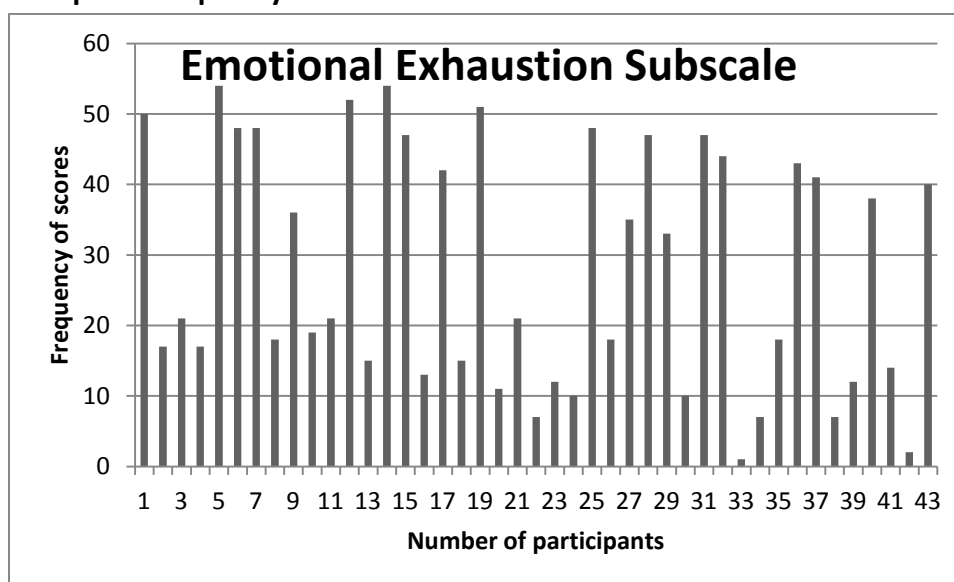
Legend: 27+ = high EE, 17-26 = moderate EE, 0-16 = low EE

Depersonalisation subscale

Maslach et al. (1981) maintain that Depersonalisation occurs as a result of Emotional Exhaustion. On the DP subscale, twenty of the respondents scored 13 and higher which showed high levels of depersonalisation, nine respondents scored between 7 and 12 which represented moderate levels of depersonalisation and fourteen respondents scored between 0 and 6 which represented low levels of depersonalisation. (See Graph 2 for the results of the Depersonalisation subscale).

Graph 2: Frequency distribution of the Depersonalisation Subscale
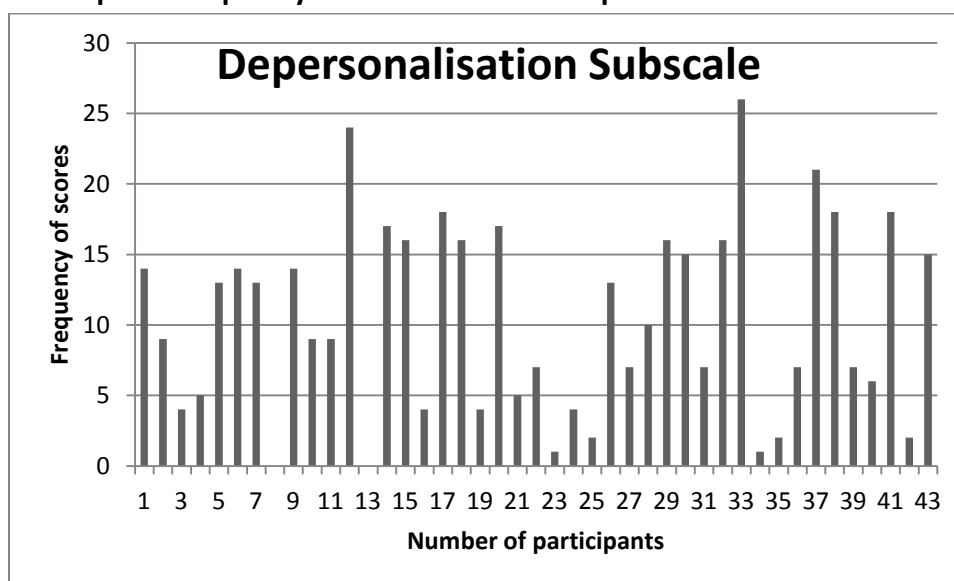
Legend: 13+ = high DP, 7-12 = moderate DP, 0-6 = low DP

Personal Accomplishment subscale

Maslach et al. (1981) state that reduced Personal Accomplishment is an overall sense of being unable to cope. This tends to be aggravated by a lack of social support and few opportunities for professional development. On the PA subscale, twenty of the respondents scored 39 and higher which showed low levels of personal accomplishment, seven respondents scored between 32 and 38 which showed moderate levels of personal accomplishment and sixteen respondents scored between 0 and 31 which revealed high levels of personal accomplishment. This is an interesting finding as it means that two respondents who suffered from high or moderate levels of Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalisation did not experience a low sense of personal accomplishment. (See Graph 3 for the results of the Personal Accomplishment subscale).

Graph 3: Frequency Distribution of the Personal Accomplishment Subscale
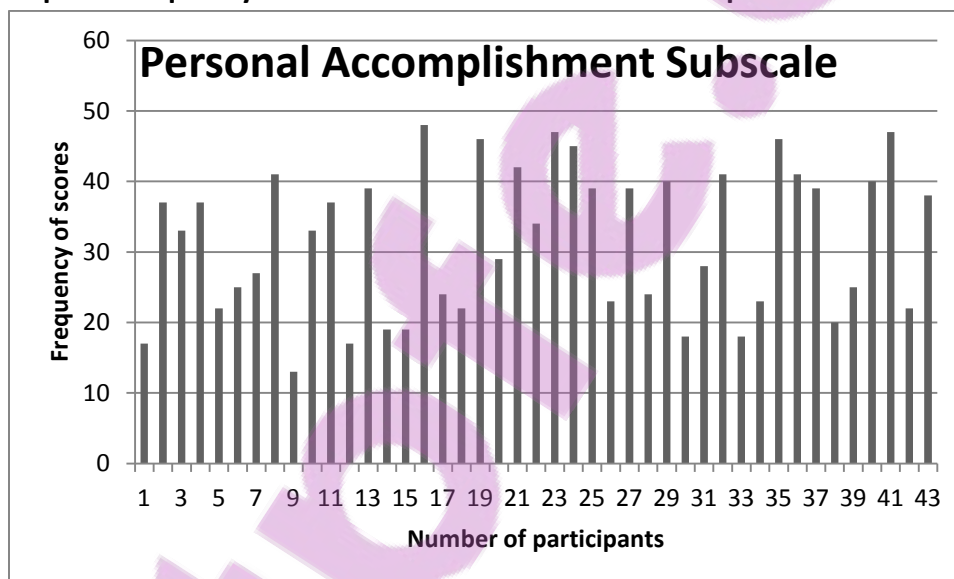
Legend: 39+ = low PA, 32-38 = moderate PA, 0-31 = high PA

4.2.2 Sub-conclusions

The MBI-ES results revealed that almost half of the TESOL teachers who completed the survey (46%) were suffering from high stress levels and exhibited the symptoms of burnout. Thus those respondents who scored above 27 on the EE subscale felt emotionally exhausted and exhibited a sense of apathy, fatigue, low energy levels and emotional distress. For these respondents, the job of TESOL teaching must have been emotionally draining. According to Maslach et al. (1981), emotional exhaustion may fluctuate but rarely disappears without intervention.

The DP subscale revealed that 46% of the respondents tended to depersonalise or withdraw from interactions with their students, colleagues, administrators and supervisors. Furthermore, the PA subscale revealed that 46% of the respondents experienced low levels of personal accomplishment in relation to their work as TESOL teachers. Thus, these teachers did not experience a sense of achievement and accomplishment from the work of TESOL teaching.

The twenty teachers identified as experiencing high levels of burnout were selected for part two of the research study, the semi-structured interviews.

4.3 Research findings for part two: Semi-structured interviews with TESOL teachers
4.3.1 Analysis
    4.3.1.1 What causes teachers to feel stressed?
The twenty participants selected for phase two of the research study identified three major themes that resulted in stress, namely the job of teaching, relationships at work and organisational and TESOL-related issues. Each of the three major themes consisted of various sub-themes (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: A Summary of What TESOL Teachers Working at Private Language Schools Find Stressful

The job of teaching	• Work overload • Inadequate training and gaps in subject knowledge • Time pressure • Student behaviour
Relationships at work	• Colleagues • Administrators • Management • Isolation and disempowerment
Organisational and TESOL-related issues	• Working conditions • Lack of teaching resources • Shared spaces • Lack of professional development and advancement

Major theme 1: The job of teaching
Sub-theme A: Work overload
According to Buchanan (2009), the stress and intensity of teaching is compounded by the overload of work with the field of teaching being subject to 'workload creep' wherein new responsibilities are periodically added to existing ones but few responsibilities are removed from the profession. Griffiths (2012: 469) agrees stating that when TESOL teachers complain about work overload they are referring to copious lesson planning, time-consuming assessment procedures and extensive reporting. This is coupled with the pressure to undergo professional development, to obtain higher qualifications, to be a 'reflective' teacher and to engage in 'action' research. All of this represents, "a heavy burden for teachers already strained by classroom demands."

A number of teachers commented on how the work of teaching consumed all or most of their time to the detriment of family life. This echoes Maslach et al. (1997) who maintain that work overload with few opportunities to rest and recover can lead to burnout. Anne, who had three years TESOL teaching experience in South Africa and Vietnam, felt that teaching consumed all of her time saying, "One of the reasons that I'll eventually leave is because I want the time outside work to be my own"[52] as she did not have time for hobbies or a social life. Nina, who had recently returned to South Africa after five years of TESOL teaching in China, agreed saying that, "Teaching is all-consuming and something you should do when you are young and don't have children." She felt that this may be the reason why many TESOL teachers tend to be young and childless as it is not a profession conducive to financially supporting a family or being able to spend quality time with children.

Rachel, with six years of TESOL teaching experience in China, Poland and South Africa, felt that TESOL was not the right profession for women with children because "TESOL teachers carry their work home with them, literally and figuratively. I think more so than primary and high school teachers. You go home with marking and lesson planning and you think about your students, and when you get into bed you realise that you have spent more time preparing for and thinking about your students than you have spent with your own children." She added that "When I think of the time I have put into administration, lesson preparation and the job itself, I feel ill. I doubt that I have made a significant difference in any students' life and I have taught hundreds of students. What is worse is that I can count on my one hand the amount of students that really showed any improvement. I remember when my children were toddlers, spending my weekends preparing lessons or tests rather than spending time with them. If I had that time back, I would do it very differently." Burke et al. (1993) mention that for many women, the strain of combining a teaching career with a family life can lead to burnout.

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[52] The researcher has not indicated any language errors in the quotes.

Douglas, who had two years of TESOL teaching experience in South Africa, felt that a great deal of stress was generated by the 'before and after' of teaching, including the copious amount of administration and preparation that needed to be done, saying, "It is the pre-work and the post-work that is the problem. Other jobs may be just as stressful or require the same amount of energy but teaching requires the biggest time investment." Claire, with four years of TESOL teaching in South Africa and Saudi Arabia, felt that the workload of teaching impinged on her freedom saying, "I don't like the fact that I can't leave my work at work. I have to take it home and worry about it until the next day. I worked in an office before I started in TESOL and I am always amazed at all the time I had to myself. I could pop out to the bank, eat lunch when I wanted to, chat to colleagues and go to the bathroom when I wanted to, it is the little things, you know…I had a lot more freedom in an office than I have in teaching."

In terms of administration, assessment and lesson planning and preparation, there seems to be more and more for teachers to do with, according to Woods (1999: 116), "less time to do it in, less time for re-skilling and for leisure and sociability, and fewer opportunities for creative work." Thus there is a reduction in the quality of teaching as corners are cut to cover the syllabus and as the work intensifies, teachers become increasingly de-professionalised and de-skilled (Woods, 1999). This leads to feelings of being overwhelmed, to stress and possible burnout. Shaleeda, a TESOL teacher and co-ordinator with eleven years teaching experience in Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Turkey, described how she became overwhelmed by administrative tasks with little time to reflect on their purpose. In addition, she felt as if she was being forced to make important administrative decisions quickly without all the pertinent information. She describes it as "like trying to complete a jigsaw puzzle, under time pressure, with some vital puzzle pieces missing." Due to the overwhelming stress of her position in an English school in Saudi Arabia, she became "confused and ineffective" with the management of the school eventually stating that "they felt that it was best my contract was not renewed as I was not what they needed or wanted." Returning to South Africa, Shaleeda now found herself in a similar situation where she teaches for over 30 hours from Monday to Saturday while also co-ordinating a large group of teachers. Her experience of private language schools in three countries has led her to concur with Woods' (1999: 119) assessment of language schools as being, hotbeds of "burgeoning administration and bureaucracy."

Mark, who had five years TESOL teaching experience in Brazil and South Africa, felt that "There is simply too much administration on top of planning for lessons. There are all sorts of forms and reports. We have to hand in weekly lesson plans, weekly reports, mid and end-of-course reports, observation reports, oral and written exam reports plus create two listening, speaking, reading and writing tests per course. That is eight new tests for every course! And each course is only six weeks long. Just as you finish, it all starts again. Frankly, there is hardly any time left

to prepare for the lessons. Most days I do marking till late at night and then spend weekends doing the tests. I feel as if the job has taken over my whole life." Claire agreed saying, "The overload of administrative work causes a lot of resentment. A lot of us see it as a way of trying to control us. Our professionalism is neither accepted nor assumed. We literally have to produce schedules for every minute of our day and every day of every course. It is all unnecessary form-filling on top of the business of teaching."

Anne describes how at her school the administrative tasks had become more important than teaching. Anne's TESOL co-ordinator "loves administration and reports so she will chase you for weeks if something is not handed in. She never gives up. In her office there are about thirty files stuffed full of paper — she keeps a record of everything. The teachers who do the administrative tasks in time are her favourites even though they may not be the best classroom teachers." Anne believes that this had led to feelings of resentment from the teachers who had heavier workloads and could not always complete administrative tasks in time. Anne taught every day from 9.00 to 3.30 and then on Saturdays from 9.00 to 1.00. In addition, she gave extra lessons to students who were struggling with English. Many of the other teachers did not work on Saturdays and were not involved in extra lessons so had more time to complete the administrative tasks. Anne's situation tends to be typical of private language schools where classes run in the mornings, afternoons and evenings as well as on Saturdays. In order to make extra money, teachers may teach during the week and on Saturdays. There is seldom control over the amount of hours that a teacher may work. Work overload has been identified as one of the factors leading to burnout (Maslach et al., 1997).

Some of the teachers felt that the overload of work in TESOL teaching, particularly the administrative tasks, had led to a sense of tedium and boredom. For some teachers this had led to a withdrawal from their students, what Maslach describes as a depersonalisation of the students. Rex, who had seven years TESOL teaching experience in Columbia, Peru and South Africa, described how "For the first few years, I found the students fascinating but as the work has become more stressful and the paperwork has become more important than the teaching, I have found that listening to the same stories is tedious. The students have become stereotypical. Every Chinese student describes their city in the same way, every Angolan student speaks about the civil war, and every Brazilian student speaks about the Rio carnival. Towards the end of a course I find that I just lose interest. I am losing sight of what motivated me to start teaching in the first place. Everyone has become two-dimensional." Shaleeda agreed saying that, "At least once a week, I give my class a two-hour test so that I can focus on the paperwork. Sometimes I wish that we could do more reading, writing or computer lab work so that I could spend more time getting the administration done. It has literally taken the joy out of teaching."

Sub-theme B: Inadequate training and gaps in subject knowledge
Language teacher training differs from one country to another and one of the major problems with the TESOL field is the lack of standardised entry qualifications. In addition, there is increasing concern about whether the training, which varies from one week and one month-long TEFL certificates to Bachelors, Honours and Masters level degrees, is adequate preparation for the actual teaching. According to Hobbs (2013: 163), very few teachers do an initial degree in TESOL as short TESOL teacher training courses are widely accepted as an entry qualification. These courses have spread worldwide with "well-known providers such as the University of Cambridge and Trinity College London accrediting 400 international course providers to offer courses to over 10, 000 trainees every year." Hobbs (2013: 163) maintains that the one-month TESOL course "meets consumer demand for a focus on practice while offering an opportunity for a swift career change and a means to obtain necessary certification with limited time and financial commitments."

While many have criticized short TESOL teacher training courses as not supporting teacher autonomy or the ability to think critically about teaching and teaching contexts, Macpherson (2003) states that short courses are justified as trainees are given the basic tools with which to embark on a career in English language teaching. Hobbs (2013: 165) agrees saying that short courses are a form of "boot camp" for prospective TESOL teachers and provide the bare essentials beyond which it is up to the individual to develop further. Short TESOL training courses typically include such topics as additional-language acquisition theories, language teaching methodology, basic features of the phonology, vocabulary, grammar and syntax of modern communicative English, lesson planning and the creation of teaching aids and materials. Most TESOL courses also include a practical teaching component in which the trainee teacher is observed teaching a number of classes and feedback is given. Hobbs (2013) believes, however, that the core nature of most short TESOL teacher training courses is incongruous with modern English language teaching. She states that courses should not only be longer than four weeks but also be revised to include a greater focus on the awareness of different teaching contexts, further study of explicit language awareness including more attention to the grammar of the language and longer supervised teaching practice.

The teachers interviewed for this research study had a wide range of qualifications, ranging from month-long TEFL or TESOL certificates and diplomas, CELTA and DELTA qualifications to Bachelor degrees in English, Linguistics and various other areas of specialisation. In this research study, only one of the teachers had a Masters degree in TESOL. Many of the participants felt that even though their initial training had not prepared them for the reality of teaching, it had provided them with the basic skills necessary to make a start in teaching English. Rex, however, felt that the TESOL Diploma consisted of "too much theory" and

"grammar modules which bore no resemblance to the realities of teaching English grammar to students who could not speak English." Claire agreed saying, "I felt overwhelmed by the amount of work I had to complete in four weeks. Half the time I had no idea what the instructors were talking about or what they expected from me." Thus many TESOL teachers enter the field unprepared for the realities of teaching English. This creates a situation for many teachers where stress and burnout are not only probable but almost certainly inevitable.

Wedell (2004) states that TESOL has a different focus in different countries around the world, for example, in Portugal, technical expertise in the grammar of the language is considered very important despite the widespread movement towards the teacher as a well-rounded researcher and a reflective practitioner. In France, the didactic model is prevalent with the 'lecture' as the main approach bolstered by the belief that the "proper job of a teacher is to hand down academic learning" irrespective of context or circumstances (Wedell, 2004: 4). Brisard and Hall (2001: 195) state that in France "academic achievement and the acquisition of decontextualised educational theory are still paramount to actual teaching practice and the development of professional skills." Gahin and Myhill (2001: 3-11) state that in Egypt the methodology component is "quite shallow and most classroom teachers do not understand the principles of communicative language teaching. Furthermore, the national imperative to learn English has been hampered by a poor supply of suitably qualified teachers, often lacking proficiency in English themselves."

While the participants in this research study have the advantage of being first language speakers of English, they felt that the South African TESOL industry also favoured technical expertise and grammar knowledge over a more communicative and reflective approach to teaching. Thus the explicit teaching of grammar rules and structures was favoured over the more covert teaching of grammar as part of reading, writing, listening or speaking activities. This approach could lead to stress for native speaker TESOL teachers. Andrews (1999: 157), commenting on the native speaker/non-native speaker debate notes that it is "disturbing that graduates in English Studies (which might be expected to provide a foundation for a career in TEFL/TESL)" displayed a "lack of explicit knowledge of even basic English grammar." Douglas mentioned that "Schools tell us to keep up to date with the latest research and send us on reflective workshops to improve our teaching but the reality is those who are more traditional grammar teachers and who teach using grammar drills and whose boards are covered with grammar rules tend to be viewed as more competent teachers than those who de-emphasise grammar and try to embed grammar into a speaking or writing activity." One of the issues raised by the participants was the fact that teachers are expected to be competent grammarians yet most of the TESOL training courses did not prepare a teacher for grammar teaching. Nina relates how in her TEFL Diploma the students "were given an English grammar

book and told to go home and learn it." She adds, "We were not taught how to actually teach grammar, it is one thing to understand the grammar yourself but quite another to teach it to other people." Douglas agreed saying, "I don't feel that my TESOL Diploma prepared me particularly well for planning a lesson or teaching a class. It was too theoretical with lots of linguistic terminology and phonetic charts that we had to learn. I think it would have been better to just start teaching as an assistant to an experienced teacher who could be a mentor. It would have been less stressful than being left alone with a class of students and realising that you didn't have a clue." Seidlhofer (1999: 238) describes this dilemma as follows, "Native speakers know the destination, but not the terrain that has to be crossed to get there; they themselves have not travelled the same route."

Thus inadequate training can lead to low self-esteem and a sense that one lacks competence in the classroom. This is a problem unique to TESOL teaching where novice teachers are often thrown in at the deep end and expected to teach classes without having undergone a period of observed teaching or mentoring. Canagarajah (2012: 262) describes how on his first day of teaching "the head of department threw a textbook into my arms, pointed to the classroom down the hallway, and sent me off with a pat on my shoulder." According to Woods (1999: 123) those who are at the greatest risk of stress and burnout are those who have strong feelings of vocation and those who care deeply about their work and their students. For these teachers, the personal self is strongly connected to their teacher role. Teaching is thus part of their identity and they cannot switch off at the end of the day and take on another role and persona. Thus, their professional worth is linked to their sense of competence. For these teachers, poor performance in the classroom due to inadequate training can lead to feelings of stress and in the long-term, to burnout.

Even experienced teachers acknowledge that there are areas which can be 'gaps in knowledge.' In the case of TESOL teachers these gaps tend to be in the area of English grammar which can lead to significant stress for teachers. Borg (2001) studied the relationship between teachers' perceptions of their knowledge of grammar and their instructional practices.[53] Borg (2001: 26) discovered that teachers modify their behaviour according to whether they are confident of being able to teach a particular grammar point. If not confident, there would be "minimizing or deferring discussion, and generally hedging." In addition, he found that some teachers who were unsure of grammar "raced through the grammar homework, avoiding eye contact with students who might ask difficult questions." Svalberg (2012: 144; 149) studied ninety-six novice and experienced TESOL teachers' perceptions of a grammar awareness course and workshop.

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[53] The researcher is aware that research studies are not normally added to the concluding chapters. However, where research studies are applicable to the findings, conclusions and recommendations they have been outlined at this point to avoid cross-referencing.

The teachers were enrolled for part-time Masters degrees in Applied Linguistics and TESOL at a university in the UK. Svalberg (2012) found that anxiety about grammar awareness and teaching was generally high with 82% of the Applied Linguistics and 64% of the TESOL students stating that the lack of an answer key to the selected grammar exercises was very stressful. Furthermore, 93% of the TESOL students found the grammar tasks too difficult whereas only 17% of the Applied Linguistics students felt that the grammar tasks had been too difficult. Overall, the TESOL teachers were less confident about teaching grammar than the Applied Linguistics students.

Many of the teachers interviewed echoed this concern. Douglas stated that he felt anxious about grammar teaching saying, "I believe that my personal negative experiences with grammar and drill work at school have a direct effect on my teaching style. I avoid giving straightforward grammar lessons and direct grammar correction because I think it serves no purpose and is boring. But my students seem to want to spend the entire lesson learning grammar and this has led to some communication breakdowns in the classroom." Rachel agreed saying, "I really don't enjoy teaching grammar because I don't believe that people learn how to use a language by studying the grammar of the language. But the students are obsessed with grammar. Several students complained about the lack of grammar in my class. So I have been forced to re-learn the grammar of English in order to be a more effective teacher." As first language speakers of English acquire rather than 'learn' grammar, these teachers had to explicitly learn the grammar rules of English in order to be able to teach them. Thus this is a potentially stressful area for TESOL teachers. This supports Andrews (1999) who states that first language speakers of English who teach English may be deficient in explicit knowledge of the grammar of the language.

