2021

Video Meetings in a Pandemic Era: Emotional Exhaustion, Stressors, and Coping

Betty J. Johnson
Antioch University - PhD Program in Leadership and Change

VIDEO MEETINGS IN A PANDEMIC ERA:

EMOTIONAL EXHAUSTION, STRESSORS, AND COPING

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of

Graduate School of Leadership and Change

Antioch University

In partial fulfillment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

Betty J. Johnson

ORCID Scholar No. 0000-0002-7742-2901

January 2021

VIDEO MEETINGS IN A PANDEMIC ERA:

EMOTIONAL EXHAUSTION, STRESSORS, AND COPING

This dissertation, by Betty J. Johnson, has
been approved by the committee members signed below
who recommend that it be accepted by the faculty of the
Gradutate School in Leadership & Change
Antioch University
in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Dissertation Committee:

Elizabeth Holloway, PhD, Chair

J. Beth Mabry, PhD, Committee Member

Michael Valentine, PhD, Committee Member

Emily Axelrod, MSW, External Reader

ABSTRACT

VIDEO MEETINGS IN A PANDEMIC ERA:

EMOTIONAL EXHAUSTION, STRESSORS, AND COPING

Betty J. Johnson

Graduate School of Leadership & Change

Antioch University

Yellow Springs, OH

In the first quarter of 2020, societal upheavals related to the COVID-19 pandemic included employers' work-from-home mandates and an almost overnight adoption of video meetings to replace in-person meetings no longer possible due to contagion fears and social distancing requirements. This exploratory study aimed to address, in part, the scientific knowledge gap about video meetings as a source of emotional labor. The study used mixed methods to explore three hypotheses concerning how the contemporary use of video meetings related to emotional exhaustion, stressors, and coping. Data were gathered through an online survey questionnaire. Emotional exhaustion, the dependent variable in the study, was measured using the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Schaufeli et al., 1996) General Survey emotional exhaustion subset of items. Stressors measured included surface acting, which was measured using items adapted from Grandey's (2005) scale. Coping was measured by perceptions about coping resources and cognitive coping. Socio-demographic characteristics served as control variables. Open-ended items produced data pertaining to emotional exhaustion, stressors, and coping related to video meetings. After data cleaning, the sample comprised 345 (n = 345) cross-sector professionals working for U.S.-based organizations. Findings based on a series of linear regression analyses and qualitative data thematic analysis showed video meeting hours and surface acting

significantly related to a higher level of emotional exhaustion. Extrovertism, nonwork video gatherings, and social support from another adult in the home were nonsignificant in their relationships with emotional exhaustion. Perceptions that video meetings were too many for participants to accomplish their overall job responsibilities were significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Perceptions that video meetings were useful to the participant significantly related to a lower emotional exhaustion level. Perceptions that family, household, and personal responsibilities competed for the energy participants needed to do their jobs successfully were also significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Qualitative data analysis also revealed emergent themes that suggest implications for practitioners and direction for future research. Multimedia—audio with streaming video—accompanies this dissertation. This dissertation is available in open access at AURA: Antioch University Repository and Archive, http://aura.antioch.edu/ and OhioLINK ETD Center, https://etd.ohiolink.edu

Keywords: autonomy, breaks, camera use, coping, dramaturgy, engagement, gender, emotional exhaustion, impression management, leadership, small talk, social support, stereotypes, stress, surface acting, technology, time waste, video meetings, workplace norms

Acknowledgements

Aneshensel (1992), in whose theory this study is grounded, says actions that significant others take that relieve a person's stress include encouragement, approval, demonstrations of affection, and behaviors that promote belonging or security. The pursuit of a PhD is inherently stressful and, for me, the stress was alleviated and success was made possible by such acts of support. With deep gratitude for the support provided by my committee, friends, coworkers, clients, and family, I here offer my thanks.

As chair of my committee, Dr. Elizabeth Holloway's sage and straightforward guidance coupled with her generously entertaining a second dissertation proposal after my first study became impossible to complete due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Thank you, Elizabeth, for your enthusiasm for the research presented in these pages. Your excitement about my findings along the way kept me buoyant.

As methodology expert on my committee, Dr. Beth Mabry spent long hours with me in one-on-one video meetings to help transform me into a scholar who can perform and speak the language of regression analyses. Thank you, Beth, for shepherding me up the mountain of quantitative research. Consistent with this study's qualitative findings, your lightheartedness and our shared laughter in our video meetings kept exhaustion at bay.

Also on my committee, Dr. Mike Valentine pivoted with me from our shared passion for action research to an entirely different study and methodology. I appreciate your steadfastness and agility, Mike, and your illuminating new paths of understanding that informed this study and will surely guide my next research project.

Emily Axelrod, my fourth committee member, is a brilliant thought leader in organizational change and meeting effectiveness. Emily, you spent many hours sharing your

wisdom with me and connected me to others in your professional network that informed and influenced my thinking over the last two years. Your generosity gave me a more robust professional and academic community with others of like-kind values and sensibilities. For this, I will be forever grateful.

Dr. Charlotte Roberts first introduced me to the many benefits of pursuing and completing a PhD program. Throughout my journey, Charlotte, you have commiserated with me over glasses of wine while also gently challenging my mental models. Without your open-hearted, compassionate friendship, I would not have come to such a deep understanding of my spiritual self and how Spirit guides all that I accomplish, including this study.

The vast and profoundly meaningful acts of support from friends and those in my professional network, including clients, gave meaning to the narrative of my journey. That support included, and went beyond, their participation in this study. Your commitment to my scholarship enabled me to reach my goal: complete this study during 2020, the same year COVID-19 turned so much of our society upside down. Thank you for that and for your ongoing encouragement, approval, and affection.

Robert Johnson, my brother, has always shown me how much he believes in me by supporting me in my dreams. Robert, your actions on my behalf reflect the confidence in me that our mother, Mary Johnson, has expressed uncountable times: “Honey, you can do anything you put your mind to.”

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER I: WORKERS IN A CHANGED WORLD

As of March, 2020, workers are in a new world. Panic from the COVID-19 pandemic has had a profound impact on how people live. The virus has caused an unprecedented death toll that continues to stimulate fear, anxiety, and prejudice (Ren et al., 2020) to result in general emotional exhaustion. Workers' attempts to engage with each other in a new preponderance of camera-enabled video meetings are further exhausting (Brawner, 2020). Indeed, rampant adoption of this form of gathering beginning in the first quarter of 2020, to replace the in-person meetings no longer possible due to virus-contagion concerns, is associated with massive worker exhaustion (Bailenson, 2020).

Purpose of the Study

A scientifically substantiated remedy to eliminate video-meeting exhaustion has yet to emerge. This study does not propose to prove any such remedy. It is, instead, exploratory. It aims to generate scientific knowledge that can support recommendations for how employers might better care for workers' energies, and how workers might better care for themselves and each other when meeting together to prevent or alleviate their exhaustion. Exploring the phenomena that lie at the root of the video-meeting-exhaustion problem can help inform solutions to aid the suffering thought leaders talk about and workers experience.

Introduction to the Problem

I am interested in