According to the teachers interviewed, one of the difficulties experienced is trying to explain English grammar in a simple way that is understandable for students who do not have fluent English language skills. Mark mentioned that "Even though I have been doing this for five years, I still find teaching grammar in context to be tricky. I find teaching English grammar as difficult and frustrating as my students find learning it." Anne maintains that while there are novel and exciting ways to teach grammar using games and songs, the students and teachers eventually reach a point where they have to grapple with the technical aspects of grammar. In her opinion, "this struggling with grammar sucks the fun out of the lesson as students become more and more confused and frustrated by the complexities of grammar. When they don't understand, they blame the teacher."

Sub-theme C: Time pressure

Wedell (2004) states that a mismatch between the curriculum goals or outcomes and the realities of the time available in the classroom can be very stressful for teachers as the burden of trying to reconcile this mismatch falls on their shoulders. Wedell (2004) provides a number of examples of this mismatch from high school English teaching in expanding circle countries. In Japan, for example, the English curriculum outcomes state that emphasis must be placed on communicative activities with the goal of enabling students to communicate their thoughts and feelings in English. The reality, however, is that teachers see students for three fifty-minute lessons per week where the sole focus is on acquiring English reading and writing skills in order for students to pass entrance exams for senior high school and university. A similar situation exists in Vietnam where the stated curriculum goals emphasise communicative language teaching yet students generally attend three forty-five-minute lessons a week in which the material consists of mainly grammar exercises and reading comprehensions. Thus, according to Wedell (2004), most Vietnamese students are unable to communicate in spoken English.

In China, curriculum goals state that teachers should focus on the functional use of English and practical communication skills. However, most English classes consist of two to six forty-five-minute lessons per week with an emphasis on grammar exercises, reading comprehensions and writing. On the other side of the globe, a similar situation exists in Chile where "Grammar continues to dominate ELT in all areas: initial teacher training, curricula and classroom teaching and learning." The situation in developing countries is further exacerbated by the large numbers of teachers who lack appropriate levels of competence in English themselves, who work in under-resourced schools with large classes and with students who lack the motivation to learn English (Wedell, 2004: 53).

TESOL teachers in private language schools also experience a mismatch between the stated aims of the curriculum and the realities of teaching the prescribed material in a limited time period. Most English courses in private language schools in South Africa are between six and seven weeks long. All except one school in this research study use English language teaching textbooks designed for longer courses ranging from three months to a year. There is an expectation that teachers complete the prescribed course book. This expectation tends to be student-based as many of the students come from educational backgrounds which are book-bound and furthermore, the book is included in the cost of the course and students expect it to be utilised. Douglas describes how "Most of the students prefer working with the prescribed course book. It is their safety net. They need something tangible to take home with them. The minute you do work that is not in the book, they get uncomfortable." Anne agreed saying, "At our school we tried using our own material rather than a glossy, well-known course book but it was a disaster. The students pay a lot of money for a course and they want a book. They equate

the book with a good course. If they get worksheets and no book then they think the course is rubbish. They don't seem able to discern good teaching from bad."

Nina felt that the courses were too short and "we hardly ever finish the course book. This causes a lot of unhappiness and complaints from the students. I find the work pressure coupled with the use of a standardised text book designed for a year-long course means there is simply too much to be done in six weeks. Frankly, I can't cope." She explained further that the students were told that they may not cover all of the material in the course book; however, they generally felt that they had been short-changed if all the material at a particular level had not been covered. Rex agreed saying, "I try my best to cover all the material in the book even if it means giving more homework than the other teachers. The students are happy but I feel that I have created a stressful situation for myself as word has spread that I cover the whole book so when students enter my level, they have this expectation of me now. The course book has become a burden." This supports Tomlinson and Masuhara (2013: 233; 247; 248) who express concern about well-known English course books[54] that are published with "apparent disregard of the findings of second language acquisition research" , "too much attention given to explicit knowledge of grammar" and "an excessive increase in the number of course components." Tomlinson et al. (2013: 248) state that popular ELT course books currently on the market are "unlikely to be very effective in facilitating language acquisition and development" and seem to be based on the assumption that all English learners are, "aspirational, urban, middle-class, well-educated, westernised computer users."

Anne felt that it was not possible for students to improve their language skills significantly in a seven-week course saying, "It is ridiculous that the courses are so short. In my opinion, the schools run short courses so as to make maximum money. They don't care about the students or the teachers; they only care about the profits. Sometimes I hardly manage to get through half of the course book in seven weeks. You can't just keep on moving forward when you can see your students don't understand." Shaleeda said that she had asked the management at her school to allow the teachers to become more involved in curriculum development specifically the choice of teaching material but "they were not interested. They said we were here to teach the course book and if we didn't like the book or felt the courses were too short and we didn't have enough time, then the problem must be with us and the way we were teaching." According to McKernan (2008:86), in order to be effective and for learning to take place, teachers need to be involved in "articulating broad educational philosophies and policies, conducting needs analyses, setting goals and objectives and deciding on and selecting appropriate content, materials and methodological approaches." These are areas where TESOL

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[54] Tomlinson et al. (2013) analysed the content of the following ELT course books: *The Big Picture*, *English Unlimited*, *Global*, *New Headway*, *Speakout* and *Outcomes.*

teachers should be providing language schools with input based on their teaching experiences. However, this is sadly not the case.

Elliot (1994) states that teachers and not administrators should be the central agents in curriculum development and change as they are the experts on whether the curriculum works in the classroom. Furthermore, Webb (2002) maintains that teachers should have autonomy in deciding to make alterations to TESOL curricula and forms of assessment. The TESOL teachers interviewed in this research study said that they were not involved in the choice of English course books, curriculum development, implementation or evaluation. Thus this creates a sense of powerlessness which can lead to feelings of stress and burnout (McGrail, 2005). The teachers felt that their exclusion from this process was very stressful and furthermore, the course books that had been selected were not designed for intensive language courses. Thus this had led to considerable disillusionment with TESOL teaching.

Nina felt that the current curriculum at her school is "too Eurocentric[55], we need to bring in local materials and contexts. Students don't need to know about the Tube in London or how to find the best restaurants in New York. They need to know how to cope here and now with the realities of living in Johannesburg." This supports Walker (2001: 190) who in conversation with focus groups of foreign students studying at English language schools in New Zealand, discovered that students reported "an over-reliance on standard, imported textbooks that reflected neither the needs of the client nor the specific [local] context." Many of the teachers interviewed included local content in their teaching but found it difficult to combine a significant amount of useful local content with the time pressure to complete the course book. Anne felt that she had achieved a good balance between the two saying, "I can't stand overseas course books. We don't live in England or America and we don't see the relevance of the content, they are a waste of time for students here. If I were to follow the dictates of the school regarding what we should be doing in the classroom, we wouldn't achieve very much." Shaleeda agreed saying, "My students need to know how to renew a visa, how to deal with the police if they get pulled over at a roadblock, how to get an international drivers licence, catch a bus or taxi, buy groceries and so on…in order to communicate in English they don't need to or want to know about where Shakespeare lived or which celebrities British people admire or what the latest fashions are in London." Both Anne and Shaleeda had developed local material in their own time and at their own cost, something some of the other teachers said they were not prepared to do, either because they did not have the time or felt that it would not be appreciated by their supervisors or students. This is ironic as the lack of authentic, local material is a common student complaint at language schools.

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[55] All of the language schools in this research study taught British English and used course books with British and European themes.

Thus, the TESOL teachers in this research study struggled with the feeling of being pulled between following the curriculum which they felt was too Eurocentric, wanting to try out new ideas which included local content and giving students what they needed the most, that is, practical communicative situations that would enable them to survive in a foreign country. In a sense there are always three agendas present. Anne describes it as follows: "The problem is how to create a satisfying course in a very limited amount of time. I feel torn between the course requirements which tend to be rigid and unrealistic, my need to be creative and exciting in the classroom and to help my students to lead a normal life in this city, and the needs of my students which are dictated by their individual contexts." Rachel agreed saying, "When we don't use the course book and play a game or just talk in the classroom, my students seem happier but the minute we use the book, they become over-concerned about correct grammar and some of them want to know the relevance of what they are learning. It is as if the happiness in the classroom is like a slowly deflating balloon. We are under a lot of time pressure and using the book just makes us waste time. It is irrelevant. The book does more harm than good, I think. It just causes stress for all of us."

Sub-theme D: Student behaviour

Student behaviour is a major source of stress and consequent burnout for TESOL teachers. According to Woods (1999: 133), "there are some fearsome tales of deteriorating behaviour among adult students, to such an extent that it has driven some teachers out of teaching." A lot of time is wasted in the classroom while teachers attempt to manage disruptive students and regain control. This can cause considerable stress for TESOL teachers. Griffiths (2012: 469) states that the practical question of how a teacher should manage difficult and disruptive students is "conspicuous by its relative absence from the ELT literature." In this research study, Rachel felt that students were becoming more difficult and that her teaching had become "reactive because you never know what you are going to find in the classroom. It is an unnatural situation to have a class of twenty-five adults from different cultures, languages, nations and religions and expect one person to be able to manage them." Rachel also commented that some students, while not disruptive, seemed to be "sleepwalking, irritatingly passive, sullen and disinterested" while Taylor who had three years TESOL teaching experience in South Korea and South Africa, felt that "the main discipline problems are persistent use of the first language, defiant students who are rowdy and distract others, and students who come to class unprepared or late."

Students' constant use of their mother tongue, both inside and outside the classroom was felt to be stressful and frustrating by almost all of the teachers interviewed. In a bilingual context, the use of the students' first language could be beneficial but English classes at private language schools in South Africa are likely to be multilingual. It is unlikely that TESOL teachers

would be able to converse with students and explain concepts in multiple languages. Thus most TESOL teachers enforce an 'English-only' rule[56] in the classroom which puts the students on an equal footing, prevents the formation of cliques of students who share a common language and ensures that students' obtain many opportunities to practice English. Jonathan, who had two years of TESOL teaching experience in Greece and South Africa, explained that "I don't think it is unreasonable to expect students to speak only English in the classroom. That is why they are here after all. I find it very stressful to constantly have to remind adults about something that should be obvious." Shaleeda said that students' use of their mother tongue in the classroom was a problem in TESOL classes in all four countries that she had taught in and there was no easy solution saying, "I understand that students want to express themselves in their own language if there are others in the class who speak that language but it does escalate out of control and you find yourself reprimanding more and more and this detracts from the cordial and collaborative atmosphere that you are trying to create." Thomas, who had six years TESOL teaching experience in Italy and South Africa, agreed saying, "Something I find very stressful is students who keep on speaking in their first language in the classroom. You have to constantly remind everyone to speak English, on and on. Even if you make a joke about it, it gets irritating after a while. Some of the teachers fine the students and then use the money to buy a cake for the class at the end of the course. I just don't have the energy to chase after the students for money though. I just can't imagine why someone would pay for an English course and then come and sit in the class and speak their own language!"

All of the teachers felt that adult students could be surprisingly disruptive with some students going out of their way to disturb others and the teacher and thus ruin the lesson. Vicky, who had five years TESOL teaching experience in Hong Kong, South Africa, Thailand and Vietnam, said that "Noisy and disruptive students are very stressful for me. If they can embarrass you or 'catch you out' and the other students laugh, then that is the end. You have lost control of the class and lost face in their eyes." Sometimes just one disruptive student makes teaching a particular class unpleasant. Claire described a male student from Albania who "complains I am talking too fast —every single day. When he doesn't understand what I am saying, he throws down his pen or slams his dictionary closed and puts his head down on his desk." Claire felt a sense of dread before entering the class as she knew that she would have to slow down her pace so as to accommodate him. Fern, who had two years TESOL teaching experience in South Africa, was adamant that she intended to leave the field as she found teaching far more stressful than she had expected. Fern found disruptive students particularly irritating saying, "I can't bear the constant talkers, students who talk loud and often and when they can't talk, they

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[56] Not all researchers agree with the English-only rule. Rivers (2011), for example, argues that English-only classrooms create considerable anxiety for students from EFL situations and fail to acknowledge and utilise the value of their L1. Furthermore, he views the English-only classroom as a front for exclusionary beliefs in native speaker absolutes and a lack of consideration for the learning styles of students from different cultures.

whisper to the students sitting near them. They miss everything that I am trying to explain and then are the first ones to put their hand up and ask me to explain something a second or third time. I find it very stressful." This echoes Pines (2002) findings that disruptive student behaviour can cause a sense of frustration and hopelessness among teachers which can lead to burnout.

Many of the teachers expressed concern about students who were particularly argumentative and aggressive in the classroom. Anne said that "Personally, one thing that has ruined TESOL teaching for me is that in every group, there is at least one student who badgers you. They see the opportunity to 'question' the teacher; it is disrespectful and causes me to make mistakes. I can't help feeling as if it is a personal attack." Fern described one male student who was particularly aggressive in one of her current classes saying, "He questions every point I make. Not just grammar or vocabulary but general knowledge as well. He goes out of his way to try and show me up, to diminish me in the eyes of the other students. And it works. I don't think anyone in that class has respect for me as a teacher." Claire agreed saying that "Every class has at least one student who is a problem. I find the mature students can be hard to handle. When I first started teaching, I taught a small advanced class of only six students, one of which was a German man in his mid-forties. He was terrible; he would query every grammar point, argue about every topic and complain about every activity. He was just generally disruptive and unpleasant. I don't know how I got through the course. He had me in tears after class every single day for six weeks." Claire described how she approached the course co-ordinator for assistance and was told "that I was a weak teacher and needed to stand up for myself in the classroom. That stayed with me for a long time, the fact that when I really needed help with a student, the situation was twisted so that it became my fault." As TESOL teachers are mainly employed on short-term contracts and are not unionised, it would be unlikely for a TESOL teacher to pursue the matter further. Griffiths (2012: 470) maintains that TESOL teachers are often reluctant to admit to student behavioural problems as they fear that it "may reflect on their own professionalism" and that "they will not get support from…school authorities."

Many of the teachers interviewed commented on the general disinterest and lack of motivation among the students, especially those in their late-teens and early twenties. They found this particularly stressful. Vicky described how "Over the years, our students have become younger and younger. When I started teaching, most of the students were in their twenties and thirties but in the last two years, I have had whole classes of teenagers. I sometimes feel like I am teaching high school. Most of them are not interested in learning English and are forced to attend by their families." Jonathan agreed saying that he tries "to engage the younger students by using songs and games. I spend ages typing up song lyrics, creating cloze exercises with the lyrics and preparing discussion questions about the songs. Then when I play the song the students say it isn't their kind of music, or they all sit there looking glum. They keep missing the

point that it isn't about the song, it is about the language they can extract from the song and the discussion we can have about the themes of the song. I find it very frustrating to try and appeal to younger students and not succeed." This kind of stress is unique to TESOL teaching where standardised curricula are not followed and the teacher is faced with the difficulty of not only trying to teach but also of being entertaining, amusing and relevant.

Fern describes how "Some of the younger male students can be difficult to handle. We have one group who started at beginner level and have paid for all six levels all the way to advanced level. They walk into the classroom late, disrupt the whole class and then some of them go to sleep on their desks, or disappear for smoke breaks for hours. One of them was caught trying to sell drugs in the men's bathroom but the school have still kept him on as a student. They are terrible — completely disinterested, they just refuse to participate." Rex agreed saying that, "We see all types here. A lot of these guys come into South Africa on a student visa but never attend classes or attend just enough so that the school does not kick them out. Some of them are definitely involved in criminal stuff like drugs and selling counterfeit goods. It is impossible to try and teach them anything. What I find particularly stressful is the disruption they cause for legitimate students and the fact that we are powerless to tell them to leave." It is often the case in private language schools that little action is taken against students who use their student visas as a means for legally residing in South Africa while being involved in criminal activities. Many of these students pay for a year's tuition in advance which represents an amount of money that some struggling language schools simply cannot afford to turn down. This supports a British Council report on the regulation of private English language schools in the UK which states that there are concerns about some private ELT schools being used as a front for illegal activities or being used by criminals as a means to enter a particular country (British Council, 2004: 2).

Lack of student participation is a particular problem in TESOL classes. Anne felt that this was because "many foreign students, especially those from Asian countries, come from learning backgrounds where everything is teacher-directed and they are not comfortable participating in communicative activities." This supports Li (2003) who states that interactive and spontaneous teaching approaches are "deemed incompatible with Asian students' conceptualisation of what constitutes good learning and good teaching." The teachers generally felt that some of the students were just not willing to try at all while other students expressed their displeasure by being argumentative and aggressive and in some cases refusing to participate. Rachel recalled a male student from Russia who refused to answer any questions about social situations or likes and dislikes as "he couldn't see the relevance of telling the rest of us about his favourite movies or his hobbies. He simply could not understand that the point of the question was to make him use the language and talk." Rex agreed saying that "I can't bear the hostile 'why should I do

that?' and the 'you can't make me do it!' mentality. This is especially prevalent among the older male students. Students or their families spend thousands coming to a strange country, living with people they don't know, getting up each morning and fighting through the Johannesburg traffic to get to class and then they just sit looking miserable, mouths closed, refusing to do anything which will take them closer to their goal of being fluent in English. This for me is extraordinarily stressful." Warren, who had five years TESOL teaching experience in Chile, Japan and South Africa, noted that "there is nothing more stressful for me than planning and setting up group activities and everyone sits in a group formation but works on their own. So instead of a vibrant, communicative classroom, you end up with a silent class of unhappy students with their heads in their dictionaries!"

Bruce, who had four years TESOL teaching experience in Indonesia and South Africa, echoed this concern saying "Many of the students don't seem to want to participate in activities. The techniques we use such as dialogues, group work, games and role plays seem foreign to them. They simply can't see the point. Something that happens quite often is students going to sleep in class. I find this very stressful. They don't want to learn English. The boys in particular are forced to attend by their families who think that fluent English will mean good jobs or a chance to attend university. Instead they stay up half the night playing computer games or surfing the internet, they are simply not interested. Coming to class just means a chance to catch up on sleep." Douglas agreed saying, "I find apathetic students very stressful, the ones who don't want to be there to begin with. They seem to have no energy or enthusiasm, every day they drag themselves in and slump behind their desk, or even worse, fall asleep on their desk while you are trying to teach." Generally, the teachers found this sort of behaviour to have a negative effect on their morale. Fern describes it thus, "I know that I am lucky to have found a position as a TESOL teacher but after two years I don't think I can continue much longer. Of course, there are some students who are very motivated and interested in what you have to offer but by and large, the students think they know more than the teachers. For me it is as if they look down on us in South Africa. They are always complaining about the crime and the slow internet and how much better their cities and countries are. I have no idea why they even bother to come here. They come here to play games in the computer lab or sleep on their desks. I am so disappointed. I have negative thoughts every day, the stress involved in teaching is taking its toll on my health and no money or job is worth your health."

Student passivity and lack of interest was a theme that many of the teachers identified with. Terry, who had three years TESOL teaching experience in Croatia, South Africa and Switzerland, felt that this was one of the most stressful aspects of being a TESOL teacher, saying "Sometimes during a class, I'll look up and notice that students who I thought were busy with a task are texting or checking their email on their cell phones under their desks. During computer lab

time, I find students checking personal mail and surfing the web instead of working on the language software. And this happens on a daily basis which means you spend the whole lesson reprimanding students instead of facilitating the lesson. It has become so bad that I no longer take my classes to the lab." Rachel agreed saying, "You ask students to switch their cell phones off but either they don't or they won't. Instead of working in groups, they are texting and then they are taking photos or filming the lesson. So much time is wasted trying to maintain order even in classes where most of the students are old enough to know better! I find the constant reminding and reprimanding to be aggravating and stressful."

On the other hand, some students over-participate in class which can also create stress for the teacher. Sara, who had worked for four years as a TESOL teacher in South Africa, described a student who "was unable to keep quiet and listen. Every lesson was fraught with episodes in which she would speak in a garbled manner for at least five to ten minutes. Much of what she said was unintelligible to me and her classmates so I began to limit her speaking time. Sometimes I would just have to cut her off and move on to the next student. One afternoon after the lessons had finished, she came back into my class and slammed her hands down on my desk while I was marking tests. She was angry and shrieking at me. Her entire demeanour was threatening. I remember blinking stupidly…I couldn't speak. That was a moment of true fear. She caught me off guard. And then she just walked out laughing." Frankie, who had five years TESOL teaching experience in China, South Korea and South Africa, also commented on such students saying, "What I find stressful is students who want to be the centre of attention all the time and are quite aggressive about it. They dominate discussions, they shout out the answer before others have had a chance to even read the question, they correct other students. These students change the entire dynamic in the classroom. They make it unpleasant for the teacher and the other students."

A few of the teachers mentioned that TESOL classes in private language schools were getting larger which led to more stress for the teachers. Joanne, who had ten years TESOL teaching experience in Taiwan, Thailand and South Africa, said that classes had been much smaller a few years before ranging from about eight to fifteen students. Now it was not unusual to teach a class consisting of over twenty students. Vicky agreed saying that "We are simply teaching too many students in groups that are too large and, in some cases, cognitively unbalanced. You simply can't give a student any personal attention; those who don't understand get left behind." Anne agreed saying, "Our classrooms are quite small. Recently I have had classes of up to twenty students. There is hardly any space to move. I find it quite unbearable because it is hot and stuffy and the students constantly want your attention so the noise level can become a bit too much as well."

Many of the teachers believed that their students' expected daily lessons to be creative, exciting and fun-filled. The teachers' felt that this was unrealistic. Anne said that "the students are here to learn a skill which they need to study further or get better jobs. So I find it stressful that when I push my students to do more grammar or writing or to practice their speaking, they say that the lesson is boring. Yet they are the first people to complain when they find their English skills lacking. We can't play games or go on outings every day. I think the students are simply not realistic." Bruce felt that his students expected him "to be an entertainer and to fill every lesson with fun and laughter and games which can be quite stressful." Sara complained that "there is a time to have fun but then there is a time to work hard; the minute I get serious in class, my younger students sulk." Some of the other teachers found it stressful to try and please students of varying ages, Rachel said, "In my current upper-intermediate class I have several students who are still teenagers and just want to play games and go on outings and then I have older students in their twenties and thirties who are very committed and serious and are studying English so as to pass the IELTS exam and go to university and then there are still others who just want conversational English. You can't please them all yet they all expect the focus of the class to be on their needs."

All of the teachers found student complaints to be particularly stressful especially when unwarranted and unexpected. Shaleeda described a male student from Brazil who found her teaching style to be too informal with too much time spent on games and other 'fun' activities. She said that "I could see he wasn't happy so I approached him about it. I suggested that he participate in the activities and I explained the point behind some of the games. He said that he would try. The next day the co-ordinator called me in and wanted to know what was going on in my class as there had been a complaint about my class not being serious enough. So she just moved this student to another class. I was hurt as he had not given me a chance and because he went behind my back to my boss even though I had tried to discuss matters with him. The worst was how seriously she took his complaint. I was made to feel that I had done something wrong and that I needed to take a serious look at my teaching style. I found this to be very de-motivating." Rex agreed saying, "The problem is that students realise that they can make your life difficult by going to complain. So the student, who you have to constantly reprimand for sleeping, or talking in their home language or laughing at other students' errors, is the one who is going to complain about you, either in person or on your evaluation. And all complaints are taken very seriously whether they have a factual basis or not." There is, therefore, a sense of powerlessness on the part of the TESOL teachers. They have to walk a fine line between maintaining control in the classroom, providing fun and interesting lessons and not alienating any of their students to the point where a complaint is lodged.

Taylor describes how "I had a class where one student was late for the first few days. After about a week, a group of female students complained to me about it. They implied that I was not in control of the class and that if I did not do something about his late coming they would be forced to take the complaint to my boss. So I spoke to him about it and then the next day he went and complained about me to the co-ordinator. I felt like I had been bullied into a difficult situation by those students because they didn't give me a chance to deal with him in my own way. I ended up getting told off because of them and him!" Claire agreed saying "Sometimes you just don't know how to deal with a situation. These students are adults but they act like children. You see daily incidents of 'playground behaviour' such as name calling, pushing and shoving, fighting over silly things, giving others the silent treatment, laughing at each other, you name it and we have seen it. Then when you discipline them, they run and complain about you or give you a terrible evaluation at the end of the course. Too many poor evaluations means that you may not be asked to come back and teach another course. It makes you lose hope sometimes."

Most of the teachers interviewed felt that student complaints were not well-handled by the various schools and that the current system gave students a sense of power over the teachers. All of the schools that participated in this research study had a complaints process whereby students could bypass their teacher and complain directly to the course co-ordinator. According to the teachers, the students should first attempt to resolve the problem with the teacher concerned. Only if no resolution could be reached, should the student approach the course co-ordinator. Bruce described how students who had been reprimanded in class almost always made a point of complaining to the course co-ordinator "as a way of getting back at you." As a result many of the teachers felt reluctant to discipline students. In addition, all of the schools gave the students feedback forms at the end of each course which were handed directly to the co-ordinator. Shaleeda said that "The course co-ordinator first reads the forms and then we get to see them. Sometimes if you get negative feedback, she calls you in for a chat. I cannot understand how some of the comments are taken seriously though. I have had comments about my hairstyle, my accent, even my clothes – none of that has anything to do with my teaching." Claire agreed saying, "I take the student feedback with a pinch of salt. I had a class that I got along with very well, they seemed to really enjoy the course and my teaching and then at the end of the course when they filled in the feedback forms, they almost all wrote that I was boring! I couldn't understand it. How could my perceptions have been so wrong? I only look for constructive criticism now and ignore the rest."

Major theme 2: Relationships at work
Troman (2000: 331) maintains that recent accounts of teacher emotions and cultures of teaching report that unsatisfactory social relationships with colleagues, supervisors and

administrators elicit hostile emotions and appear to be a source of stress in teaching. This supports Giddens (1990: 138) who states that in many organisations there is a basic lack of trust in the possible intentions of others. This leads to "a state of mind which could best be summed up as existential angst and dread."

High staff turnover is a challenge for many private language schools. People are often not employed long enough to form meaningful and trusting relationships with each other. The teachers interviewed for this research study felt that there was a basic lack of trust between individual teachers and their colleagues, administrators and the management of the various schools. This had led, in many of the schools, to a toxic working environment characterised by anxiety, competitiveness, insecurity and gossip. According to Troman (2000: 346), "An atmosphere of distrust undermines collegiality as teacher is set against teacher as they attempt to calculate their value to the school." For many of the teachers, unpleasant working relationships were directly linked to the intensification of work as teachers had less time to socialise and interact with colleagues.

Sub-theme A: Colleagues
Troman (2000: 332) found that teachers' most extreme and negative feelings appear when they talk about their colleagues, the structures of schooling or the effect of changing educational policies. He describes disagreeable relationships with colleagues as "a gradual wearing away" of the person as tolerance levels decrease and emotional exhaustion sets in (Troman, 2000: 341). This tends to be intensified when, according to Lehr (1999: 105), teachers work in isolation and have "little opportunity for professional growth." Thus the most intensive, hostile and deeply disturbing emotions tend to arise not from encounters with students but with other adults, particularly colleagues.

Many of the teachers were concerned about the low entry requirements for the profession and the fact that a teacher with a Bachelor's degree and a CELTA or DELTA Diploma could find themselves earning the same salary as those whose qualifications consisted of a grade twelve certificate and a basic four-week TESOL Diploma. Lisa explained that "Salaries are more or less the same for all the teachers. We are all on the same level. So it doesn't matter if you have a Master's degree in TESOL and years of experience, you earn a similar salary to someone who has done a four-week TESOL course and who possibly has very limited teaching experience." Jonathan agreed saying, "With the industry as it is at the moment, there is no advantage in improving your qualifications. You earn the same money as the least qualified teacher employed by the school." It should be noted that the University of South Africa was the only university in South Africa to offer a Bachelor of Arts Honours degree specialising in TESOL. The degree was discontinued in 2011 as the student numbers never reached the minimum level of

twenty students needed for the course to be viable.[57] This is significant as it means that private language schools and the TESOL industry in general are not enforcing standards for entry to the profession. If this were the case then undergraduate and postgraduate degree programmes in TESOL would have sufficient student numbers.

Although the various schools set their own entry standards with most schools giving preference to applicants with degrees, TESOL qualifications and teaching experience, this is not always the case and there are many unqualified people working as TESOL teachers in the industry, both locally and internationally. According to Nina, "At my school, overseas experience is highly valued. The school would rather employ someone with a basic TESOL qualification but who has worked overseas than a more qualified candidate with local teaching experience. Of course, the other problem is that the more qualified you are, the more pay you expect and schools don't want to pay large salaries." Terry, with a Bachelor of Arts in English and Linguistics and a TEFL diploma, agreed saying "All the other teachers here have done basic four-week TESOL diplomas. I am the only one who has a degree in addition to my diploma. I read journals, I do research, and I try out new techniques in the classroom. But it makes no difference. When I complained to the director of the school, she said that I mustn't worry about pieces of paper. How can a language school that is part of a university not worry about qualifications?"

Thus many of the teachers interviewed felt that it was very unfair that there were no consistent entry requirements for TESOL teachers and that qualified and experienced TESOL teachers earned the same salaries as those who had basic entry-level qualifications and little teaching experience. In addition, the teachers said that they believed that the less qualified and experienced teachers did not offer a quality service to students. Shaleeda explains that, "Time and time again we see unqualified and under-qualified teachers who don't know the first thing about classroom management and how to teach effectively. Yet they continue to be employed because they are prepared to work for peanuts." This is echoed by Eggington and Wren (1997: xix), who maintain that "Until the profession is able to define and enforce basic quality standards, TESOL teachers are likely to continue to be perceived as an undifferentiated and unqualified mob."

Inconsistent entry requirements and the employment of unqualified teachers is, however, a global problem in the TESOL industry. Buchanan (2009: 10) maintains that many private language schools in Russia "do not ask for international certification and will hire anyone who speaks English and has a pulse." He also states that a cynic would argue that it is less costly for the profession to hire relatively inexperienced and thus 'less expensive' teachers. However, he continues, "it would be unfortunate indeed if the TESOL profession were seen as a springboard

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[57] Information supplied by Professor Brenda Spencer, English Department, University of South Africa.

for other, 'real' careers." Eggington et al. (1997: xvii) agree and state that "any native English-speaking youngster with a first degree in any academic subject can get a job teaching EFL in Eastern Europe or China." Thus the members of the profession have absolutely no control over the educational requirements to enter the profession. According to Eggington et al. (1997: xviii), the TESOL-teaching community "has not yet achieved even the apprenticeship practices common among medical doctors and lawyers in the 18th century."

Lisa, who holds both CELTA and DELTA Diplomas and a Master's degree in TESOL, accompanied by ten years' teaching experience in Egypt, Japan, South Africa and Sri Lanka, found the issue of teacher qualifications particularly stressful. She said "I have worked very hard for my qualifications and spent a great deal of money. TESOL is a career choice for me. So it is very frustrating when 'teachers' with inadequate qualifications are employed and I have to mentor and train them. They come in here without a clue yet they take home the same pay as me." Lisa adds that "It is a source of continuing frustration to me that here I am with a Master's degree and years of teaching experience and there they are with no teaching experience and a flimsy qualification at best. Yet in the schools' opinion, we are the same." Lisa, aged 44, is an example of Johnston's (1999) concern that by the time TESOL teachers had reached their mid-forties, there were simply no career advancement opportunities despite holding the requisite qualifications.

The teachers felt that the TESOL industry in South Africa was also very limited in the sense of there being no clear career path for qualified teachers. Many TESOL teachers are very concerned about their future and whether TESOL is a long-term, sustainable career which offers financial stability. Rachel describes how in many of the large, well-known language schools in China, there is a clear career path and it is possible to advance from teacher to head teacher and then on to assistant director of studies and finally a director of studies position. Some of the schools also have positions for materials developers, teacher trainers and researchers. According to Rachel, "In South Africa, there is simply nowhere to go. It is possible to work as a TESOL teacher for ten years and not receive a promotion simply because there are no positions to promote you to. Most schools only have jobs for teachers and one or two co-ordinators. The industry is still very small." Rex agreed saying, "It is a worry. I simply don't see a long-term future for myself as a TESOL teacher. I have worked in Columbia and Peru and of course, the travelling has been great and the experience phenomenal but now I find myself back in South Africa, thirty-years old and earning a miserable salary. My friends are already settled in their careers, live in townhouses and drive nice cars. And here I am living at home with my parents and catching the bus to work! The only thing to do it seems is to go back to teaching overseas or find another career."

The overarching teacher culture was also a source of stress between colleagues. Farrell (2006: 212) maintains that much of a teacher's energy is transferred away from the job of teaching and towards "learning how to survive in the dominant school culture." Anne describes how at her school the teachers are divided into two camps as, "The school was recently taken over by a new owner so we have a group of teachers who have been here since the school opened and a group of new teachers who were employed recently. There is a lot of resentment because the one group want everything to remain the same and they resist new ways of doing things." This supports Woods (1999: 132-3) who maintains that there is often a painful divide between those who persist with the old structures and who are reluctant to embrace a more collaborative culture. Ideally, the teacher culture should advance from individualism to collaboration, from hierarchies to teams, from supervision to mentoring and from in-service training to professional development. Woods (1999) states that enforced collaboration between diverse groups can be very stressful and may contribute to the alienation of individuals.

Many of the teachers felt socially isolated from their colleagues. Maslach et al. (1997: 17) mention a breakdown of community and consequent isolation as one of the main sources of burnout. There had been some attempts at collaboration on different projects but the teachers felt that this was what Hargreaves (1998) terms 'contrived collegiality.' According to Claire, a sense of isolation was due to the nature of the job. She explained that, "I see my colleagues for about thirty minutes before classes start, at the tea break and then briefly after class. The only time we really sit down together is at the weekly teachers' meeting. I think we really need to spend more time together as a group and share ideas. It may sound strange but I find it stressful that there never seems to be any meaningful communication between us." This supports Farrell (2006: 216) who, in a case study of an English teacher working in Singapore, reports that forging collegial relationships was the biggest challenge with the teacher saying that, "I didn't talk much to other teachers because they were always busy and into cliques" and "the older teachers who had been there for a long time tend to stick together."

Claire agreed saying, "The school always wants us to work together as a team but there is a lot of arguing and gossip. Unfortunately that is our teacher culture. I think the combination of low pay, fighting for resources and the daily frustrations of our working conditions create an intense kind of rivalry between us. We argue about which levels we were going to teach because no-one wants to teach the beginners, we argue about classrooms, about who is hogging the sole computer we share, and who puts in the most hours. It is terrible. I work with eight other teachers but I never feel that I am among friends." At Vicky's school, interactions between teachers are "characterised by competition not collegiality. People try and make others look incompetent in subtle and even underhand ways like making sure the copy machine has no paper so we can't make copies for our students or showing someone up in a meeting with a

well-timed comment. Even the students get caught up in this. I learned early on that it pays to be popular so I make sure that my classes are super-fun and energetic. It can wear you down though because it is difficult to be perky and vibrant and exciting all the time."

Anne describes a similar situation at her school in which "Everything is about popularity. No-one really cares about collaborating with each other or creating a collegial environment. We are all on short-term contracts and you are only as good as your students' think you are. We all want to be the most popular teacher because then the school will renew your contract. The most important thing is getting positive feedback from the students and making sure that other teachers don't get their hands on your resources and games and ideas. I find it stressful and lonely. I can honestly say that I don't have any friends here." Taylor describes how teachers have to guard their resources and ideas saying, "I came up with a really good vocabulary game which the students always enjoy. It was 'my game' and next thing I know, other teachers are playing it with their students. So then when I want to play the game, my students say, 'We have done this already in so-and-so's class.'" Furthermore, books, board games, flashcards and other resources according to Taylor, "have to be kept locked up otherwise they just disappear. You want to take home a resource book so you can find some new ideas only to find it has been stolen."

 The teachers interviewed felt that while there was a lack of opportunities for collaborating with colleagues, this lack of teamwork was also due to the fact that teachers were generally reluctant to collaborate with each other. Bruce related an incident in which he and a colleague taught the same level and decided to collaborate on setting the various tests for the students. However, he found that his colleague's tests were ambiguous and poorly done. Bruce describes how "I was initially looking forward to working with her because it meant our workload would be shared for that course but I got a surprise. She was obstructionist and aggressive and set some really awful tests. When I tried to give her constructive criticism, I ended up in the supervisor's office being told how she had all this experience and I needed to keep quiet and learn from her. I suddenly found myself on the receiving end of a whole lot of bad feelings." As a result, Bruce now felt reluctant to collaborate with other teachers.

Many of the teachers interviewed felt that favouritism, which led to a great deal of resentment, was also a particular problem at the various schools. Nina describes how one of the teachers she works with is a friend of the course co-ordinator which "has created a lot of problems. We are all wary of her. We can't speak freely in front of her in case she carries stories back to the boss. She is also able to influence the co-ordinator which makes the rest of us uncomfortable." Shaleeda agreed saying, "We have a teacher here who is very arrogant and she rules the staff room. She tells the co-ordinator what to do and the rest of us how to do our jobs. She is a good

teacher though so the school turns a blind eye. I find it very stressful though because she can change the atmosphere of a room in thirty seconds. When she walks in, I walk out."

Sub-theme B: Administrators

Administrative support staff play an important role in private language schools. Lehr (1999: 105) states that "Direct and deliberate administrative support is needed to ensure the success of teaching" while Hancock and Scherff (2010: 335) in a survey study of 4, 520 English teachers in the US education system, found that "Administrative support was a statistically significant predictor" of high attrition risk among English teachers. The primary function of administrative support staff in language schools is to ensure that facilities, equipment and teaching and learning materials are in place so that teachers can focus on teaching their students. Thus, support staff need to ensure that programme and organisational logistics run smoothly. The administrative support role is varied and includes booking classrooms and other venues, ordering equipment and teaching materials, student registration, student support, organising home stays and other accommodation, data management, finances and marketing. Ideally, support staff should work co-operatively with teachers but this is not always the case. Several of the teachers interviewed felt that support staff had a tendency to make an already stressful working environment even more stressful.

Some of the teachers interviewed felt that generally administrative support staff lacked adequate training. According to Warren, the support staff at his current language school need to learn "how to interact with foreign students. I think that they are impatient with the students and often rude." Claire agreed saying, "The office staff are there to help the students but I have seen them laughing behind the students' backs especially those who struggle with English. They act as if students are stupid purely because they don't speak English." Vicky maintained that she normally accompanied her students to the office as the support staff "speak at the students rather than to them. Their attitude is all wrong. This makes me feel embarrassed and is quite stressful as well because it is actually not part of my job and I feel compelled to go in there and smooth the way for my students otherwise nothing will get done." Douglas also mentioned how he needed to accompany his students to the office "otherwise they come to me either totally confused or angry or in tears." These situations tend to be unique to the TESOL industry where one finds large numbers of students who do not understand or speak English very well. The onus thus falls on the teacher to resolve the problem.

Many of the teachers recounted stressful experiences involving their interactions with support staff. These experiences mainly revolved around logistical issues such as the allocation of classrooms and the availability of resource material and other supplies. Jonathan, who taught

evening classes twice a week, mentioned how "Every so often I get here and find the office locked up and everyone gone home. That means I can't make photocopies, get queries answered or get keys to other classrooms. It is very frustrating. You can't run evening classes and have no office support." Frankie echoed this saying, "I teach on Saturday mornings and at least once a month I get to class and find that someone in the office has double-booked my classroom. So I have to stand there arguing and shouting with another teacher in front of my students. It is so irritating. I wake up on Saturday mornings with a knot in my stomach in case it happens." As far as resource material is concerned, Lisa said that "They never fill the copy machine with paper before they leave so if you are teaching in the evening, you have no way of making copies because the paper is locked away, resource books are supposedly ordered but never arrive, keys are not where they should be and the coffee and tea supplies are locked away. The result is that the teacher looks disorganised."

Sub-theme C: Management

Most of the teachers interviewed commented on the prevalence of different forms of workplace bullying which is rife in language schools. This bullying is a sign of what Clandfield (2010) termed the 'ugly' side of TESOL. Some of the teachers felt that this was a direct result of the contractual nature of employment in the industry and the fact that there were far more TESOL teachers than positions available thus management could easily dismiss a group of teachers and replace them with a new group within a short period of time. Hoel and Cooper (2001) state that workplace bullying takes many forms and can include an unmanageable workload and unreasonable deadlines, humiliation and ridicule at work, having one's opinions and views ignored, being the victim of malicious gossip and being excluded from the group. Prolonged bullying is extremely stressful and can lead to anger, anxiety, depression, panic attacks and burnout.

According to Blase, Blase and Du (2008: 266-267), "very little attention has been given to the dark side of organisational life" which consists of a wide range of verbal, nonverbal and physical behaviours such as scapegoating, threats of job loss or poor evaluations, angry outbursts, gossiping, excessive monitoring and micro-managing, ignoring, snubbing, dirty looks, foot stomping, finger pointing, throwing and slamming objects and violations of physical space. The researchers conducted a survey of 172 American teachers' perceptions of workplace bullying and discovered that the teachers who had experienced bullying reported feeling stressed, resentful, angry and insecure. In addition, 51% of the teachers maintained that they had sought either medical or psychological treatment as a result of workplace bullying (Blase et al., 2008: 277). Rivers (2011: 34) maintains that when TESOL teachers challenge the current status quo, "the individual teacher making the challenge faces the prospect of stigmatisation through being labelled as a...troublemaker." Thus it is easier for the school leadership to allow the oppressive

actions to continue than to institute procedures which would limit workplace abuse of the teacher or teachers concerned.

Most of the teachers in this research study had witnessed or been victims of workplace bullying by the management of their schools. Rachel described a situation in which a colleague was bullied because he had dared to speak up about poor working conditions and classrooms. She said "Either you were seen to be supporting him or you were on the side of management. It poisoned the entire atmosphere of the school. When some students complained saying that he was a boring teacher, it gave the management exactly what they needed. Next thing we knew they had cut his classes and a decision was made not to renew his contract. It was a lesson to all of us. Shut up or ship out." Douglas agreed saying, "You don't have any recourse. Of course, if you really want your life to be miserable then put in a grievance, if your school has such a policy. They will pretend to be shocked and say 'Why didn't you come to us?' and make a big deal out of having a hearing and listening to your side of the story. Meanwhile they are all just plotting how to get rid of the 'troublemaker'. I have seen many colleagues lose their jobs this way. It is simple, keep your head down and your mouth shut and you'll be fine."

Many of the teachers were in the difficult position of having a bully as the director or owner of the language school or as a direct supervisor such as a course co-ordinator. Shaleeda describes how, "Our director is a professional bully. She publicly ridicules and humiliates people. I have seen grown men and women quake with fear when she is in full shouting mode. She puts people under a lot of emotional stress. But no-one dares to complain. We have lost a lot of excellent teachers because of her." Shaleeda related the story of a teacher who had complained about being paid late. She described how "We were in the boardroom and B. was complaining and he said that he was going to go over the director's head and to the owner. He didn't see her come in to the room behind him. Well, I thought she was going to have a fit, she was blood-red in the face, spittle flying everywhere…I have never seen someone shout at another person like that at work. She basically threatened him saying he would lose his job if he dared to complain. And then she turned to the rest of us and said 'Ask them, they will tell you what will happen to you!' and not one of us stood up for him or for ourselves. Instead we all sat there nodding and agreeing with her. It makes me feel sick to even speak about it because we are all complicit in the bullying by not standing up for each other. What can we do? We need the work."

Nina related a story about her previous course-coordinator saying, "Here was a person who was verbally abusive to students and staff and nothing was ever done about it. She would shout at teachers in front of their students and have screaming matches with senior staff in her office. Everyone was afraid of her including the owner of the school. What was so scary is that she

would act normal for ages and then suddenly she'd snap. She'd take new staff under her wing and be a mentor and invite them out for coffee and then a week later, she'd be screeching all sorts of verbal abuse at them. She created a terrible atmosphere of fear and distrust. I can honestly say that if she had not left, I'd have resigned." Joanne agreed saying, "Our previous head of department was impossible to work with. She was really abrasive and short-tempered and created a toxic atmosphere. I went to the director of the school about it and he seemed to be open to what I was saying. The next day he sent both of us letters requesting us to attend a meeting in his office. He then confronted her with my 'allegations'. I couldn't believe he could be so stupid. It was as if he hadn't heard a word of what I had told him. I felt utterly betrayed. Of course, she apologised. Well, the next day everything was back the way it had been and she made sure that my life was hell."

Mark agreed saying, "It goes against the grain but you simply can't get involved in someone else's fight if you want to keep your job. The bottom line is that management generally do not care. They employ disciplinarians and bureaucrats in management positions. They don't want the nurturing, humanistic types in charge because they believe that people need to be shouted at and 'whipped' to get the job done. So there is a mind-set that teachers have to be 'told' what to do and micro-managed otherwise nothing will get done. So bullying is seen in this context. In their eyes, it is not bullying, it is getting things done and if you have a problem with it, in their opinion, you are too sensitive." Thomas, who had six years TESOL teaching experience in Italy and South Africa, echoed this saying, "I have seen many teachers leave in the time that I have been here. People expect to be treated as professionals; instead they are yelled at and called names, gossiped about and expected to work in awful conditions. Some people just ignore it and get on with the job because they want the experience or they thrive on the job itself, however, I'm not sure if I can handle it long-term."

For many of the teachers this type of behaviour was unacceptable but they were in a difficult situation due to the small size of the TESOL industry. Lisa describes how ""I applied for a position that I really wanted and the management of the school knew that I had high hopes. They actively encouraged me to apply to the point where they gave the impression that the job was mine. Meantime they employed someone else behind my back and did not even bother to tell me. The first I knew about it was the day the new person started the job. When I went to complain, I was verbally abused and asked for written proof that they had promised me anything. I was basically kicked out of the director's office. He wanted to know who I was to 'question his authority.'" Lisa felt that this incident had led to a great sense of disillusionment on her part, however, she still works for the same school because "There are simply no jobs out there, we can't apply at primary or high schools to be English teachers because we don't have the right qualifications so we are stuck in a small industry where word of mouth is very

powerful. If you leave one school with bad feelings, they will make sure you don't work as a TESOL teacher again." The fact that TESOL teachers are not able to work at primary and secondary schools in South Africa is ironic as schooling in a multilingual and multicultural country like South Africa is essentially a TESOL situation. The majority of school-going children learn through the medium of English which is not their home language. Thus the skills of TESOL teachers are actually vital to the educational context of South Africa yet they are not utilised.

A common form of bullying according to the teachers is managements' constant reference to the financial state of the school which comes across as veiled threats. According to Jonathan, "Not a week goes by without us hearing about some cost-cutting measure. It is obvious that our salaries are seen as the biggest drain of money yet without us they don't have a school." Bruce described how "We are always being threatened with 'if the school does not make more money, some of you will have to go' or 'we are not sure if we can pay you all at the end of the month'. It takes its toll that kind of thing; you feel like you can never plan ahead and that causes stress. You never know what is going on. This all creates the perfect environment for backstabbing and gossip. When things are uncertain, and they always are, then the teachers turn on each other." Sara agreed saying, "It never ends, they complain about money all the time. We have now been told that if we have a class with fewer than ten students, they can't guarantee us a course. Can you believe it? I normally teach the upper-intermediate course which doesn't always have a lot of students. Next month I may not have a course to teach which means I won't earn any money. Can you imagine how stressful that is?"

Troman (2000) found that while teachers recognise the importance of trusting relationships and professional support from colleagues, support from management was not always forthcoming. He found that some supervisors and managers undermined teachers' sense of efficacy and professionalism. Troman relates the story of a teacher who had gone to her supervisor about a particularly difficult student only to have the "spotlight turned on her as if to say, 'Well, what are you doing wrong?' and 'What have you done to cause this?'"(Troman 2000: 342). Among the teachers interviewed, there was a strong sense of discontent, uncertainty and frustration which led, ultimately, to a feeling of disempowerment. Nina felt that "We are mere teachers of books, we are at the bottom of the pyramid" while Douglas described it as "We are completely outside the circle of power, we feel powerless." Fern echoed this perception saying, "Teachers are dispensable. The director once told us that we were like fish and chips, such a common thing and easily replaced."

According to Nina, the problem lay with the fact that management focused on running a successful business and making profits whereas the teachers tended to focus on the students and their needs. She commented that, "There is definitely a 'disconnect' between the two. Of

course, the teachers want the school to do well and make money because that is in our interest. But the reality is that we have a lot of students but we do not have adequate classrooms, or resource materials or equipment. We buy our own board markers and make our own materials. So the perception we have is that management are not interested in improving the school for the teachers and students, they only want to make money." Thomas agreed saying that, "We don't feel supported. Management rarely come to the classrooms or interact with the students. The only time you see them is when there is a problem."

Vicky felt that course co-ordinators, senior administrators, managers and directors rarely exhibited supportive behaviours. She maintained that, "Their role tends to be punitive. If you get called to their office, it is almost always because a student has complained about you or you have not completed a form properly. It is very rare to be summoned for a pat on the back." Lisa described how, at her school, the school management seldom praised teachers. She said "When they call a staff meeting it is only to reprimand us or to give us information about the school and upcoming projects. They don't seem to notice the time and effort we put in. It is hard to work without support and recognition" Thomas agreed saying, "It is a pity actually because it just creates stress for all of us. Our first director had absolutely no people skills. We were all terrified of her. When I heard her heels clicking down the corridor, I'd make myself scarce. She was horribly intimidating. If you went to her with a problem, she was totally unsupportive. She'd turn the problem around in such a way that you seemed weak and spineless. I found working with her very stressful. The current director isn't much better. I have learned the hard way not to go to him with a problem or to ask him for advice. It seems to me that if you do so, he thinks you are a weakling that can't manage your classroom."

The vast majority of teachers in the research study felt that the working conditions in the TESOL industry were not conducive to the creation of supportive relationships. Fern said that "I am the youngest teacher in the school with the least experience but no-one wants to mentor me and I have no-one to go to if something goes wrong. It is a case of everyone for themselves. They are all just too busy trying to get through the day." Sara put forward a possible explanation saying, "It is a stressful profession for everyone. Management are trying to keep the school afloat and there isn't a lot of support. It is a competitive industry and everyone is worried about money and whether the school will survive and whether they will get another course to teach, there is no energy left after that to still sit around drinking tea and offering each other support!" This sentiment is echoed by Anne saying, "Every now and then the school organises workshops where some 'expert' comes in and tells us how to do our jobs. I suppose the purpose is to bring management and teachers together as colleagues but the workshops are always dominated by the same big mouths so it only serves to make us resentful. We rarely have social gatherings

except for the annual Christmas party and even then, we are all looking at our watches wondering when we can leave. We really have no support."

All of the language schools in this research study conducted teacher observations. Danielson and McGreal (2000) state that the practice of teacher observation and evaluation is fraught with challenges which include outdated and limited evaluative criteria, a lack of precision in evaluating performance, hierarchical one-way communication and limited administrator expertise. All of the teachers interviewed felt that being observed by various members of their schools' management team was extraordinarily stressful. In addition, the teachers complained that they were not consistently observed. Thus in their opinion, observations did not contribute to professional development and growth. Motha (2004: 309) conducted a year-long case study of the meaning of knowledge, pedagogy and identity among four American TESOL teachers. With regard to observations, the teachers stated that they were conscious of the fact that the "observer wields power… [and] they were situated within a power relation that assigned them a subordinate status." Danielson et al. (2000: 5) agree saying that there are serious deficiencies in a system in which "the only evidence of teacher performance is that collected by an administrator during a random classroom observation."

Joanne felt that she would "never get used to observations. It is a completely unnatural situation as you know when it is going to be so you are super-prepared which means that the observers do not see how you really teach. Observations are also inconsistent. I have been working at this school for over four years and have only been observed three times." Terry agreed saying that "For me, observations are very stressful because so much rests on how you act and how well your class behaves in that short period of time. Invariably the observations falls on a day when you are not at your peak and your students are difficult." Bruce echoed this sentiment saying, "I fail to see the point of observations as they are never done properly and they just cause stress for the teachers and upset the classroom routine." This sentiment is supported by Canagarajah (2012: 269) who felt "shaken" after a poor report following a teaching observation. Furthermore, he felt "as if I was proven an imposter…I was made to look like I didn't know what I was doing or didn't belong in this profession."

Frankie describes how at his school "We don't get any feedback on the observed lesson. I find that stressful. I would like to know what I did well and where I can improve. If I don't get feedback, I feel it is because my lesson was terrible." Lisa agreed saying, "For me, observations are very stressful. I can barely sleep the night before. I know that I am good at what I do but the minute I have someone watching me and judging my performance, I fall apart. There are rumours that we are going to be observed at least twice per course, which means fourteen observations in one year! I am dreading it." According to Claire, all of the teachers at her school

find observations stressful and have asked management to review the current system of monthly observations. Claire explains that "We feel that observations are being conducted for the wrong reasons as we don't get any constructive feedback, only the negative aspects of our teaching are discussed. So we have approached the director and asked for a more balanced system."

Shaleeda felt that observations would not be stressful if teachers worked in a nurturing and supportive environment, however, "we don't; so observations are always viewed with suspicion. It is an easy way for management to get you out if they don't like you. A couple of negative observations, some poor feedback forms and a few student complaints and you will be shown the door. Observations can only be effective in an atmosphere of trust." This supports Danielson et al. (2000: 6) who state that "low levels of trust between teachers and administrators lead to a culture of passivity. Such an atmosphere is not a safe one for taking risks; thus the culture surrounding evaluation is not one of professional inquiry."

According to the teachers interviewed, many of the observers are not qualified in TESOL. The teachers found this stressful. Danielson et al. (2000: 6) maintain that "Many teachers are more expert regarding their work than the administrators who supervise them…which undermines the evaluation process, contributing to the perception that it has little value." Vicky describes how "We are observed by the course co-ordinator who does not have TESOL qualifications. She is an administrator with an MBA. So how can I take her input seriously? She does not even know what grammar point I am trying to teach or what the purpose of my lesson is." Anne said that "We are observed four times a year and always by the course co-ordinator. She sits at the back of the class making notes and sometimes will stay in your class for over two hours. Either you get minimal feedback or none at all. So far this year, I have been observed three times and have only received feedback once. I think the problem is that she is not a TESOL teacher, she has never even taught a class. I don't think she has a clue about teaching."

Fern maintains that "The person who observes you should be a mentor, someone more qualified and experienced than you who teaches well. Then you can take that person's comments and criticism seriously. The reality though is that we are observed by managers and administrators and sometimes they bring people with from the office. I mean, really! I am being observed by a group of non-teachers and expected to take their criticism seriously." Rex agreed saying, "The whole thing is done unprofessionally. They disturb your class, are in and out the classroom, their phones ring, they whisper to each other. It is really stressful to be observed. I never feel relaxed when they are in my class." Thus observations and the consequent inconsistent feedback is a significant source of stress for TESOL teachers. This is exacerbated by the atmosphere of uncertainty in which the teachers operate.

The teachers also felt that cost-cutting measures on the part of management were stressful. Rex described how "It is always about costs, costs, costs. The photocopy costs are too high, the coffee and tea costs are too high, we are using too much Internet bandwidth; there isn't enough money for resources. Yet there is money to send the administrators on training but never the teachers and there is money to pay fat fees to consultants who come to see what is wrong with the school and why we aren't successful." Rex related how the school "flew an 'expert' in from France paying for his flight and accommodation. He was supposed to observe the classes to get a 'feel' for the school before he started his research. This made everyone nervous. So when he came to observe my class, I had prepared well and made sure that my students were prepared for an observer. He came in, barely greeted us and slumped at the back of the class. He sat playing with his phone for about thirty minutes and then stared into space. I thought that was very rude. I never did hear what his conclusions about the school were. All I know is that they wasted money on him."

Many of the teachers expressed concern over the lack of teaching resources and the fact that the school's management did not view the purchase of teaching resources as a priority. Anne describes how "We need money to buy reference books, children's books, comic books, magazines, newspapers, DVDs, CDs. There is hardly any budget. I end up buying these items with my own money." Sara agreed saying, "We asked management if we could have access to some of the well-known online ELT sites for resources and ELT journals so we could read the latest research. They said there wasn't any money for that and then went out and bought new office furniture and seating for the reception which must have cost three times more than what we asked for. They are more worried about what the place looks like than what we are using in the classroom."

The constant concerns about money and the fact that available money was spent on what the teachers felt were unsuitable items led to feelings of anxiety and stress. It also contributed to feelings of disillusionment. Nina describes how "We haven't received an increase in the past two years and all we hear about is costs and how they can't afford to give us more money. But then how come the owner drives a new BMW and is able to fly overseas four times a year? It simply doesn't add up. What can we do though? We need to work and if we leave we may not find work in TESOL at all." Joanne agreed saying, "There is always a massive drive to save money. They stopped providing free coffee and tea for the students and then for us. We can hardly make a photocopy without someone watching over our shoulder. We dare not ask for an increase in case they decide to cut staff rather than increase our pay."

Major theme 3: Organisational and TESOL-related issues
Sub-theme A: Working conditions
Most of the TESOL teachers interviewed felt that the physical working conditions at the various schools could be improved. Their concerns were wide-ranging and included the poor condition of the buildings and classrooms, the small size of the classrooms, temperature control in the classrooms as it tended to be either too hot in summer or too cold in winter and the general lack of space for teachers and students. This echoes Mullock's (2009) and Sun's (2010) findings that some of the major sources of TESOL teacher dissatisfaction lie in factors extrinsic to teaching which are difficult to control. Thus this continued dissatisfaction can lead to stress and burnout.

Rachel described her initial experience at her school thus, "We were in a really old building that should have been condemned but we had nowhere else on the campus to go. There was no other space for us. They were slowly renovating the building so we had to teach with banging, drilling, sawing and hammering going on all day. There was a lot of dust and everything was dirty. The worst thing was that the building had a plague of huge black crickets everywhere. They would crawl around the class while you were teaching, climb into your bag or drop out of the ceiling onto your desk. I don't know how I survived it. And I did for almost two years. I don't know what they were thinking expecting us to work in those conditions." Thomas agreed saying, "The students at that time were shocked. Many of them wanted their money back because on the website the school had shown pictures of well-maintained buildings. If you were overseas, you would not have known that you would be taught in a derelict shell of a building and once the students were here, it was too late. We had many complaints about the building. There was a lot of unhappiness and it was directed at the teachers because we were 'the face' of the school."

Several of the teachers felt that the classrooms at the various schools were too small and cramped. Fern commented that, "I teach fifteen students in a classroom big enough for a group of ten. My students sit literally shoulder to shoulder and there isn't enough space to move around so we all just have to sit in one place. I find it very irritating because TESOL teachers need space to teach so we can play games and do physical activities." Anne agreed saying, "Our classrooms are very cramped. We have more students than space and I do get a few students who complain. I'd like to have a classroom that is big enough for various kinds of activities." Lisa related a story of how, at her school, there were often not enough classrooms with teachers having to teach wherever they could find a space with some "teaching in corridors, out on the sports fields, in a corner of the library or simply poaching an empty classroom and hoping no-one will come along and claim it."

Many of the teachers complained about classrooms being either too hot or too cold. Taylor felt that the lack of temperature control in the school's building and the classrooms contributed to higher stress levels saying, "I teach in an internal classroom and in summer, my classroom is extremely hot. The owner has bought each classroom a stand-alone fan but that only makes a difference to the lucky few sitting close to it. Some days the heat makes me so tired that I don't want to teach." Terry agreed saying, "I quite literally don't want to teach in summer. Most of the classes are internal rooms that have no windows which means no air flow. I have a headache almost every day in summer and the students complain about the heat in the classroom a lot." Lisa relates how "For the first five years that we were in this building, we had no air conditioning and in summer, the classrooms got really hot. I remember standing in front of a class with the perspiration actually pouring off my face onto the books in front of me on my desk. It was unbearable in summer and we worked like that for years and years. The school did nothing about it. The classrooms actually used to stink because of all the students and teachers perspiring together. It was truly inhumane."

All of the teachers felt that the common practice of short-term contract employment without benefits such as medical aid and pension was very stressful. Furthermore, contractual employment leads to a lack of trust between teachers and the school leadership and a lack of commitment and loyalty on the part of the teachers (Hargreaves, 2002). This is a global problem in the industry and Joanne noted that "I know of at least three teachers who have given up on a career in TESOL because of the lack of secure, permanent employment." Nina agreed saying, "For the first two years, I didn't have a contract. I was paid as casual labour which meant that 25% of my salary was taxed. Later on when I got a contract, the tax department said I could claim back all the money I had been overtaxed. When I went to the salaries department at the language school, they said that they couldn't trace the money because casuals were paid out of one big pool of money. So for two years, I didn't even exist as a name or even a number. I was just casual labour." Lisa echoed this sentiment saying, "All the teachers are on fixed-term contracts of between one to three years. The school is supposed to let you know whether your contract is going to be renewed four months before it expires but that never happens. Instead you have to go and find out what is going on. This is very stressful because they keep you hanging on and on and then let you know at the last minute. You can never assume that your contract will be renewed. The result is that you can't make any long-term, expensive purchases like a car or a house because you do not know if you can finish the payments." This echoes Davidson's (2006) concerns that a lack of regulation in the TESOL industry invariably led to poor treatment of TESOL teachers.

Furthermore, Frankie described how the contract system was inconsistent with "Some teachers on really short six-month contracts which means that the school is under no obligation to

renew their contracts. However, there are other teachers who are on full-time, permanent contracts which means they can stay on as long as the school survives. We don't know how they work this out. Who decides that some teachers are more deserving than others?" Bruce agreed saying, "The teachers who have been at the school since it opened are all on two-year contracts while the new teachers are on five-year contracts. That is really unfair and I think it causes a lot of stress. How can the people who have been loyal not be rewarded?" Thus continuing inequitable treatment leads to what Crookes (1997) describes as a state of alienation and a psychological separation of teachers from their working environments.

The teachers also pointed out that it is very rare for a contract to include benefits such as medical aid and pension fund. In this research study, there was only one language school that offered these benefits as part of the teachers' salary package. Shaleeda commented that "The contracts normally don't include any benefits so we don't have any medical aid or pension fund. We just get a salary. That means we have to join a private medical aid which is very expensive and try and save for our pension ourselves." Claire felt that the lack of benefits was one of the reasons that older, more experienced teachers left the profession. She explained, "You can't be a breadwinner and a parent without medical cover or a pension fund. When you are on a contract, everything in your life becomes cash-based because you can't make any long-term financial commitments plus you have to try and save money out of a salary that is hopelessly inadequate. How can anyone with a family live like that? You quite literally have no safety net."

Salaries in TESOL are notoriously low.[58] The teachers felt that there were a number of reasons for this including the ambiguities surrounding the status of TESOL as a profession, the competitive environment in which private language schools function which leads to profit being valued above teachers and the fact that there are many unqualified people who are willing to work as TESOL teachers and many language schools willing to employ them thus driving salaries down. Sara described how, currently, "The pay is so low I can't afford to eat. I have given up my townhouse and moved back home with my parents." Lisa agreed saying, "The pay is really low and as long as there are people out there who will work for a pittance — even those who have degrees — then the pay will stay low. The fact of the matter is people are desperate for work and will take what they can get. I would never work for such a small amount of money if there were other schools which paid more but there aren't."

Douglas described how the director of his language school had promised to review the teachers' pay but the review had not taken place so "We went to speak to him about it. He was

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[58] Salaries among the teachers who participated in this research study varied widely with the lowest gross salary at R4500 per month and the highest at R15 000 per month. Most of the teachers' salaries fell between R8000 to R13 000 per month.

very pleasant and listened to our complaints. When we had finished he pointed at the door saying, 'You see that door, remember it is always open. You can walk through it now and I'll be able to replace you tomorrow' — needless to say, we didn't get a pay increase." Anne had a similar experience in which the teachers' at her previous school were being paid extremely low salaries and "whenever we complained, the owner listed all of her expenses and told us that we should be grateful that we even had jobs. It was very, very stressful and I knew that I had to look for something else. I couldn't survive on that money. I was lucky that I found a position at another school." Vicky agreed saying, "Maybe if you are young and single, you can make do but there is no way you can live as an adult with financial responsibilities on this kind of money."

Sub-theme B: Lack of teaching resources
To teach English effectively, in addition to course books, teachers need a range of teaching resources designed for English language learners. These resources include graded readers, dictionaries and reference works, board games, examinations and tests, grammar and vocabulary games and extension activities. In addition, English language learning can be enhanced by the use of multimedia and digital resources. Due to financial constraints, private language schools often do not have adequate resources available for teachers. Many TESOL teachers, therefore, have to design and make their own resources or purchase the resources themselves. This is typical of TESOL programmes as described by Eskey (1997: 23) in which a potentially successful school or "cash cow" is throttled by insufficient budgets, few resources and poorly paid teachers but is expected to produce surplus finances which are directed to other programmes and departments and not back into the running and future growth of the school.

Lisa describes how, "We have very few resources, no readers, games or other items which can relieve the monotony of the course book. I use the internet at home and download and print extra worksheets at my own cost. We are not allowed to make lots of copies at work. We each have a code for the copy machine so they can see how much we print. Actually, they want us to use only the course book and nothing else. It is quite stressful for us because we always have to think of cheap ways to make our lessons exciting." Taylor agreed saying, "We have been asking for extra resources for ages. Eventually we brought our own board games from home and magazines that we have read. We also buy newspapers for the more advanced students to read." According to Mark, his school simply did not have money available for resources saying, "In our case, we make all of our resources ourselves. I think it makes us look sloppy and unprofessional. I would rather not use the resources because I can imagine what the students must think. It may sound trivial, but for me, I think that not being able to use the latest teaching resources is a source of stress. It is like we are being left behind."

Many of the teachers felt that the sharing of resources was particularly stressful. Anne described how some of the teachers are careless saying, "Some of the books have spills on them and their covers are bent and some of the games are missing playing pieces. I find this so disrespectful." Joanne agreed commenting, "This sharing of resource material is very stressful. The thing you want is always being used by someone else at precisely the time that you want it, the books get torn and dirty, the games fall apart. I have actually stopped using the resources here. I have bought my own which I use when I need to and then take home with me again." Jonathan echoed this saying, "People don't take care of the resources. Or even worse, they steal them. A lot of books here have gone missing and then we are all interrogated and reprimanded. People don't know how to share responsibly, they are like children. The result is stress for everyone."

The relative inaccessibility of resources and the tedious process of 'checking-out' resources were also mentioned as sources of stress by some of the teachers. Anne mentioned that the teachers would prefer to keep the resources relevant to the level being taught in a lockable cupboard in their classroom rather than in a common area such as the teacher's room or a relatively inaccessible area such as an office. Thomas described how "Every time we use the multimedia software, we have to go and sign it out in the office and then carry a whole lot of discs to the lab and then get the students to sign that they have received a disc and at the end, go through the whole process in reverse. It is exhausting!" Sara agreed saying, "If you want to take a resource book home to read, you have to go through a long process of signing the book out and signing forms that you will replace the book if it gets damaged. Eventually you are so nervous about the book, you don't even read it." Fern described how "If we want to take out a resource book, we have to wait until the co-ordinator is in her office and then try and select a book with her watching us, so you end up not spending the time you would like actually looking through what is available. I don't understand why they don't set up a small library. It would be much more pleasant for the teachers."

Sub-theme C: Shared spaces
The use of communal classrooms and a lack of space for teachers to prepare, plan, think and mark is a problem particular to TESOL and is symptomatic of the marginalisation of the field and those who work in it. This is supported by Bascia et al. (2001) who express concern about TESOL teachers not having a space to call their own. Varghese and Jenkins (2005: 92) observed and interviewed eleven contracted TESOL teachers working in the American secondary school system. Two of the teachers described how they had been locked out of communal classrooms during the two-month summer break and were unable to access their teaching materials and students' assignments. Another teacher described the frustration of not being allowed to have a key for her classroom and at having to wait for the office staff to arrive at work in the morning

before she could access her key. The teachers interviewed in this research study echoed these findings. Fern described how on Saturday mornings, "We teach in a different building because there are so many classes. At least once a month we arrive with our students to find the building locked. It is so incredibly stressful because all your students are standing there looking at you and expecting you to solve this problem. I always feel stressed on Saturdays because of this." The result is that classes run late, students are disgruntled and teachers are stressed before lessons begin. Mark agreed saying, "There are always problems with access when you share classrooms. People lock the classrooms and disappear with the keys or leave the keys in different places. Your students end up starting late and you end up feeling irritable. It's not a good way to work."

Motha (2004: 326) states that a self-contained, accessible classroom and its associations with "creative space and intellectual autonomy" are essential as a symbol of legitimacy for teachers. Motha (2004: 326) referring to American TESOL teachers, describes how "TESOL teachers are the first to lose their classrooms in overcrowded schools, to be relegated to a portable classroom, a stuffy basement, a nook in the student canteen or a mobile cart." The teachers in this research study echoed this sentiment. Lisa described how, "At one school I worked at, my students and I would spend the beginning of every day roaming the corridors looking for an empty classroom or at worst, a quiet corner." Rex said that in the seven years that he had taught TESOL, he had not yet experienced "the luxury of a classroom of my own." Shaleeda told how, over the years, she had "had held classes in storage rooms, corridors, converted cupboards and under stairwells, in noisy canteens, in libraries and in small, overcrowded classrooms." Perhaps these inadequate instructional spaces are representative of how TESOL programmes are generally regarded. This supports Motha who describes how TESOL teachers "command less authority", "feel pressured to be mindful of their place in the pecking order" and are generally viewed by colleagues in other disciplines as having "the easier job with more free time and fewer responsibilities"(Motha, 2004: 313; 317; 322).

One of the disadvantages of sharing classrooms is the fact that the teacher has no 'ownership' of the space. Rachel describes how she had "turned a small and dark classroom which no-one else wanted into a pleasant teaching environment" only to have another teacher notice what she had achieved, request the classroom and be allowed to take it over. Rachel felt that "The whole situation was very unfair and it was supposedly based on the fact that she had fewer students and they would be more comfortable in there. No-one considered how hard I had worked or that I was emotionally invested in that classroom." Lisa agreed saying "When we moved into a new building, I ended up in an internal classroom with no windows. It was horrible but it was huge and I was able to set up different areas for my students, I hung posters and made the classroom look interesting and inviting. My colleagues didn't do anything to their

classrooms. Suddenly, when my classroom looked fantastic, one of the other teachers suggested that we start rotating classrooms with every new course. I was quite attached to my classroom and felt very upset about this. When I spoke to the co-ordinator she wasn't sympathetic so I actually caused a big fuss about it. Eventually they left me in my classroom on the condition that I had more than fifteen students. If any other teacher had more students than me, I would have to give up my classroom. This created a lot of stress for me because I then had to try and always get to teach level three, four or five because those were the biggest classes. So for about three years, I had this stress about my classroom and was always worrying that they were going to move me."

Most of the teachers interviewed not only worked in shared classrooms but also had to share office space. They felt that shared office space was a significant source of stress. Sara describes how at her current school, "There are eight TESOL teachers and we share a tiny office. There is one computer between the eight of us so you can imagine how stressful that is. I got so frustrated that I bought a laptop and do all my admin and reports from home in the evenings and over the weekend. There is never enough space and some people eat and mess food on the resource books and then we are all blamed for it. It is exhausting to even be in that room." Rex agreed saying, "We can't all sit in the teacher's room during the breaks. It is too small and I can't think with everyone talking to each other and on their phones, and eating and opening and closing filing cabinets. Having no quiet space where I can think and plan my lessons or just eat in peace is very stressful for me." Joanne explained that a few of the teachers, including her, sit outside rather than in the shared teachers' room. She said, "The noise level is horrid and you always have the co-ordinator coming in there and talking about work when you are trying to relax and not think about work. So I personally don't go in there anymore during our breaks. I think it makes me stressed and tired."

Varghese et al. (2005: 94) describe how teachers are slowly being disempowered by financial constraints and overwhelmingly bureaucratic procedures which result in a lack of access to key points such as their own classrooms and space constraints which result in the sharing of offices and a lack of quiet places in which to think and plan. This has led to "increasingly dependent behaviour" on the part of the teachers and a growing sense of frustration and stress. This supports Motha (2004: 363) who maintains that TESOL teachers [and students] voices "are marginalised, excluded and left out. They are invisible by virtue of their TESOL identity." This supports Maslach et al. (1997: 17) who maintain that a lack of control in the workplace, few opportunities to make decisions, improve one's situation at work or be innovative can lead to burnout.

Sub-theme D: Lack of professional development and career advancement

The TESOL International Association defines professional development as moving from teaching into the administration or co-ordination of language programmes, developing materials, becoming active in professional organisations, conducting language research, presenting at conferences, writing for professional publications and pursuing postgraduate degrees. Hobbs (2013) maintains that in order for teachers to thrive, TESOL qualifications need to be followed by on-going developmental opportunities. This is a challenge both internationally and in the local context as private language schools tend not to value professional development, as defined by the TESOL International Association, largely due to the expense and the fact that many of the teachers are employed on short-term contracts. In a study of the challenges, experiences and professional development needs of 5, 300 temporary EFL teachers working in the American school system, Gandara, Maxwell-Jolly and Driscoll (2005: 18) found that "many EFL teachers had little or no professional development…and what…they did have was uneven." Thus, schools may feel that there is little point in investing in professional development programmes for people who may not remain at the school in the long-term.

Clair (1995: 189) states that "Considering the forces that de-professionalise teachers, on-going professional development that is constructed by the teachers themselves has the capacity to individually empower and socially transform." Lisa, however, maintained that, "As teachers we can do a lot on our own but eventually we need the support of the school. There is no point in developing materials that are not used, we can't afford to become members of most professional organisations, and doing research and writing for publications all takes time that we don't have." Many of the teachers interviewed felt that most of the language schools did not have a clear understanding of how to implement a professional development programme and were reluctant to develop such a programme due to financial and time constraints. Warren said that, "We have several workshops a year which are considered to be professional development but they are actually quite useless because they are always dominated by people moaning about problems in the classroom rather than trying to find solutions." This supports Clair (1995: 189) who maintains that "one-shot professional development workshops may not address issues pertinent to teachers."

Beale (2003: 40), in a survey study of the professional development needs of sixty-five Australian TESOL teachers, found that teachers valued that which "is interesting, up-to-date, relevant and above all practical." Rex agreed saying that "No-one asks us what we need or how we see ourselves developing professionally. The small amount of PD that is offered is based on what management think we need. In my opinion, all of us stuck in a room together trying to work on some PD task is a recipe for stress. I think that development is a personal thing and we all need to find our own way but with the support and finances of the school behind us." Vicky

agreed saying, "It is difficult to find something that appeals to all the teachers but when we try to improve ourselves then the school is not interested. I wanted to do an Honours degree in English and approached the school for funding but they turned me down. They couldn't see the point of furthering my studies. I think they are afraid that the more qualified we are, the more money we will expect."

Thus, many of the teachers had undertaken to develop their skills in their own time and at their own cost. Shaleeda described how she developed her own materials, read professional development books and TESOL journals and hoped to pursue a Masters degree in TESOL. She remarked that, "I know that I'll end up paying for my degree myself because the school doesn't fund our studies. It would be great if things were different and more time could be spent on our development and growth. Maybe in the future as the school becomes more profitable such things will happen but for now, for me, there is little hope of assistance." Mark agreed saying, "We have had a few workshops here and there and we have a small library with some professional development books but when it comes to funding studies or research or an overseas trip to attend a conference, or something that is actually useful in the classroom, it is not going to happen." This supports Liebermann and Mace (2010: 61) who state that "Teachers have long perceived professional development…to be fragmented, disconnected and irrelevant to the real problems of their classroom practice." Fern echoed this sentiment saying, "The school that I work at offers a lot of business English classes so most of the workshops are totally business-oriented. They are not interested in other forms of professional development. I don't teach business English so it is very disheartening."

The lack of professional development for TESOL teachers is accompanied by minimal career progression. According to Woods (1999: 137), "In TESOL, there is a distinct lack of career progression with TESOL teachers often stagnating in the same positions for years on end." Lisa described the situation thus, "There aren't many opportunities for advancement so when something comes up, everyone applies. Recently, a position came up for a TESOL co-ordinator and instead of giving one of us the opportunity, they employed an external person. It is very stressful and makes many of us feel like there is no way of moving forward." She added that, "I don't think there is much of a future in South Africa for TESOL teachers because the schools won't pay the kind of salaries that graduates expect. So if they won't pay decent salaries, then what is the point of studying further in TESOL? They would rather employ a school leaver with a 'C' for English in Matric and who is willing to work for next to nothing. On top of that, there is nowhere to go, you start as a teacher and that's where you stay." Rachel agreed saying, "The general feeling is that the school doesn't want to develop teachers, create new positions and offer us more opportunities. All they want is people who are reasonably competent, willing to work for low wages and who keep their mouths shut. It is a real shame."

All of the teachers interviewed felt that the lack of career opportunities for TESOL teachers was stressful. Lisa felt that, "It is a really stressful situation because the school system doesn't want us, both government and private. To work in that system, you need a recognised teaching qualification and registration with the SACE. So you can find yourself with an MA or PhD in TESOL, years of teaching experience and a huge amount of knowledge and skill but no work. So what do you do? You end up at the private language schools on a short-term contract, earning the same as someone twenty years younger than you with no qualifications. The system is rotten and I'm not surprised that teachers go into other careers." Rex agreed saying, "The industry is small and the opportunities are few. This creates a lot of stress as you know that you have so much to offer but no-one cares. The schools don't want over-qualified teachers, people who question the status quo, people who critically think…so if you are outspoken and too qualified, you may find yourself waiting tables at a restaurant!"

4.3.1.2 What support structures are available?
Woods (1999: 116) states that a potentially stressful situation occurs when "a teacher's personal interests, commitment and resources are not only out of line with one or more work-related factors but actually pull against them." He explains that the classic cause of stress and burnout is having too much work, a strong moral imperative to do it, and not enough time and energy to do it in or being pressured to do more work than feasible, having few resources with which to do it, receiving low rewards and little or no recognition, and even worse, being on the receiving end of criticism (Woods, 1999: 116). All of these stressors are present in the everyday work life of TESOL teachers. Thus it is imperative that private language schools, despite financial difficulties, provide their teachers with a nurturing and supportive environment in which to complete their work. Motha (2004: 329), in a longitudinal study of four beginning TESOL teachers in the US, found that the teachers felt that a sense of shared community and support was absent with none believing that it was actively fostered in their schools. Wedell (2004: 16), however, maintains that in private language schools in Chile, there has been some success with creating support structures particularly "teacher networks and the introduction of school-based mentors." However, Wedell (2004: 16) cautions that the introduction of support structures must be supported by school management and viewed as part of "normal professional activity and not something extra to be squeezed in."

Amason, Watkins Allen and Holmes (1999: 313) state that the effectiveness of social support structures for teachers are dependent on two factors. Firstly, support structures should be proactive focusing on action and guidance and try "to help the individual to understand the stressor and identify ways to cope with it" and secondly, there should be available and appropriate social support in the form of supervisors, colleagues, mentors, family and friends which can serve to reduce uncertainty and stress. The actual support provided may take a

variety of forms including assistance with achieving work outcomes, the provision of information and resources which allow the individual to perform optimally, emotional support, mentorship, the sharing of resources and collaborative attempts to solve problems as a group.

In terms of support from managers and supervisors, Singh and Billingsley (1998: 229) state that supervisors influence teachers' perception of support by the frequency and type of "communication, the design of the job and the level of autonomy, the provision of learning opportunities and resources and the nature and extent of feedback." Furthermore, supportive managers and supervisors are viewed as having clear expectations, being fair, communicating clearly, recognising good work, talking to staff, helping staff, supporting and enforcing school rules and providing resources where needed (Singh et al., 1998: 231). Most of the TESOL teachers interviewed in this research study, however, did not feel that they received adequate support from their supervisors. Terry noted that, "Feeling supported at work is more important than at home. I need to know that when I come in to teach a class that my boss is there for me and is going to support me. But the truth is that we aren't really supported by anyone. We're completely on our own." Sara agreed saying, "Over here the supervisor's role is to keep the teachers' in line. There is no such thing as a support network. I couldn't imagine feeling less supported!" Rex noted that "We hardly ever see our supervisors. If we wanted some type of support, I suppose we would have to go and ask for it. But I doubt they'd be open to it. There simply isn't time for stuff like that. People who need support would be seen as weak and may find themselves without a job." Research, however, reveals that supportive organisational relationships have been linked to reduced uncertainty, increased job satisfaction, decreased job stress and burnout, and improved health (Amason et al., 1999: 313).

A number of the teachers interviewed felt that their managers and supervisors were not supportive due to a lack of training and were perhaps unsure of how to be supportive and how to create support networks and other structures within the school. Frankie noted that, "Sometimes I think they just don't know how to support us. They are also under pressure to bring in students and manage teachers. The problem comes in when they micro-manage us, don't listen to the problems that we have in the classroom and don't take action. The result is that we feel unsupported and they feel that we are being obstructionist." Thus, it is imperative that supervisors know how to support teachers especially in terms of communicating clear expectations, that they are fair when evaluating teachers, recognise and praise accomplishments, and assist with instructional practices, discipline and resources. Singh et al. (1998: 237) maintain that "when supervisors foster shared goals, values and professional growth, solidarity and a supportive learning community are likely to result." Therefore, when supervisors' leadership is perceived as strong and positive, teachers are more likely to work co-operatively and share a common sense of purpose." This view is echoed by Douglas who

maintained that "We need strong and fair supervisors. Our supervisors come across as indecisive and weak. We feel as if we are on a ship without a captain."

According to Singh et al. (1998: 230) collegial support includes "assistance with professional concerns, feedback and emotional support." Furthermore, Singh (1998) highlights the importance of collaborative settings where teachers have the opportunity to give feedback to each other about their teaching and receive emotional and instructional support. Many of the TESOL teachers interviewed for this research study noted that they worked in toxic environments characterised by competitiveness, gossip and other nasty behaviour. In fact, few of the teachers reported positive collegial relationships. Rachel said that "I couldn't imagine my colleagues assisting me with concerns, giving me positive feedback or supporting me in any way. It is a dog-eat-dog mentality here. There is far too much at stake, our contract renewals mean that we have to look out for ourselves first. When you collaborate, you get lost in the crowd." Warren agreed saying, "Collaboration means group recognition but that isn't the way language schools are set up. The person you support today is the same one who stabs you in the back tomorrow. We all want individual recognition. That is the way to get your contract renewed, we all want to be seen as the best teacher in the group not as a good teacher in a group of good teachers."

While Singh et al. (1998: 232) state that supportive colleagues "shared beliefs about the mission of the school, enforced rules for students, co-operated with each other and helped each other to improve their teaching", many of the teachers in this research study felt that their colleagues were apathetic and had neither the energy nor the interest to support each other. This view supports that of Hancock et al. (2010: 335) who maintain that teacher apathy is rife and manifests as "a loss of enthusiasm", "a desire to miss days of school", "excessive stress", a "sense of disappointment" and "high levels of dissatisfaction in the workplace." Furthermore, Hancock et al. (2010: 335) state that peer support is a statistically significant predictor of attrition risk. English teachers who experienced satisfactory peer support were less likely to be a high attrition risk than those who received less peer support. According to Joanne, most of the teachers were simply "too tired at the end of the day to be supportive. Once classes are over, we just want to do marking or prepare for tomorrow's lesson. People don't realise that we also have children and families and we have to see to our family after work. It's like having two jobs. I can't imagine who has any energy left to support others emotionally. The job is just too draining." Bruce noted that even though he was single and did not have family responsibilities, he felt "exhausted after work" and had "nothing left to give."

There were several female teachers in this research study who maintained that without the support of their family and friends, they would not have been able to cope with the stresses of

TESOL teaching. This supports Brannan and Bleistein (2012: 532) who state that family and friends provide support by caring enough "to ask questions and listen to stories and experiences." Nina said that "My friends and my family are my support network. I know that I can tell them about my challenges such as the competitiveness and the backstabbing and they will try and advise me or just help me to forget about it. Without being able to vent at home, I don't think I'd last very long as a TESOL teacher." Fern agreed saying, "I know that no matter how bad my day is, I have someone at home who I can talk to and who is genuinely interested in what I have to say. That's my support network. The school provides us with nothing." Greenglass and Burke (1988: 226) highlight an interesting finding in a questionnaire-based study of burnout and social support in 556 Canadian teachers. The researchers discovered that although higher social support was associated with lower burnout, these results were found for the women in the study only. The researchers suggest that women may use social support more effectively by actually asking others for help and may find it easier to talk about their problems with others than men do thus making more effective use of available support networks.

Some of the TESOL teachers in this research study had formed their own support groups within their respective schools. De Wert, Babinski and Jones (2003) report on a number of studies in the US that show that the formation of teacher support groups helped to reduce stress, decreased feelings of isolation and led to an increase in competence and enthusiasm. De Wert et al. (2003) also report on the success of virtual support networks consisting of a mailing list with mailings going to each member for communal discussion of problems and possible solutions. Lisa founded a teacher support group within her school and felt that it had been moderately successful as a forum in which problems could be discussed, advice given and resources shared. She, however, maintained that the support group tended to be "somewhat limited in range due to a lack of time. I'd love to use the support group as a means to agitate for better salaries and working conditions. I mean they can't dismiss us all if we stand together. But I don't think it will happen, attendance of the meetings is sporadic and people say they just don't have the time to devote to it." This supports Creese, Norwich and Daniel (2000: 316), who in a mixed methods study of teacher support groups at four US schools, found that the biggest issues for teachers and senior management in the formation of teacher support groups was "not enough time, too much stress and low teacher morale." The teacher support groups that were successful were those supported by senior management, had no hidden agendas, consulted rather than forced teachers to be members, built trust, shared problems and maintained a high profile (Creese et al., 2000: 317-320).

Several of the teachers mentioned that although their teacher support groups had started out well, the group had quickly lost sight of its original goals. This supports Creese et al. (2000: 313) who state that in one US school the teacher support team was set up in "an atmosphere of

distrust and there were obvious tensions between the senior management team and the teaching staff." While in other schools there were a number of other challenges such as suspicion between teachers and supervisors, favouritism, older teachers perceived as resistant to change and the support group being used as a means of 'correcting' the behaviour of the members (Creese et al., 2000: 313). Fern noted that "With the current atmosphere between the teachers at this school, it is impossible to have a proper support group. All the teachers are only concerned about themselves and their jobs. They couldn't care less about sharing information and solving each other's problems. Quite honestly, I think it would be a waste of time." Mark agreed saying, "I attended a couple of meetings but felt like the group was just there to complain. I didn't find it to be proactive at all so I stopped going. The problem is that it's difficult to solve problems when you don't have any power to change things so it's easier to just sit around and complain."

Thus, this research study revealed that most private language schools do not have adequate support structures in place for their teachers. Managers and supervisors were generally perceived as being disinterested and unsupportive and those who attempted to create support structures tended to miss the point viewing it as an opportunity to micro-manage teachers and set the support agenda. In addition, teachers felt that managers and supervisors had not been trained on how to provide support and create networks of support. The TESOL teachers felt that colleagues were not at all supportive with very few teachers mentioning supportive colleagues while many commented on the lack of collegiality and shared community. This may be as a result of the competitive environment in which the teachers' work which does not encourage collaboration. An interesting finding was that none of the teachers identified other staff members at their respective schools as mentors. Thus many of the teachers perceived their family and friends as being the only support that they had. Furthermore, in those schools which had teacher support groups, the teachers generally felt that the groups lacked focus and tended to be used as a forum for complaints rather than support.

4.3.1.3 What coping strategies do teachers use?

Bruce (2009: 58) states that "Employees who feel unhappy and unfulfilled for extended periods of time are more likely to burn out." Thus, due to teachers focusing their attention on the needs of others, the boundary between helping their students and taking care of themselves tends to become blurred and "the self-care component erodes." The key to successful coping is, therefore, finding a balance between addressing the needs of others and the needs of oneself. Lisa agreed saying, "I often don't make time for myself. First I see to the things that my students need, prepare for my classes and do marking, then I see to my family and only after that, if there is time, do I see to myself. The result is that I feel as if I never have any time to do anything nice for myself." Vicky echoed this sentiment saying, "I feel as if I never have any time

to just sit and think about something deeply. I'm on the go all day long and into the evenings as well. So everything becomes superficial, you just want to get it all done before you collapse into bed and get some sleep and then start it all over again the next day."

McEwen (1998: 2) maintains that "the things which really affect most people's health over long periods of time are not dramatic life events, but are really the day-to-day problems…and that these effects may accumulate over months and years to cause problems." Steptoe's (1991) comment that what is important is teachers' *perception* of stressors bears repeating here. If TESOL teachers perceive something as stressful, then it will be so. Furthermore, McEwen (1998: 2) states that teachers are most vulnerable to chronic stress "in work situations of low control that are accompanied by high performance demands. Such situations are exacerbated if there is also a lack of intellectual challenge and they can be compounded by the boredom of strict daily routines and time pressures." This description is typical of many TESOL teachers' working days. Nina noted that, "I find that the only control I have concerns what I teach on a particular day and when you have taught the same course over and over again, it does become boring. So the routine nature of teaching is actually something I didn't expect when I started and it is something that I have found to be stressful. I often go home and think that I taught others something today but learned nothing myself."

In terms of coping strategies, Munt (2004: 585-586) states that research into stress and burnout has "spawned a bewildering array of competing discourses" and has become "subject to a legion of new consultants, counsellors, therapists and management gurus [touting] their solutions to the problems of teacher stress and burnout." Munt feels that many coping strategies address the individual with the stressed teacher exhorted to "effect self-cure through diet, exercise and lifestyle regimes." However, such advice fails to address the root cause of the stress and consequent burnout. Furthermore, providing teachers with stress management techniques and a personal resilience stress management plan, while useful, does not address the existing problems in the workplace as "Society and the work environment must be included in any serious study of stress" (Munt, 2004: 585-586).

Mearns and Cain (2003: 72) state that people have different coping styles and the way that people cope with stress will affect the outcomes of that stress. The researchers also maintain that maladaptive responses to stress such as increased smoking, drug use or alcohol abuse can actually lead to more intense experiences of stress and burnout. This supports Woods (1999: 123) who described a number of avoidance and maladaptive strategies used by teachers to cope with stress and burnout. These include survival strategies in which surviving the day, week, term or course and the year with mental and physical health intact is the primary aim. Such strategies also include absence and withdrawal from the stressful situation, strategic

compliance in which the teacher goes along with things hoping the circumstances will soon change and moonlighting in which teachers channel their energies and creativity into another sphere while still holding down the original job for financial reasons. None of these responses will alleviate the original causes of the stress, assist the teacher in coping adequately with the stressors or prevent possible burnout.

The literature abounds with ways of coping with stress and burnout. Bruce (2009: 61) mentions the importance of putting one's health first by means of regular exercise, good nutrition and getting enough sleep, maintaining a work-life balance, reserving time to focus on personal growth and development and establishing boundaries at work. Other suggestions include obtaining a clear description of work duties so as to avoid work overload and role ambiguity, identifying mentors and starting a support network, learning to be more assertive and recognising the value of solitude which gives one space and time to reflect. Zemach (2006: 16-17) suggests that teachers "say no to any schedule that leaves no time to yourself", "build a professional network" and be aware of the fact that schools tend to encourage a sense of "pride in workaholism." In a questionnaire-based study of stress among 624 teachers in Nigeria, teachers attempted to cope with stress by watching television, listening to music, browsing the internet, talking to friends, playing sport and praying. Recommendations to reduce stress included supplying teachers with social facilities such as satellite television and access to the internet, encouraging physical exercise by building recreation centres on the school premises and allowing teachers to create time for themselves within their work day so that they could relax (Olaitan, Oyerinde, Obiyemi and Kayode, 2010: 341-342).

Cherniss (1992: 1) concluded that meaningful work could counteract stress and teachers who are able to combat burnout are those who have discovered a way of making their work more rewarding and personally meaningful. Holmes (2005: 168) advocates journal writing as a means of reflecting on daily experiences and highlighting stressors while Horn (2009: 170) states that it is vital for teachers to have hobbies and interests outside of work saying, "Recreational activities promote…well-being and create avenues to achieve a more abundant family and social life. As hobbies require attention and time, the mind is taken away from the daily routine." This supports Sonnentag (2001: 196) who, in a diary study of one hundred Dutch teachers, discovered that involvement in high and low-effort leisure time activities contributed to the individual's well-being. High-effort activities included cycling, dancing and sports while low-effort activities included watching television, speaking to a friend on the phone and reading a magazine.

Gold and Roth (1993: 56) maintain that a carefully planned stress-reduction programme can assist teachers in developing coping skills. The authors advocate becoming aware of "emotional

and physical needs", "keeping records of emotions, feelings and behaviours", "paying attention to exercise, diet and sleeping habits" and "learning relaxation techniques." None of the TESOL teachers in this research study had a formal stress-reduction plan. Thus the coping strategies used tend to be somewhat haphazard and applied if and when the teachers had time.

Most of the teachers felt that organisation and time management were important strategies in coping with a stressful work environment. Anne said, "I try to be very organised so that I don't lose track of things. I use a diary, I note down important information, I try to action things straight away. I think that it helps to reduce the stress a bit. You know, always being prepared makes you feel as if you are in control." Rachel agreed saying, "I used to be a person that ran into class at the last minute, everything with me was spontaneous. I never prepared for lessons. It doesn't work long-term though. The students are not stupid. So I have had to become more organised and plan my day more carefully. I have found that it helps a bit because I don't feel as stressed about the actual teaching anymore." Joanne also noted that she felt that actively managing her time and her day had reduced her stress levels in the classroom. She maintained that, "I always make sure that my administration is well-prepared. So for example, I set up the final reports on my computer when the course begins and as I go along, I just add the details. This saves a lot of time at the end. But it is still only a small part that I can control, there are many things that are stressful that I can't control."

A popular strategy for dealing with stress can be termed taking care of the self and this includes self-nurturing, taking time for oneself and doing solitary activities. Lisa said that "In my spare time I read a lot of books. I can read four books a week. I love detective and mystery fiction. I just lose myself in the story and find that I feel better. I bring a book to work as well so I can read before work and during my lunch." Rex described how he made a point of spending time alone over the weekend saying, "I paint or listen to peaceful Buddhist music or watch a movie. The main point is I do this alone. I don't want to talk or have someone around me. Being alone with my thoughts is what I need and that helps me to face the coming week." Furthermore, Shaleeda noted how she always made time for herself after work and over the weekends in which she "tried out a new recipe, read a book, listened to classical music or caught up on reading linguistic journals — time to be by myself and do something for myself."

Most of the teachers said that listening to their favourite music alleviated stress and enabled them to forget about work temporarily. Warren felt that "If it weren't for my iPod, I'd be lost. I listen to music in the morning on the way to work and it makes me feel more positive and then after a stressful day, I put my earphones in and just let the music take over. It really does help." Joanne agreed saying, "I listen to music a lot. I have a whole range of songs for different moods

but there is one CD of traditional Asian music that I always have on in the background in the evenings. It comforts me, it is sad, haunting music but also relaxing."

Good nutrition, exercise and getting enough sleep was viewed by almost all the teachers as a vital part of coping with their stressful work environment. This supports Horn (2009: 161) who states that a common component of stress intervention programmes is a "Healthy diet with fruit and vegetables, high fibre and freshly cooked food. Thomas agreed saying, "I play a lot of sport. I run every day, cycle on the weekends and make sure that I eat right. If I didn't do that, I'd go off my head. At least it's the one thing I can control." Fern felt that eating well and exercising was very important saying, "I watch what I eat, I take a lot of vitamins and go to gym every day after work. When I am in the gym, I can actually feel my stress disappearing. Without that release, I'd be in a bad way. Often when I'm at gym, I use the punching bag and pretend that the bag is all the people who make my life difficult. It may sound strange but it seems to work." Mark described a similar strategy saying, "I have a small home gym and I can't wait to get in there every night to sweat the stress and irritation away. The problem is you come back to the same stress the next day."

It should be noted, however, that some of the teachers said that it was difficult to find the energy and the time to devote to a good nutrition and exercise programme. In addition, getting adequate sleep was not easy for everyone. These are typical symptoms manifested by people suffering from emotional exhaustion. Sara maintained that "Eating healthily is expensive. It is actually cheaper to eat badly. And when you are tired and fed up, it is difficult to make the time and put in the effort. I know I should but I simply can't. I normally eat junk food, prepare for class the next day and fall into bed. At this stage, I simply can't see myself preparing healthy meals and exercising every day." Vicky agreed saying, "Maybe that works for single people but not for people like me who have small children who take up so much time. I'm lucky if I get into bed at 11.00 pm. I wouldn't know where to find the time to exercise!" Jonathan felt that teaching was not only emotionally but also physically exhausting saying, "I'm so tired at the end of each day that the thought of exercising makes me sick. I try to go to bed early but find that I wake up in the early hours of the morning with all these random thoughts going through my head — about my students, stuff that happened at work and what I'm going to teach tomorrow. It's as if I can't relax at all."

Several of the teachers advocated the use of alternative therapies such as meditation, massage, Pilates and yoga. This supports Gold et al. (1993) who maintain that light exercise and relaxation techniques such as meditation can assist in reducing stress. Terry explained that meditation and yoga helped her to deal with stress saying, "I attend yoga classes three times a week and I try and meditate every morning. I think it does help. I feel much more relaxed

afterwards, the only problem is that the next day I have to go back to work and it starts all over again." Lisa also did yoga and Pilates which she felt relaxed her body and her mind saying, "I think what helps is the slowness of the movements. It's not like aerobics or dance where you jump around, it involves more of your thoughts and you have to be mindful when you do it. It takes your mind to another place which helps me." Shaleeda went to a local spa for weekly massages which she found useful in alleviating the effects of stress saying, "I can literally feel the toxins draining out of my body. I try to imagine all the poisons leaving my thoughts and my body. It costs a fair bit but I try to have a full body massage at least once a month and then neck and shoulder massages every week. That's where all your tension collects — you can actually feel how immobile your neck and shoulders become."

The teachers felt that it was difficult to sustain hobbies and interests as teaching was such a time-consuming profession. However, some of the teachers mentioned various hobbies that they had started as a way of coping with stress. Douglas said that he was learning French because, "I felt I needed to challenge myself. Here I was teaching foreign students but not knowing what it was like to learn a foreign language. I don't manage to spend time on it every day but when I do, I find that I'm able to lose myself in the language." Lisa was taking violin lessons and said "I always wanted to learn and then when I turned forty, I thought 'It's now or never' — I really enjoy it and find that I don't even think about work when I'm playing." Claire mentioned that she was attending cooking classes and had found it to be stimulating and an excellent way of forgetting about work. She noted that, "Maybe it is because one can become the student and have the freedom to say that you don't know anything, you are just a student. No-one has any expectations of you." This supports Bernier (1998: 58) who maintains that in attempts to cope with burnout, "interests (courses and hobbies)…become very important."

Thus the teachers interviewed attempted to cope with stress and burnout by using a range of strategies which included being organised and managing time well, self-nurturing, listening to music, eating healthy food and following an exercise programme, using alternative therapies and involvement in leisure interests outside of work. The teachers, however, did not use these coping strategies as part of a structured stress management and burnout treatment programme. The coping strategies were used because they alleviated the experience of stress temporarily and enabled the individual teacher to feel a sense of relief and renewal. Furthermore, the different coping strategies allowed the teachers the perception that they could cope with another day, week, course or year in their present positions. Both Maslach et al. (1981) and Schonfield (2001) maintain that it is very difficult for the individual to cope with stress and burnout on their own as coping strategies place the responsibility of managing stress and burnout on the individual. The actual responsibility should be on the employer to change the stressful situation.

Unfortunately, none of the language schools had instituted a stress management programme for teachers thus all of the coping strategies were practised outside of the workplace. Furthermore, the coping strategies did not address the root cause of the stress and burnout which mainly lay within the actual work environment. Thus, this created a cycle of stress feeding into the experience of burnout whereby teachers would become stressed over a period of time, would show signs of burnout, would attempt to cope by various means which created a false sense of relief and renewal and then would return each day to unchanged stressful circumstances. It is doubtful whether the cycle can be broken until the source of the stressors is addressed.

4.4 Conclusion

Bruce (2009: 59) maintains that top performing teachers who leave the profession within the first five years feel unable to cope with the multiple dimensions of teaching and cite their reasons for leaving as difficult responsibilities coupled with very high expectations, the effects of constant multitasking, the lack of a boundary between home and work, high stress leading to self-doubt and low self-esteem, inability to meet day-to-day demands, frustration associated with inadequate time to prepare for classes, student behavioural issues, lack of respect, low salaries and a lack of administrative support. This supports Buchanan (2009: 9) who states that "Gone are the days when teachers commanded respect from students simply by virtue of their position." Buchanan surveyed twenty-two Australian teachers who had left the profession and discovered that their reasons for leaving included a lack of professionalism accorded to them by employers, a crowded curriculum which resulted in superficial teaching, a lack of autonomy, student discipline issues and a rising tide of anti-intellectualism which resulted in a disdain for learning and a rejection of excellence.

This research study yields similar findings among TESOL teachers working in private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa. According to the results of phase one, the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey, twenty of the forty-three TESOL teachers who participated in this study manifested the symptoms of burnout. These teachers then participated in phase two, the semi-structured interviews. The interviews revealed valuable information regarding what stressors exist in the working environment of a private language school, what kind of support structures are available to TESOL teachers and how TESOL teachers cope with stress and burnout.

In terms of the interview data, the researcher identified three major themes of stressors which consisted of various sub-themes. The first theme involved the actual job of teaching and covered the sub-themes of work overload, inadequate training and gaps in subject knowledge, time pressure and student behaviour. The second major theme involved the teachers'

relationships at work and included the sub-themes of relationships and interactions with colleagues, administrators and the management of the various language schools. The third major theme involved organisational and TESOL-related issues and included the sub-themes of working conditions, lack of adequate teaching resources, shared spaces and a lack of professional development and career advancement.

In terms of support structures available for TESOL teachers, the study revealed that there were few support structures within the language schools with teachers attempting to either create such structures themselves or looking for support outside of the workplace. The teachers described various coping strategies that they used to cope with stress and the experience of burnout. None of the language schools assisted the teachers by instituting a formal stress management programme and instead the teachers were left to try and cope on their own. Many of the coping strategies seemed to be used as and when needed and were not part of a structured programme of stress management. The overall impression was that of the teachers attempting to manage their stress levels and burnout by various means, however, this was of dubious success as the actual causes of the various stressors were not being managed by either the teachers or the schools.

The final chapter introduces and revises the concept of burnout and its harmful consequences and the research objectives of the study. A summary of the research findings is then presented which covers the three main themes and various sub-themes derived from the semi-structured interviews. The conclusions are then discussed followed by a brief overview of the contribution of the research study to the field of TESOL. Finally, recommendations for further research are presented.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

5.1. Introduction

Maslach et al. (1997: 17) maintain that the greater the mismatch between an individual and their job, the greater the likelihood of burnout. The findings of this research study confirm the six most likely areas where this mismatch can occur (Maslach et al., 1997). In the case of the TESOL teachers who participated in phase one and two of this research study, the mismatches can be clearly seen in terms of work overload, breakdown of community, lack of decision-making power, lack of recognition, unfairness and a discrepancy between the language schools' image and the reality of working there. Thus, the researcher maintains that burnout is not the direct result of individual factors although certain individuals may be more predisposed to suffering from stress and consequent burnout. Burnout is, in this case, the result of the social context in which the TESOL teachers work. This supports Maslach et al. (1997) and Schonfield (2001) who view the environment that the individual operates in as deficient and resulting in stress and consequent burnout rather than stress and consequent burnout being the result of deficiencies in the individual.

According to Rudow (1999), both stress and burnout are concepts that have not been defined accurately and are often used as synonyms. In this research study, ongoing stress has been viewed as playing an important role in the burnout process with the view that daily stressors over a prolonged period of time can lead to burnout. Thus, burnout "is a phenomenon that takes years or even decades to evolve…a lingering process unnoticed or underestimated by the teacher" with the central characteristic being "physical, mental and emotional exhaustion whereby the emotional exhaustion prevails" (Rudow, 1999: 55). Schaufeli and Enzmann (1998: 36) offer a synthetic definition of burnout as "a persistent, negative, work-related state of mind in 'normal' individuals that is primarily characterized by exhaustion, which is accompanied by distress, a sense of reduced effectiveness, decreased motivation, and the development of dysfunctional behaviour and attitudes at work." Burnout is, therefore, typically characterised by feelings of exhaustion and fatigue, indifferent and distant attitudes to work and people, and a lack of professional efficacy. The fact that 46% of the participants in this research study suffered from burnout confirms that the problem of burnout is not limited to a small number of people or to particular contexts.

According to Salanova and Llorens (2008: 59), burnout constitutes "one of the most harmful effects of a psychosocial nature deriving from the work context in today's society." Burnout can be viewed as the consequence of a combination of factors which include the increasingly fast pace of life, an increase in the emotional and mental load of work, the demand by employers for better quality work without an accompanying increase in remuneration and the breaking of

the psychological contract between employer and employee. The result is what Giddens (1990) refers to as a crisis of trust. Thus, the study of burnout is not a passing fad nor does stress and consequent burnout affect just a minority of workers. Rather, the study of work stressors and the experience of burnout is "a social necessity whose aim is to improve people's health and quality of life" (Salanova et al., 2008: 60).

This research study has shown that burnout has a series of consequences:
- at the individual level, which includes exhaustion, chronic fatigue, mental distancing from others, anxiety, depression, psychosomatic complaints, increased use of toxic substances, generalisation or the 'overflow' of stress and burnout to private life and doubts about one's capacity to do the job;
- at the work level, which includes job dissatisfaction, diminished work performance, lack of commitment to the organisation and the continued intention to leave it; and
- at the organisational level, which includes increased absenteeism, resignations and early retirement and an overall lack of service quality (Salanova et al., 2008: 59).

There is no doubt that the experience of stress and burnout is a devastating experience for teachers and TESOL teachers all over the world. The focus of this research study is on TESOL teachers as there is very little research in this area. As a profession conducted in front of people and for the benefit of people, the consequences of burnout are frustrating for both the TESOL teachers concerned and their students. This supports Leithwood (2006: 33) who states that burnout has "significant negative effects on teachers, their schools and their students." Other effects of burnout among teachers include increased absenteeism, a decline in classroom performance, poor interpersonal relationships with students and colleagues, lower tolerance for classroom disruptions, inadequate preparation for classes, and becoming increasingly dogmatic and resistant to change.

Maslach and Leiter (1999: 295) state that burnout has long been recognised as an important stress-related problem for teachers as teaching shares with other human service professions the role of working in a close relationship with recipients of one's care. However, teaching is "unique in that these working relationships are dealt with en masse within a classroom unlike the more individual and sequential focus of other human services." Furthermore, although the quality of the relationship between teacher and student is often the most rewarding aspect of teaching it is also the point at which teachers "are vulnerable to emotionally draining and discouraging experiences" (Maslach et al., 1999: 296). Burnout negatively impacts on teachers' performance in relation to their students and colleagues as well as their own emotional, mental and physical well-being. Thus, burnout is a problem with potentially serious consequences for both teachers' careers and the learning experiences of their students. The consequences are

even greater for TESOL teachers' who work in an industry that marginalises them and regards them as dispensable. TESOL teachers who suffer from ongoing stress and burnout are easily sidelined and replaced. Unlike English teachers who work in the primary and secondary school system, TESOL teachers do not have the option of being placed on long leave in order to recover.

The literature review has shown that burnout has important implications for the extent to which TESOL teachers can perform their work and pursue their personal values through their work. Thus if aspects of the job or organisational context make it difficult for the teachers to do their work and to pursue their values, then burnout is more likely to occur and this can lead to alienation from a specific job and teaching environment or even from TESOL teaching as a profession. De Heus and Diekstra (1999) investigated the question of whether teachers show more burnout symptoms and other symptoms of stress than workers in other social professions. De Heus et al. (1999), using the Maslach Burnout Inventory as one of the measuring instruments, sampled 13, 555 social professionals of which 1, 018 were teachers. The results revealed that teachers "had higher burnout scores than any other profession" (De Heus et al., 1999: 275). Moreover, teachers reported "less time control, lower participation in decision making and less colleague support than other social professionals" (De Heus et al., 1999: 275). De Heus et al. (1999) conclude that despite the social nature of teaching and the prolonged contact of teachers with students and colleagues, "teaching may be a rather lonely job" (De Heus et al., 1999: 278). This supports Synar (2011: 465) who states that "teacher isolation is a major stumbling block" to a sense of personal fulfilment in the profession. Several of the TESOL teachers in this research study commented on their feelings of isolation despite working in a people-oriented field.

Bernier (1998: 50; 52), in an interview study of successful recovery from severe burnout of thirty-six Canadian human service professionals, maintains that "the recovery process is long and takes from 1 to 3 years" and can be compared to "that of coping with loss, illness or trauma because of the tragic quality of the crisis involved." The main coping strategy used by the participants was to change their working conditions. Due to the small size of the TESOL industry in South Africa and the lack of regulation it is very difficult for TESOL teachers to change their working conditions or to move from job to job. Bernier (1998) identified a common process of burnout recovery consisting of six stages. These stages are: admitting the problem, distancing oneself from work, restoring health, questioning values, exploring work possibilities and making objective changes. One participant in Bernier's 1998 study described the experience of burnout saying "I could hardly sleep, was constantly preoccupied, filled with…maybe not suicidal, but very depressive feelings…empty, undecided" while another said, "I cried a lot…Not little tears but spasms of sobbing. Afterwards my eyes were swollen for three days. I cried about

everything and nothing…It was emotional exhaustion, not physical." According to those who had recovered from severe burnout, their recovery was dependent on the absence of pressure to return to work as they were on paid sick leave. With the precarious nature of short-term, contract employment in the TESOL industry, paid sick leave is a luxury that most TESOL teachers do not have.

Sellen (2007: 20), a TESOL teacher, describes her descent into burnout saying "I became less patient. I tired of explaining the same grammar points over and over again. I tired of reading students' attempts at writing…I felt no remorse as I…coldly returned papers with poor grades and scant remarks about areas that needed improvement. I also secretly resented students showing up for office hours." She also maintains that "Teaching is hard work and language teaching is especially demanding." Sellen believes that burnout is a taboo subject and many teachers are afraid of being judged negatively by their colleagues as admitting to burnout "implies a weakness, a level of emotionality that has no place in the workplace" (Sellen, 2007: 21). She believes that a particular stressor leading to burnout is that in the language teaching industry, "Teachers have had to accept decisions based on economics and efficiency and made by administrators who have little knowledge of language acquisition or the economies of international students" (Sellen, 2007: 21). Sellen (2007: 22) continues saying "I am saddened as I watch talented teachers leave the profession, exhausted not only from the work of teaching but also from the unending anxiety over enrolment and the insecurity of employment. However, mostly I am saddened for the students who lose the opportunity to learn from them."

Thus all evidence points to stress and consequent burnout being a significant challenge for teachers working at all levels of the education system. Much of the research focus, nationally and internationally, tends to be on primary and high school teachers with a handful of studies focusing on stress and burnout among university lecturers. The teachers who work in the sphere of adult education are all but forgotten. Considering that TESOL is a growing industry worldwide and that South Africa is increasingly becoming a destination of choice for foreign students, it is vital that there is continued research into the emotions, experiences, perceptions and realities of South African TESOL teachers' lives.

5.2. Summary of findings

The main aims of this research study were to determine whether a sample of TESOL teachers working at private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa suffered from burnout and then to determine what the major stressors were that led to the stress levels that ultimately resulted in the experience of burnout. Furthermore, the research study aimed to identify what, if any, support structures were in place for TESOL teachers suffering from burnout and what kind of coping strategies these teachers used to manage burnout.

In phase one of the study, the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey identified twenty of the forty-three teachers (46%) who participated in the study as suffering from burnout. These teachers participated in phase two of the study which consisted of in-depth semi-structured interviews. The interviews yielded valuable information on what causes stress for TESOL teachers working at private language schools, what kind of support structures are available and how teachers cope with these stressors and their consequent experience of burnout. The interview data revealed three major themes which consisted of various sub-themes as discussed. The findings are summarised as follows.

What causes teachers to feel stressed?
The actual job of teaching and its related tasks was a major contributor to feelings of being stressed and thus a contributing factor to burnout. The teachers felt that they were overloaded with work and under significant time pressure to complete various tasks. They expressed concern about the lack of work-life balance in TESOL teaching, the amount of preparation time required for classes and the fact that they were increasingly finding teaching to be boring and tedious. In addition, many of the teachers felt that they had received inadequate training on the various TESOL courses they had attended and that there were significant gaps in their knowledge particularly in the area of English grammar. This was a particular problem for some of the TESOL teachers as the English courses tend to be grammar-oriented. They expressed concern about the lack of standardised entry qualifications to the profession and the proliferation of unqualified and under-qualified teachers in the field. Student behaviour was also a major sub-theme with the teachers saying that, in general, student behaviour was becoming worse and their ability to manage difficult students was somewhat limited by disinterested school leadership and the tenuous nature of their employment. The teachers highlighted the stressful nature of coping with students who refused to follow instructions in the classroom and those who were argumentative, confrontational and disruptive. Furthermore, teachers were concerned about the large number of passive and disinterested students who failed to participate in classroom activities and the fact that TESOL classes were becoming larger with younger students and greater numbers of student complaints. The teachers also felt that unrealistic expectations on the part of students regarding how to achieve linguistic competence in English created stress.

Relationships and interactions with others at work were perceived to be a major contributor to stress and burnout. The teachers felt that generally their collegial relationships were negative and unsatisfactory. Colleagues held qualifications of varying quality which caused resentment and schools did not actively encourage a collaborative culture. The TESOL teachers described the overriding teacher culture as overwhelmingly toxic and characterised by competitiveness,

gossip and hostility. The administrative support staff, whose function was to assist the teachers, were generally viewed as unsupportive. Concerns were also expressed about support staff interactions with students which tended to be unsatisfactory and created additional work and stress for the teachers. In terms of relationships with the management of the various schools, the teachers believed that many of them had been victims of workplace bullying or had witnessed bullying incidents directed at colleagues. The teachers also expressed concern about the general lack of support from management, the manner in which teacher observations were conducted and the constant threats of cost-cutting measures.

The final major stressor was that of organisational and TESOL-related issues. Teachers felt stressed by their working conditions which included the poor state of the buildings and classrooms at many of the private language schools. In addition, almost all of the TESOL teachers were on short-term employment contracts and none of them felt that they earned market-related salaries. Furthermore, the schools paid all teachers the same salary thus there was no incentive to improve qualifications. Those teachers who held post-graduate degrees felt resentful as they received the same salary as those who had completed entry level TESOL courses. Teachers also mentioned the lack of adequate teaching resources, the fact that many of the schools did not have the money to purchase these resources and that there were problems surrounding the abuse and sharing of teaching resources. Sharing space with colleagues was also cited as being a source of stress. This included lack of access to communal classrooms, not having one's own classroom, having to move to different classrooms and the challenges of sharing office space. All of the teachers expressed discontent regarding their lack of professional development and career advancement.

What support structures are available?
With regard to support structures, the TESOL teachers felt overwhelmingly unsupported with most of them looking outside the workplace for support from their family and friends. Supervisors and managers were generally viewed as being more interested in micro-managing the teachers than in being supportive. Furthermore, most of the teachers felt that supervisors and managers were not open to creating support networks and structures in the various language schools because they did not have the knowledge to do so or were not interested in doing so. In terms of collegial support, the teachers noted a distinct lack of collaboration due to the prevalence of an individualistic teaching culture which favoured individual achievement and a competitive atmosphere. In addition, a number of TESOL teachers said that they lacked the energy and time to become involved in support groups. Although some of the teachers had created their own support groups, these groups tended to be characterised by an unwillingness of the members to share information and resources and a tendency for the group to become a passive forum for complaints which went no further than the group itself.

What coping strategies do the teachers use to manage stress?

The TESOL teachers in this research study used a variety of coping strategies in order to manage their stress levels and cope with the experience of burnout, however, none of the teachers were involved in a structured stress management programme and none had consulted a medical professional with regard to their stress and burnout levels. The coping strategies used by the teachers included improved organisational skills and time management, self-nurturing and actively making time for oneself, listening to music and eating healthy food, exercising and getting adequate sleep, although some of the teachers felt that this was not always possible. In addition, the teachers used alternative therapies such as meditation, yoga and massage therapy and involved themselves in a variety of leisure interests such as learning a foreign language, painting and playing a musical instrument.

5.3. Conclusions

According to a survey conducted by Study Travel Magazine, "ELT providers in South Africa are unanimous in their 2013 business forecasts, with all confident that the sector will sustain business growth."[59] Thus, the TESOL industry is growing in South Africa as it offers prospective university students, travellers and adult language learners a more affordable study option than its rivals which include Australia, New Zealand, the USA and the UK. While the growth of the local English teaching industry is positive news as it surely must translate into greater opportunities for TESOL teachers, it remains an industry that is fraught with problems ranging from a non-existent regulatory framework to poor working conditions and terms of employment for those in the profession.

There is a dearth of research on TESOL teachers and their emotions, experiences and thoughts. The realities of TESOL teachers' lives are unchartered territory. While there are many satisfactions inherent in the job such as interacting with students from different cultures, the enjoyment of teaching the English language and seeing one's students' progress and the various opportunities for travel, the dissatisfactions are self-evident. These include a profession that lacks professional status, is riddled with ambiguities and confusion and is characterised by work overload, unfair treatment, low salaries and job insecurity. Private language schools, unfortunately, are complicit in this rather bleak picture of the world of TESOL as they continue to place profits first, employ unqualified and under-qualified teachers and offer poor working conditions and unattractive salary packages. Thus, in South Africa private language schools are part of a lucrative albeit intensely competitive industry but tend to remain private operators

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[59] Source: Study Travel Magazine, 'South Africa Secure' by Nicola Hancox. [Source: *http://www.hothousemedia.com/ltm/ltmbackissues/feb13web/feb13marketanalysis.htm,* (accessed 26 June 2013)].

who make up the rules as they go along. The TESOL teachers are viewed as an expendable resource.

This research study has shown that TESOL teachers experience high stress levels and are vulnerable to stressors from a variety of sources. One can conclude that any TESOL teacher working within the South African TESOL industry is at risk of suffering from stress and possible burnout. Stressors are wide-ranging. They include those that emanate from the job of teaching such as unruly student behaviour, student complaints, inconsistent assessment and observation procedures, the time taken to prepare for lessons and unrealistic time constraints on language courses. There are also stressors that arise outside the classroom including interactions and relationships with administrators, colleagues and school management and the ever-present challenge of job insecurity. Furthermore, there are factors that are unique to the TESOL industry such as teaching classes of mixed nationalities, age groups and ability levels, using communal classrooms, a consistent lack of resource material and having to cope with disruptive, adult students. There is also a distinct lack of adequate and effective support networks and structures to assist teachers in meeting these challenges and a consequent inability to cope with and manage stress and burnout.

The research study also highlighted the negative effects of poor working conditions. Leithwood (2006: 15) notes that poor working conditions can negatively impact on individual and collective teacher efficacy, job satisfaction, organisational commitment, stress and burnout levels and morale. The result being "disengagement from the school or profession with a consequent loss of pedagogical knowledge." Thus, by improving the working conditions of TESOL teachers in the local industry, it may be possible to lower stress levels and the risk of burnout. This supports Synar (2011: 462) who states that old and decaying facilities can cause health problems for teachers and students and "create a negative climate…that is not conducive to learning." Thus, healthier language schools can be achieved by improving and upgrading the organisational environment.

Furthermore, it appears that a major source of stress and a factor that leads to burnout in the TESOL industry is the prevalence of workplace abuse and bullying. According to Blase et al. (2008: 282), the five most prevalent bullying behaviours in the teaching profession are intimidation, failure to recognise or praise work-related achievements, failure to support teachers in difficult interactions, unwarranted reprimands and unreasonable demands. Blase et al. (2008: 267) maintain that "A great deal of research has emphasised the deleterious effects of abusive workplace conduct on a victim's psychological-emotional health, physical-physiological health, work performance and relationships with co-workers, and personal life." There are numerous examples of how workplace bullying affects the individual and these

include reduced job satisfaction, self-doubt, loneliness, distrust, burnout, panic attacks, suicidal thoughts accompanied by back and neck pain, headaches and migraines, weight changes, high blood pressure, chronic fatigue syndrome, and heart attacks. In terms of work performance, the individual shows decreased initiative, reduced commitment, absenteeism and social withdrawal which is often accompanied in the person's private life by conflict, deterioration of family relationships and the loss of friendships (Blase et al., 2008: 267).

Cephe (2010) states that education is not only a question of effective teaching or using the correct materials. It also involves designing an educational system which can work independently of individual teachers, can be improved upon over time and is sustainable in the long-term. Thus, teachers cannot teach effectively unless they are supported both academically and administratively. This is the challenge for the local TESOL industry as the system as it currently exists does not seem to take cognisance of teachers needs and is certainly not sustainable in the long-term. All the components of an educational system should be aimed at creating an atmosphere in which teachers can work at their best and a setting where learners can expand their horizons. This supports Brannan et al. (2012: 521) who maintain that "regardless of whether the individual requests help, the knowledge that assistance would be available is enough to influence how people perceive stressful events…and generally results in less negative outcomes."

Leithwood, Menzies, Jantzi and Leithwood (1999) state that if the management of language schools identify major stressors which can cause burnout in teachers then it follows that schools' can also determine what leads to a reduction in stress and burnout. These may include recognising teachers' achievements so as to increase teaching efficacy, a focus on increasing teachers' self-esteem, improving working conditions and employing teachers with the correct TESOL qualifications for the job. Leithwood et al. (1999: 93) also note the importance of schools' awareness of organisational factors which can reduce burnout. These include providing support networks for teachers, formal career planning and advancement, allowing teachers to be part of major decisions, providing job security, the provision of adequate physical facilities, a reduced workload and clear job expectations. The importance of providing adequate support for teaching staff should not be overlooked as Aronsson, Svensson and Gustafsson (2003: 217-218) maintain that teaching is a job that involves high energy levels and various issues which require the teacher's attention such as lesson preparation and marking even after the day's work is done. Thus, "being a teacher involves high commitment and active involvement but also encompasses elements from which it is hard for a person to detach him-or herself after work." The failure to maintain a work-life balance can lead to stress and burnout and was one of the stressors mentioned by TESOL teachers in this research study.

The literature provides a wide range of suggested solutions for reducing the effects of teacher stress. Troudi and Alwan (2010), for example, maintain that it is imperative for language schools to involve teachers in the running of the school as "Most concerns [are] eliminated by involving teachers." Thus teachers are empowered by feeling that they are involved in decisions, are agents of change and progress and are kept informed by means of clear communication channels. In addition, Leithwood et al. (1999: 113) suggest that collaborative and collegial school cultures foster stress reduction. A collaborative culture leads "to informal sharing of ideas and materials among teachers that foster organisational learning, especially when continuous professional growth is a widely shared norm among staff. Depersonalisation seems unlikely in the context of these conditions."

This research study highlighted the fact that TESOL teachers experience a lack of support from school leadership, ambiguous communications and are often excluded from decision-making structures. Nias (1999: 235) notes that a lack of support and "communication …allows problems to build up" as there is a need to "express emotions, negative and positive, to admit to failure and weakness, to voice resentment and frustration, to demonstrate affection." Zembylas et al. (2007: 245) maintain that "sensitivity to teachers' needs for emotional and social support is essential to their work. Creating such networks of support can gradually make space for the feelings that help weave community and cultivate relationships." Eckersley (1991: 94), in interviews with retired teachers who had experienced burnout and consequent breakdowns, said that "All the interviewees spoke about the lack of support from colleagues and administration…they felt that had someone cared enough, their breakdowns could have been avoided and their stress levels would have been lessened." Furthermore, the interviewees "repeated time and time again how important it was that teachers care about each other and take the time to talk to one another especially if they suspect a colleague is struggling."

Thus, TESOL teaching does not and cannot occur in isolation and effective teaching takes place with the assistance of others in a supportive atmosphere. TESOL teachers must, therefore, be increasingly proactive and attempt to build relationships with colleagues, administrators and managers. Even if schools are unwilling to provide support, there is nothing preventing teachers from forming their own networks of professional colleagues, either within their schools or by means of a virtual network which transcends borders. According to Lieberman et al. (2010: 85), "Universal access means no excuses" as the TESOL teachers in this research study all had access to computers, cell phones and other forms of multimedia tools in order "to capture the potential connections for professional learning and to open the doors to colleagues and mentors worldwide." Leiberman et al. (2010) advise teachers to build professional networks one step at a time by, for example, "scanning a piece of student work or recording a conversation with a student and then envisaging how they might share the events and artefacts

of their practice —and then take the first step of asking a colleague (next door or online) to examine it with them." In this way, connections are formed, new conversations begin to happen and reflection emerges from daily practice. Our increasingly connected world means that no TESOL teacher should ever feel a sense of isolation.

It is vital that language schools recognise that any TESOL teacher can experience stress and that prolonged and unrelieved stress can result in burnout. Language schools, therefore, need to train school leadership to identify potential stressors and recognise the symptoms of burnout so as to be able to assist teachers. Coping with stress should not be the responsibility of the individual teacher. There are various coping strategies mentioned in this research study that TESOL teachers use to manage stress. These strategies include making time for personal renewal, spending time with family and friends, organising time effectively and prioritising work tasks, physical activity, meditation, massage and ensuring that one has adequate sleep and follows a healthy diet. Coping strategies, however, cannot be effective if the TESOL teachers return, on a daily basis, to a stressful and unchanged working environment.

It should be noted that research reveals that it is possible for teachers to suffer from burnout but still remain engaged. Timms, Brough and Graham (2012) surveyed 953 Australian teachers using The Ultrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES: Schaufeli and Bakker, 2003) and The Oldenburg Burnout Inventory (OLBI: Demerouti and Nachreiner, 2002). The researchers found that it was possible for "aspects of work engagement (particularly absorption and dedication) to co-exist with exhaustion" and for "the experience of both psychological burnout and engagement" to occur simultaneously (Timms et al., 2012: 338; 342). These findings may explain why the twenty TESOL teachers in this research study who were identified as experiencing burnout were able to remain at a reasonably functional level in the workplace while still suffering from burnout. Sadly, Timms et al. (2012: 342) conclude that "In spite of the wealth of research linking the burnout experience to work environments, it would appear that many administrations continue to…view the burnout experience of their workers as signs of their individual weakness and unsuitability for the job."

Maslach et al. (1999: 303) maintain that "The most valuable and costly part of an educational system are the people who teach. Maintaining their well-being and their contribution to student education should be a primary objective." One can conclude, therefore, that TESOL teachers working in private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa do experience a range of stressors of a consistent and prolonged nature that can lead to the experience of burnout, that support structures are woefully inadequate and that while teachers do attempt to cope with stress and burnout, they do not appear to do so in a structured or successful manner.

5.4 Contribution of the research study to the field of TESOL

This research study focused on TESOL teachers working in private language schools in Johannesburg, South Africa. However, the challenges facing these TESOL teachers appear to be universal as the TESOL industry struggles for legitimacy and status and to shed its somewhat dubious reputation. The concern is though, that amidst these growing pains the real victims are not those who teach English while travelling around the world or those who see teaching English as a way of passing time and earning money during a gap year. The real victims of the downward spiral into stress and burnout are the teachers who enter TESOL as a career, who cannot imagine doing anything else with their lives. These are teachers who are genuinely passionate about the teaching of English, who love the contact with students from different cultures and countries and who are fascinated by the acquisition of second and foreign languages. These are the teachers who study for post graduate degrees in TESOL, who improve upon existing qualifications and who crave professional development and career advancement. It is a great pity that these teachers may leave the TESOL profession due to the fact that when weighing up all the options, the disadvantages of working in TESOL outweigh the advantages.

In an international context, Cowie (2011: 237; 240) highlighted three main issues that characterise TESOL teaching in Japanese universities. These issues are: "classroom conditions, the contrast between full-and part-time teachers, and the opportunity (or lack of) for collaborative development." In an interview-based research study of nine TESOL teachers working at Japanese universities, Cowie investigated the emotions experienced by the TESOL teachers with regard to their institutions, colleagues and work. He found that "negative emotions of frustration, disappointment, and anger can result from collegial relations and institutional contexts" and "anger towards colleagues and institutions could cause…deep-seated and longer lasting resentments and frustration." This supports Toh (2013: 17), a TESOL teacher at a university in Japan. He describes his teaching experiences as being "more about popularity than ability" and as "a tragic comedy" with those teachers who brought birthday cakes for students, held parties during class time and gave no homework receiving more positive evaluations than teachers who were serious about teaching English.

Syed (2003) researched TESOL in the Persian Gulf countries where policy makers have linked development and modernisation with the learning of English. Thus English is taught as a subject and across the curriculum at all levels. Syed (2003: 339) found, however, that most English language schools were "run ineffectively and were chronically inefficient" with the "notion of standards or quality missing, or at least lagging." In addition, the Gulf countries favoured employing native speakers from the US and UK who did not necessarily have the expertise, qualifications or experience to be competent teachers. TESOL teachers maintained that their main challenges in the Persian Gulf countries were a lack of student motivation, student

reliance on rote learning and memorisation, outdated curricula and methodologies, insufficient support systems and an influx of unqualified teachers (Syed, 2003: 337). According to Syed (2003: 339), this influx of young and unqualified British and American 'teachers' had a more sinister motive as "Contracted expatriate teachers are less motivated to critique existing systems and they have little impetus to innovate or initiate change." This is mirrored by local TESOL teachers' lack of power to initiate and enforce change and the temporary contract form of employment offered by the South African TESOL industry. And so the downward spiral continues.

In the New Zealand TESOL industry, Walker (2003) conducted a survey of perceptions of service in thirty English language schools. Walker (2003: 9) notes that "the New Zealand TESOL industry seems beset with negative publicity…racial confrontation, extortion, sexual abuse, student abortion and even manslaughter and murder." Furthermore, Walker (2003: 23) maintains that "New Zealand lags somewhat behind Britain and Australia in terms of developing a national standard to ensure a properly-trained and qualified population of teachers in its English language centres." In terms of working conditions for teachers, Walker (2003: 307) describes a situation similar to that of the South African TESOL industry, with major employment issues, a lack of resources, little professional development and a lack of harmonious working environments. This is exacerbated by chronic job insecurity as "Considerable numbers of private sector ESOL teachers are likely to be on short-term contracts and even hourly rates, traditionally enjoying less job security and being hired and fired according to cyclical movements in the industry." Several of the TESOL teachers who were interviewed by Walker (2003) expressed concerns about work overload and consequent stress with one of the teachers saying, "A lot of the time the service extends well beyond the classroom…Often the students will come to my home and we're often involved with weekend…activities…The teaching goes on and on" (Walker, 2003: 181).

The current research study has, therefore, shown that the TESOL industry in South Africa suffers from similar challenges to the TESOL industry in other parts of the world. In South Africa, working in TESOL is still widely perceived as a temporary form of employment for students filling a gap year, for those who want only part-time employment, for those who are not yet sure what they want to do with their lives and for those who wish to gain some teaching experience before travelling overseas. This perception is intensified by the fact that private language schools rarely offer permanent, full-time employment with benefits and market-related salaries. Employment is mainly contract-based and dependent on student numbers. This supports Eggington et al. (1997: xix) who state that hiring criteria in TESOL tend to consist of the willingness of the teacher to work for very little money and "the likelihood that the candidate will be fairly passive, restraining him- or herself from making any awkward

demands." Thus, as a result of these conditions many teachers leave the local and international TESOL industry every year.

Hancock et al. (2010: 328) maintain that "teachers leave the profession due to a combination of various factors" and it is rarely a single factor that leads to resignation. It is undeniable; however, that teacher attrition drains financial resources and diminishes the quality of education. Synar (2011: 465) notes that TESOL teachers often invest years in preparation for a career in the classroom only to be faced with "job stress, burnout and unfulfilled expectations thus when teachers leave the profession, they take their knowledge and training with them." These teachers are often replaced by unqualified and under-qualified teachers. Griffith (2005: 14) supports this view saying that "English language teaching is an industry which is seldom regulated, giving rise to a host of cowboy schools…and a proliferation of cowboy teachers, who have no feel for language, no interest in their pupils and no qualms about ripping them off." Furthermore, it is common knowledge that due to the status of TESOL and the conditions within the industry, "The majority of English language teachers choose not to make a career out of it, but leave after a couple of years…hence only a minority of people teaching English are professional teachers. Career prospects in ELT are in fact not very bright" (Griffith, 2005: 15). If this situation persists, very few individuals will want to enter the TESOL industry as a career. This will negatively affect TESOL's efforts at being recognised as a legitimate profession.

In order for this to change, the field of TESOL must start to be seen as a life-long career, with high-level, long-term goals for professional competence that will ensure a wide range of capabilities and an advanced level of knowledge and skill for TESOL professionals. The field must no longer be viewed as a stop-gap form of employment for students, backpackers and tourists. This supports Bruce (2009: 63) who maintains that language schools should only recruit those who are qualified and "who are passionate about teaching." Pennington (1992) proposes that TESOL professionals take an active approach towards career planning and plot the various stages of their teaching career from supervised teaching, teaching across the curriculum, teaching in favourite areas and teaching in new areas to the advanced stages of supervising teaching and teachers, curriculum development, material development and developing competence in new areas. In addition, more TESOL teachers need to become involved in applied and pure research and publication. With the current problems of work overload, time pressure and a lack of career and professional development in TESOL, there are very few TESOL teachers who actively engage in research and publication.

Eggington et al. (1997: xxii) maintains that "If teachers as a body do not take control of their future, no one will do it for them, and they will remain a collection of unrecognised and ill-trained individuals' working at the margins of the academic professional world." TESOL teachers

need, therefore, to take greater responsibility for what occurs in their individual contexts so as to improve the accountability and the status of the profession on a local and international level. This supports Freeman and Johnson (1998: 409) who note that "in order to establish an effective knowledge base for ELT, teachers must have an understanding of schools and schooling and the social and cultural contexts in which learning takes place." Thus the responsibility for 'learning' the profession does actually rest on the individual teacher. It is critical that teachers "learn how to navigate the dynamics of these powerful environments in which some actions are valued and others are downplayed, ignored or even silenced."

This research study revealed much ambiguity and confusion as to where the field of TESOL belongs in a university context. In the US, UK, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, TESOL departments traditionally fall under English or Linguistics departments. However, Pennington (1992) maintains that TESOL does not belong in the Linguistics department as its emphasis is too applied while the English department tend to relegate TESOL staff to teaching labour intensive and applied courses. Similarly, according to Pennington (1992), falling under the Education department, which already has a marginal status in tertiary institutions, will not help TESOL's cause. Pennington (1992) believes that Psychology, especially cognitive and educational psychology, find the work of TESOL important and relevant. Therefore, " if we called our specialisation Language Learning, we might find a home there and perhaps make important contributions to learning theory which is the cornerstone of what we do" (Pennington, 1992: 35). Alternatively TESOL might try and establish itself along with foreign languages in language learning units such as centres and colleges focusing on comparative research that involves the learning and teaching of different languages. Pennington (1992) maintains that this is preferable to trying to maintain independence within English or Linguistics or trying to go it alone as a totally independent area.

The status of TESOL and where it belongs as a profession tends to be far from a student's mind, however, as students are more concerned with achieving the aim of being able to communicate in English and receiving quality tuition at a fair price. Walker (2001: 187-189), in focus group sessions with thirty-five TESOL students studying at private language schools in New Zealand, discovered that the main requirements from students were "a friendly and comfortable environment, TESOL teachers who were available outside of class time, an effective student feedback system, clear communication between the school and the students, and effective and professional teachers." Students viewed their teachers not only as classroom professionals but also as advisors, coaches, counsellors and mentors. In addition, students expected teachers to be highly qualified, to know their subject, to be well-prepared for class and to link lessons to their students' needs and goals. Furthermore, TESOL teachers were expected to be skilled practitioners, involve the whole class in the lesson, provide lively and interesting lessons, have

good time management skills and be flexible with textbook use and lesson content. Clearly, teachers who are suffering from burnout simply cannot provide what students need and want. Thus language schools need to develop ways of identifying and managing stressors, providing adequate support networks and structures and actively assisting stressed and burnt-out teachers. Teachers thus need schools with a strong instructional culture where the entire staff has a shared vision of organisational goals and managers, supervisors and administrators are all focused on helping teachers achieve their full potential. According to The New Teacher Project (p.3), "Teachers want work environments that are…like the classroom environments they strive to create for their students." TESOL teachers deserve nothing less.

Graham (1999: 287) notes, however, that burnout does not always result in attrition. Due to the lack of opportunities to find alternative work, many TESOL teachers remain in the teaching field despite experiencing overwhelming stress. For the students who have to endure a teacher suffering from acute burnout and for the colleagues who endure a fellow teacher in such a state, "the educational experience is severely damaged." According to Graham (1999: 287), any field in which half the professionals leave during the first five years and the ones who stay are susceptible to burnout should raise questions about the working conditions in that industry. If the situation remains unchanged, one can predict that there will be "shorter terms of teaching for all but the most exceptional teachers." One can, therefore, see that stress is cumulative and cyclical. It is rarely an isolated incident that leads to feelings of stress and consequent burnout. It is everyday stress, the 'small' stressors that are often ignored and that accumulate until the TESOL teacher is stretched to breaking point. Teaching is a stressful profession and TESOL teaching even more so. It is thus vital that "stress and burnout…are to be studied from the meaning they have for the people who experience them and…who suffer from them" Kelchtermans (1999: 176).

TESOL teachers have the best and the worst jobs in the world. The best because for those who are passionate about the teaching of English there is no other career that can provide such interesting cultural experiences and insights, such opportunities for building relationships with people from other cultures and nations and such a rich and varied career. However, no other career exists, locally and internationally, without some form of regulatory framework and with such great challenges including consistent work overload, incidents of workplace bullying, inconsistent working conditions, job insecurity and non-market related salaries. It is vital that greater attention is paid to the state of the TESOL industry and the lives of the teachers who work in that industry by means of further research studies. It is only through research and the dissemination of the results of that research that change can begin to occur. It is hoped that this research study will light the path for other researchers who are passionate about recording

the experiences, thoughts and perceptions of TESOL teachers, and improving the realities of TESOL teachers' working lives.

5.5. Suggestions for further research

During the course of this research study, the researcher identified a number of potentially fruitful areas of research. These include:

According to Cano-Garcia, Padilla-Munoz and Carrasco-Ortiz (2005: 930), the appearance of burnout has been related to both contextual and individual variables. Thus burnout can be explained as the transactional outcome of triggering contextual variables and the facilitating or inhibiting effect of personality variables. However, the influence of personality has been less studied than contextual variables or even ignored as a research topic. Most burnout studies focus on contextual variables such as the job of teaching or organisational characteristics such as role stressors, working conditions, the impact of a lack of resources, relationships with colleagues and a lack of social support.

Cano-Garcia et al. (2005: 935) studied 1 474 teachers in Barcelona, Spain using the Maslach Burnout Inventory and interviews. The aim of the study was to identify personality traits that were common to teachers with high levels of burnout. Cano-Garcia et al. (2005) discovered that the teachers with the highest burnout scores also had high scores on introversion and neuroticism. According to Cano-Garcia et al. (2005), "Neurotic people express more negative emotions, emotional instability and stress reactions." This supports Bruce (2009: 59) who maintains that those who enter the caring professions tend to share common personality traits including "high self-expectations, punctuality, hurriedness, Type-A personalities and an external locus of control." Furthermore, Bakker, Van Der Zee, Lewig and Dollard (2006) suggest that susceptibility to burnout may be related to the personality characteristics of introversion, hostility, conscientiousness, neuroticism and closedness to experience. There is, therefore, the potential for further research into the influence of basic personality characteristics and structure on an individual's susceptibility to burnout in the TESOL profession.

The influence of emotions on the work and lives of TESOL teachers is another potential research area. Cowie (2011: 236) states that "Emotion is an important perspective from which to view teachers' lives and a vital part of being a teacher." The role of emotion has often been ignored in writing about teacher stress and burnout. Cowie (2011: 236) notes that a review of the literature on emotions and TESOL teaching reveals that little is known of the emotions that TESOL teachers perceive in their work while "The evidence from the education field is that how teachers deal with emotions can have a great impact on their personal growth, and the kind of emotional support that they receive from their colleagues and institution can be a major factor

in their personal development as a teacher." This supports Fineman (1993: 9) who states that current writing and research about teacher emotions is "emotionally anorexic…with little or no mention of how feeling individuals worry, envy, brood, become bored, play, despair, plot, hate, hurt and so forth."

There is also potential for further research on the topic of trust. Hargreaves (1998: 5) argues that teaching is "an emotional practice involving trustful relationships with others. Trust is of prime importance in teaching, for the presence of trust ensures that creative individuals are allowed to thrive." Giddens (1990) maintains that there is a crisis of trust in society which involves the breakdown of trust relationships and the growth of distrust within our personal relationships and within and towards institutions. This supports Kramer and Tyler (1996) who state that features of a low-trust workplace include the presence of conflict and a lack of mutual loyalty and responsibility between workers and management. This is typical of many TESOL workplaces. Truman (2000: 339) agrees and notes that the low-trust workplace is characterised by "alienation, antagonism, insecurity, isolation and a need to undermine one another." In this research study, TESOL teachers expressed negative emotions with regard to what they perceived as a lack of trust and a breakdown of trust in the various language schools. Cowie (2011: 5) maintains that these negative emotions are often the result of "The perceived lack of trust of teachers by their administration and systems of divisive rank and hierarchy."

A potentially productive area of research is the creation, implementation and evaluation of TESOL teacher education programmes to raise awareness of TESOL teacher stress and burnout. Neves de Jesus and Conoy (2001: 132) state that teacher education programmes should include assertiveness training, problem-solving and problem-coping skills and tools for managing the symptoms of anxiety and distress. Neves de Jesus et al. (2001) created a thirty-hour training programme for teacher stress management which included sharing professional experiences with colleagues, identifying distress factors, possible strategies for dealing with stress, relaxation training and training on how to manage disruptive student behaviour. The programme was tested on TESOL teachers working in Portugal. After completing the programme, the teachers requested that the course be extended to fifty hours with more time spent on assertiveness and teamwork training and additional topics such as Type-A and Type-B personality characteristics and healthy lifestyles. Neves de Jesus et al. (2001: 136) maintain that "Models of teacher burnout as well as empirical studies indicate that many teachers with long histories of distress tend to abandon the teaching profession. But for those who remain, might a short duration intervention…be effective?" This supports Johnson (2002: 48) who recognises the need for teacher education programmes to provide a more realistic view of classroom life so that the experience of becoming a language teacher would be "less like hazing and more like professional development."

Longitudinal studies on the long-term effects of burnout on TESOL teachers reveal interesting results and are a valuable area for further research. In this research study, the twenty teachers who were experiencing burnout still remained employed at the various language schools. None of the participants had left the TESOL profession at the time of completion of this research study. Cherniss (1992) conducted a research study on the long-term consequences of burnout on twenty-five human service professionals including seven high school teachers. In the first phase of the research, the Maslach Burnout Inventory and interviews revealed that the seven teachers were experiencing early career burnout. The teachers were revaluated twelve years later using the same methodology. Cherniss (1992) concluded that although the teachers still manifested the symptoms of burnout, they had remained in the profession due to work satisfaction. Cherniss (1992: 1) noted that it is possible for beginning teachers to experience burnout for a year or two and then overcome it without intervention, however, the "onset of burnout later in the career may have serious consequences." This supports Woods (1999: 137) who states that it is not uncommon for "those who go through burnout to rebuild their fractured self or even to emerge with a newfound self and relaunch their career either in or outside teaching." Furthermore, research studies that compare the coping strategies of TESOL teachers who have high levels of burnout with the coping strategies of those who have low levels of burnout would yield fruitful information which could be used to manage stress and burnout more effectively.

5.6 Conclusion

In recent years, research in the TESOL field has mainly focused on TESOL students and their needs and on how course content, methods and technology can be used to promote the teaching and learning of the English language. It appears that teachers have drifted out of the picture, "often reduced to two-dimensional figures with no character, concerns, or lives of their own" (Griffiths, 2012: 474). Swales (1993), speaking at the IATEFL Silver Jubilee Seminar in 1993, expressed concerns about the working conditions of TESOL teachers saying, "working conditions, standards of living, marginal status, sought-out opportunities for second and third jobs, were almost exactly the same for teachers in 1992 as they had been for me in 1962. So I worry for them." Furthermore, Swales (1993: 289-291) comments on how "the number of established, regular and adequately rewarded jobs has lagged far behind growth in teaching, in qualifications, and materials" and "we have matured as an educational activity. We have not, however, matured into a recognisable and recognised profession." Twenty years later his words still ring true.

The South African TESOL industry is a mirror image of the international TESOL industry whereby many individuals who are passionate about the teaching of English are denied the opportunity to embark on a life-long career as a TESOL teacher because of the temporary nature of TESOL

employment and their marginalised positions within educational institutions. In addition, limitations on professional development opportunities prevent many TESOL teachers from progressing from amateur status to becoming experts within their chosen field. Unfortunately the result is that TESOL remains an attractive short-term employment option for the young which is unlikely to change in the long-term if TESOL teachers continue to languish in an ambiguous state somewhere between being regarded as skilled workers and legitimate professionals.

There is no doubt that TESOL teaching is a rewarding career but it is also a stressful and difficult career that requires strength of character and resilience. It is thus vital that the local TESOL industry takes cognisance of research into the lives and experiences of its teachers. This research study has shown that TESOL teachers are stressed and burnt-out, have few support structures and use largely ineffective coping mechanisms to manage burnout. Moreover, there are TESOL teachers working in the classroom who are clearly burnt-out and trapped in a downward spiral from which there seems to be no escape. Thus, this research study has attempted to show the reality of local TESOL teachers' working lives. It is clear that we need to focus on not only how to train, motivate, support and retain TESOL teachers in an extremely demanding profession but also to find ways to assist those teachers who are suffering from high stress levels and consequent burnout.

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Appendices

Appendix 1
South African universities that offer undergraduate and postgraduate TESOL qualifications [60]

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Gauteng
The Wits Language School operates as part of the School of Literature and Language Studies which falls under the Faculty of Humanities. The Wits Language School offers various full and part-time TESOL training courses including Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), Teaching Business English (TBE), Teaching English to Young Learners (TEYL) and Teaching South African and International Languages (TSAIL) through the Language Teacher Education (LTE) unit. The TESOL courses are recognised by the university as being at NQF 5 which is the equivalent of a national certificate, national diploma or occupational certificate.

The Wits School of Education is also part of the Faculty of Humanities and offers full-time and part-time degree programmes in Applied English Language Studies. A Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) module (one semester) is offered at Honours and Masters level as part of the coursework for the Honours and Masters degrees in English Education. In addition, the department offers an Advanced Certificate in Education with specialisation in English Teaching (ACE) which is aimed at English teachers who intend to work in the South African primary and secondary school system as English home language or additional-language teachers.

University of Pretoria, Gauteng
The University of Pretoria offers an Introduction to Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) as a third year level, semester-long course which forms part of the BA Languages and BA Languages (English Studies) curriculum. The course focuses on theoretical aspects of TESOL including second-language acquisition and general teaching methodologies. The course also includes the more practical aspects of TESOL with a focus on the different elements of teaching grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary. Although the course includes teaching observations, it does not include a practical teaching component.

At postgraduate level, a course in English Grammar and Phonology is offered as an elective course in the BA Honours in English degree. The course focuses on English grammar and phonology mainly from the perspective of teaching English as a foreign language. The university also offers Masters and Doctoral degrees in English but not with a specialisation in TESOL.

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[60] The information in this appendix was correct at the time of this research study.

University of South Africa (UNISA), Pretoria, Gauteng

UNISA offers TESOL-specific degrees at postgraduate level. Students normally take English or Linguistics at undergraduate level which allows entry to the postgraduate TESOL degrees. The department of English Studies which forms part of the College of Human Sciences offered a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree specialising in TESOL. As a matter of interest I have included the information about what the degree covered before it was discontinued in 2011 due to insufficient student numbers. The degree consisted of 10 compulsory modules:

- Issues in applied linguistics;
- Individual factors in language learning;
- Language learning and teaching;
- Language assessment;
- Text and discourse analysis;
- Foundations of sociolinguistics;
- English as a language of learning;
- English grammar and TESOL;
- English literature and TESOL; and
- English for specific purposes.

A Masters degree specialising in TESOL is currently offered and consists of a full dissertation. Entry to the Masters degree is obtained via an Honours degree in Applied Linguistics or English Studies. Students who wish to complete a doctoral degree (thesis only) on a TESOL-related topic are accepted by the Department of English Studies and receive a doctoral degree in English.

The Povey Centre for the study of English in South Africa offers a six-month-long course in Teaching English as a Foreign Language to Adults (TEFLA). The course has a theoretical and practical component and focuses on English grammar and the principles and practice of teaching English as a Foreign Language.

University of Stellenbosch, Western Cape (Stellenbosch, Saldanha Bay and Bellville campus)

The department of Linguistics offers Applied English Language Studies modules at undergraduate level for second and third year students only. The undergraduate modules cover areas such as second language acquisition, the varieties and status of English and language change and acquisition. Although TESOL is not studied specifically, the courses are marketed as being ideal for students who want to become language teachers.

At postgraduate level, Honours and Masters degrees in General Linguistics are offered with second language acquisition available as an elective and as an area of specialization. In addition, a Postgraduate Diploma in Second Language Studies is offered and a Masters degree in Second Language Studies by coursework and research or by research only. Both programmes are designed specifically for language teachers, lecturers and language advisors and include courses such as sociolinguistic perspectives on second languages, cross-cultural perspectives on language in use and language impairment in second language learners. Successful Masters students may apply for entry into the doctoral program in Second Language Studies.

University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, Free State
The department of English offers a Bachelor of Arts (Language Practice) degree designed to prepare students for careers as language practitioners and specialists. In addition, the department offers a Bachelor of Arts (Honours), a Masters degree and a PhD specialising in Language Practice.

The department of English also offers a 4-week certificate course in Teaching English as a Foreign Language which is open to students who have completed matric, are native speakers of English and would like to pursue a career as a TESOL teacher. The course includes using web-based resources in the classroom, ELT methods and techniques, the role of grammar, content and task-based instruction, and skills integration and assessment.

University of Venda, Thohoyandou, Limpopo
The department of English offers a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree in English Language Teaching (ELT). Students who hold a BA degree majoring in English and a recognised teaching qualification may apply for admission. The degree includes modules in language teaching methodology, psycholinguistics, discourse analysis and language assessment. Students may continue to Masters (by dissertation) and doctoral studies (by thesis) in English Language Teaching.

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape
The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Faculty of Arts offers a Bachelor of Arts degree in Applied Language Studies which is aimed at students who wish to enter the field of English language teaching. Modules include English language studies, sociolinguistics and educational linguistics. A Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree in Applied Language Studies is also offered. Modules include general and applied linguistics, second language acquisition and learning and language planning and policy. In addition, a structured Masters degree in Applied Language Studies is offered with a focus on second language acquisition and second language teaching.

The Masters degree can be completed by dissertation only. Successful students can then register for a Doctoral degree in Applied Language.

The faculty of Education, under the control of the Centre for Educational Research, Technology and Innovation, runs an internationally recognised full-time (4 weeks) and part-time (9 weeks) TESOL program which prepares participants to teach English to Speakers of Other Languages overseas or locally.

University of Cape Town, Western Cape
The Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Studies and Services in Africa (CALLSA) falls under the School of Education. The centre offers a Postgraduate Diploma, Masters of Education and Masters of Philosophy in Applied Language and Literacy Studies. These postgraduate qualifications are aimed at language and linguistic graduates who intend to become language practitioners and specialists.

In addition, a module entitled English as an additional language in schooling is offered as an elective module in postgraduate education degrees. The module covers topics such as the role and status of English in education, TESOL as a field of study and second language acquisition.

North West University, Potchefstroom campus, North West province
The Faculty of Arts offers BA, BA (Honours), Masters and Doctoral degrees in Applied English Language Studies. Within the degree offering, there are various modules which have a strong TESOL and second language acquisition orientation.

Furthermore, the Faculty of Arts oversees the School for Languages: Centre for Academic and Professional Language Practice. The School for Languages offers a 4-week certificate in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) aimed specifically at prospective TESOL teachers who want to work overseas. The course includes a practical component and covers a range of areas including English grammar, pronunciation, lesson planning and language assessment.

University of Limpopo, Turfloop campus, Sovenga, Limpopo
The Faculty of Humanities, School of Languages and Communication Studies offers two TESOL-related BA (Honours) semester courses in English Second Language in Education and Second Language Acquisition and Research Methodology. The courses include internal and external variables that affect language acquisition, language teaching projects, the collection and analysis of language teaching data from South African classrooms and second language learning theories. In addition, the coursework and dissertation Masters degree in English offer the

following TESOL-related semester courses: Research methods in English and Applied Linguistics, English second language acquisition and Issues in language education.

The following South African universities offer undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in English, Linguistics and Applied Linguistics but do not offer any TESOL-related courses as part of their degree curricula or as an area of specialization:

Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Western Cape
University of the Western Cape, Bellville, Western Cape
University of Fort Hare, Alice, Bisho and East London, Eastern Cape
Rhodes University, Grahamstown, Eastern Cape
Walter Sisulu University, Eastern Cape
Durban University of Technology, Durban, KwaZulu-Natal
Mangosuthu University of Technology, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Pinetown and Westville, KwaZulu-Natal
University of Zululand, Empangeni, KwaZulu-Natal
University of Johannesburg, Gauteng
Monash University, Johannesburg, Gauteng
Tshwane University of Technology, Pretoria, Gauteng
Vaal University of Technology, Vanderbijlpark, Gauteng

Appendix 2
Attitudes, knowledge and skills necessary for English Language Teachers

Attitudes
A belief in the importance of language teaching.
An attitude towards students of empathy and interest.
Confidence in one's own knowledge and classroom skills.
Positive attitudes about the language and culture being taught.
Positive attitudes about the language and culture of the students.
Openness to new ideas about language, language learning and teaching approaches.

Knowledge
Knowledge of individual students: strengths, weaknesses, attitudes.
Self-knowledge: strengths, weaknesses, attitudes, how others see us.
The language being taught: phonology, syntax, lexicon, pragmatics.
The culture of the language being taught.
The language and culture of the students.
Language learning theory.

Skills
Language teaching skills.
Classroom management skills.
Communication and interpersonal skills.
Skills for assessing students' progress.
The ability to self-evaluate.
The ability to adapt teaching approaches to circumstances.
A comfortable, consistent teaching approach emphasizing personal teaching strengths and preferences and de-emphasising or compensating for individual weaknesses.

Source: Pennington, M.C. 1989. Directions for faculty evaluation in language education. *Language, Culture and Curriculum,* 2 (3): 167-193.

Appendix 3
Extract 1 from the researcher's journal

I am at one of the language schools selected for my research study. I have arrived a bit early and the teacher I am going to interview, Anne [not her real name] is still in class. From where I am sitting I can see Anne teaching. She teaches the upper-intermediate students. She is explaining the difference between the present perfect and the past tense. Her explanation seems very long and her students are getting restless. I can see students shifting in their chairs, whispering to each other and checking their cell phones. Some of the students are already packing their bags in anticipation of the tea break. Few students are making notes or paying attention.

The school looks pleasant enough. It is in a building on the university campus. The building is old but clean. It is very quiet except for the section where the language school is. Here it is quite noisy; there is one class somewhere down the corridor from which I can hear shouts and whoops of laughter. Students are calling out the answers in some type of vocabulary game. I find the building curiously airless. I notice that most of the classrooms allocated for the language school have no windows. They are almost all internal classrooms. It is very hot. There is no air conditioning; the classrooms all have standing fans to try and combat the heat. The offices are all, however, situated on the left side and all have windows. The language school shares the building with one of the faculties. Earlier on, the director of the school told me that the faculty has been pushing for the school to move as they want the space. The school has been trying to negotiate the use of another building for months with no luck. He said there have been complaints about the rowdiness of the students, the toilets are also a big problem with only two restrooms for over 200 people and of course, there is music being played and games and lots of shouting and laughter. The faculty finds this disturbing. They have locked themselves behind glass doors and are apparently trying to persuade the powers that be to reserve one of the restrooms for their faculty only. According to the director, the relationship between the language school and the faculty is an uncomfortable one.

Anne rushes across to me. She looks a bit harassed. She asks if I mind if she eats while we talk as the tea break is only 30 minutes long and there is no other break until 1.00. Students and other teachers keep looking across at us, no doubt wondering what we are doing. Some of the teachers sit and chat to the students during the break. Most of the students and teachers leave the building though. They go and sit outside on the grass or stand around smoking and chatting. There is an easy relationship between the students and the teachers. The interview goes well; Anne is easy to chat to and is eager to share information. I hope that all my interviews are so successful. I am glad that I have prepared. Anne says that I am welcome to e-mail her if I need any more information. I think the interview went well.

Extract 2 from the researcher's journal

I arranged to meet Mark at a coffee shop near the language school. Mark felt that he would be more comfortable there and more willing to talk about the realities of working as a TESOL teacher if he were away from his work environment. He felt that the "walls have ears in this place" and that there would be too much curiosity about the interview if it were conducted at the language school. I have been to the language school once before. The director was abrupt and reluctant to grant permission for the teachers to participate in the research study. I originally had four TESOL teachers who had agreed to participate but ended up with only Mark as the other three teachers withdrew before phase one of the research study. The language school is based in a converted home in a middle-class suburb of Johannesburg. It is very quiet and when I was there I saw only two classes in session. Mark told me that the competition from other more well-known language schools had negatively affected business. At the time of the research study, the language school had just over 40 students and five TESOL teachers. All of the TESOL teachers were employed on a course-by-course basis. According to Mark, this meant that the teachers lived from one seven-week period to the next as they had no idea whether there would be enough students for them to teach on the next course.

Mark felt that stress and burnout were very prevalent in the local TESOL industry. He had previously taught in Brazil for five years and had found it less stressful. Mark believed that Brazilian people had a different outlook on life to South Africans and that this was part of the problem. Mark said "sure, there is crime and poverty but the people are so helpful and friendly. They are such an open people. Of course, the language schools are also businesses and they need to make money but the school I worked at really valued its teachers." Mark felt that coming back to South Africa and working at a local language school had been "culture shock in reverse" with a lot of promises that had not materialised and a threatening and toxic atmosphere. Mark told me stories about teachers who had complained about ill-treatment at the language school. He mentioned a colleague, P, who had complained about the low salaries and lack of job security. According to Mark, "they made his life so miserable that he got sick. He was this brilliant, dynamic guy who the students' loved who was suddenly called into disciplinary hearings and confronted with all sorts of bogus charges. Eventually he walked out. I hear he is teaching in Indonesia now. The point is they lost an excellent teacher and didn't care."

Mark felt very strongly that the local TESOL industry needed to fall under the control of a governing body that could improve conditions and that TESOL teachers needed to form their own union.

Appendix 4
Private language school consent form

Dear Director,

This letter serves to request permission to conduct doctoral research in your organisation. The doctoral thesis is provisionally entitled: *Combatting the Downward Spiral: Burnout, Support Networks and Coping Strategies of TESOL Teachers at Private Language Schools in Johannesburg, South Africa.*

The research study is being conducted by Amanda Bowen, a doctoral student in the department of English Studies at the University of South Africa. If you have further questions about the research study, you may contact her at:

Cell: 072 892 0785
Work: 011 717 3579
Email: Amanda.Bowen@wits.ac.za

As a doctoral student, the researcher is required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a doctoral degree in English. The research study is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Brenda Spencer, department of English, University of South Africa and Professor Frederik Snyders, department of Psychology, University of South Africa.

You are being asked to participate in this research project because you are a private language school in Johannesburg, South Africa. If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include:

- Allowing the researcher access to your organisation in order to:
  - administer the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey to TESOL teachers who agree to participate in the research study; and
  - conduct semi-structured interviews with TESOL teachers who have been identified as experiencing burnout.

Once the researcher has received permission to conduct the research study, the survey and the interviews will be conducted at times convenient for the participants and that will not disrupt classes in any way.

Benefits/risks to participants
This is the first research study of its kind in South Africa. Thus participants will be the first group of TESOL teachers whose burnout levels will be studied quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition, participants will have the opportunity to provide valuable information about the

causes of stress, available support networks and types of coping strategies of TESOL teachers working at private language schools in South Africa.

There are no known or anticipated risks to the participants by being involved in this research study. Participation in this research is completely voluntary. If TESOL teachers decide to participate, they may withdraw at any time without consequence. If they withdraw from the project, their data will not be used.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected at all times. All private language schools and participants will remain anonymous. Participants will be referred to by a code number or pseudonym in the thesis and any further publications. All study records will be destroyed after the completion and marking of the thesis.

Statement of consent

I have read the above information. I consent to allow the researcher access to the premises of the private language school in order to conduct the research study and I consent to allow TESOL teachers employed by the private language school to participate in this study.

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this research study.

_____

Name of private language school

_____

Signature

_____

Date

Appendix 5
Participant consent form

Dear Participant,

You are being invited to participate in a doctoral research study provisionally entitled:
Combatting the Downward Spiral: Burnout, Support Networks and Coping Strategies of TESOL Teachers at Private Language Schools in Johannesburg, South Africa.

The research study is being conducted by Amanda Bowen, a doctoral student in the department of English Studies at the University of South Africa. If you have further questions about the research study, you may contact her at:

Cell: 072 892 0785
Work: 011 717 3579
Email: Amanda.Bowen@wits.ac.za

As a doctoral student, the researcher is required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a doctoral degree in English. The research study is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Brenda Spencer, department of English, University of South Africa and Professor Frederik Snyders, department of Psychology, University of South Africa.

You are being asked to participate in this research project because you are a TESOL teacher employed by a private language school in Johannesburg, South Africa. If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include:

- Phase one: Participants will complete the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey. The survey takes between 10-15 minutes to complete and will be sent to you via email.
- Phase two: Will consist of a face-to-face or telephonic interview with the researcher. The interview will take between thirty minutes to one hour and will be held at your convenience. All interviews will be recorded in the interests of accuracy and so that the interviews can be transcribed.
    - Please note that selection for phase two will be based on the results of phase one and thus phase two may be for selected participants only.

Benefits/risks to participants
This is the first research study of its kind in South Africa. Thus participants will be the first group of TESOL teachers whose burnout levels will be studied quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition, participants will have the opportunity to provide valuable information about the causes of stress, available support networks and types of coping strategies of TESOL teachers working at private language schools in South Africa.

There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without consequence. If you withdraw from the project, your data will not be used.

Confidentiality
Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected at all times. All participants will remain anonymous and be referred to by a code number or pseudonym in the thesis and any further publications. All study records will be destroyed after the completion and marking of the thesis.

Statement of consent
I have read the above information. I consent to participate in this study.
Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this research study.
Please note that you must be 18 years or older to participate in this study.

_____
Name of participant

_____
Signature

_____
Date

Please fill in your contact details below:

Phone/Cell number:

_____

Email address:

_____

Appendix 6

The Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educators Survey

Response key

How often:

0	Never
1	A few times a year or less
2	Once a month or less
3	A few times a month
4	Once a week
5	A few times a week
6	Every day

1. I feel emotionally drained from my work.	
2. I feel used up at the end of the work day.	
3. I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.	
4. I can easily understand how my students feel about things.	
5. I feel I treat some students as impersonal objects.	
6. Working with people all day is really a strain on me.	
7. I deal very effectively with my students' problems.	
8. I feel burned out from my work.	
9. I feel as if I am positively influencing others' lives through my work.	
10. I have become callous toward people since I took this job.	
11. I worry that my job is hardening me emotionally.	
12. I feel very energetic.	
13. I feel frustrated with my job.	
14. I feel as if I am working too hard on my job.	
15. I do not really care what happens to some of my students.	
16. Working with people directly puts too much stress on me.	
17. I can easily create a relaxed atmosphere for my students.	
18. I feel exhilarated after working closely with my students.	
19. I have accomplished many worthwhile things in my job.	
20. I feel as if I am at the end of my rope.	
21. In my work, I deal with emotional problems very calmly.	
22. I feel students blame me for some of their problems.	

Source: Maslach, C and Jackson, S.E. 1981. Maslach Burnout Inventory: Research Edition Manual. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Appendix 7
The semi-structured questionnaire

1. Please could you provide the following information:
   a. Age
   b. Gender
   c. Qualifications
   d. The number of years you have taught TESOL
   e. Where have you taught?
      i. Internationally
      ii. Nationally
   f. Why you decided to become a TESOL teacher
2. What makes you feel stressed?
   a. Inside the classroom
   b. Outside the classroom
3. What support structures are in place to assist TESOL teachers at your current school?
4. What coping strategies do you use to manage stress?

Appendix 8

Biodata of Participants

Name [Pseudonyms have been used]	Age	Gender	Qualifications	Years of TESOL teaching experience	Why did you decide to become a TESOL teacher?
Anne	32	F	BA (English and Politics); CELTA	3 years South Africa Vietnam	To travel and see the world
Bruce	34	M	TESOL Diploma	4 years Indonesia South Africa	To travel before settling down
Claire	25	F	BMus; TESOL Diploma	4 years Saudi Arabia South Africa	To see the world
Douglas	23	M	TESOL Diploma	2 years South Africa	To see if I like teaching before enrolling for a degree in education
Fern	23	F	BA (English and Philosophy); TESOL Diploma	2 years South Africa	To gain work experience and because I enjoy teaching English
Frankie	31	M	TESOL Diploma	5 years China South Africa South Korea	To travel around Asia and earn money and because I enjoy teaching English
Joanne	30	F	TEFL Diploma	10 years Taiwan Thailand South Africa	To travel around Asia and earn money
Jonathan	24	M	BA (English and Linguistics); TESOL Diploma; CELTA	2 years Greece South Africa	To travel and work and because I enjoy teaching languages
Lisa	44	F	BA (English and Linguistics); BA Honours (TESOL); MA (TESOL); CELTA, DELTA	10 years Egypt Japan Sri Lanka South Africa	Teaching English is my passion and my goal is to open my own language school
Mark	28	M	BA Fine Arts; TESOL Diploma	5 years Brazil South Africa	To travel and because I wanted to see whether I would enjoy teaching
Nina	33	F	BA (Anthropology and English); BA Honours (English); TEFL	5 years China South Africa	To be able to live in another country for an extended period of time

			Diploma		while earning money
Rachel	31	F	BA (English and Sociology); CELTA	6 years China Poland South Africa	To travel and because I enjoy teaching English
Rex	30	M	BEd; TESOL Diploma	7 years Columbia Peru South Africa	To travel to South America and because I enjoy teaching English
Sara	32	F	BA (English and Media Studies); BA Honours (English); TESOL Diploma	4 years South Africa	I am passionate about English teaching and view it as a long-term career
Shaleeda	38	F	BA (English and Politics), BA Honours (Politics); TEFL Diploma	11 years Saudi Arabia South Africa Turkey	To travel to the Middle East and because it is the best job in the world
Terry	36	F	BA (English and Linguistics); TESOL Diploma	3 years Croatia South Africa Switzerland	To meet people from different cultures and to travel
Thomas	28	M	BA (Italian and Linguistics); CELTA	6 years Italy South Africa	I love languages and I love that every day brings something different
Vicky	29	F	BA (English and History)	5 years Hong Kong South Africa Thailand Vietnam	To travel and work in Asia and because I enjoy teaching
Warren	30	M	BA (Dramatic Art); TEFL Diploma	5 years Chile Japan South Africa	I enjoy teaching English and it is the best way to work and travel the world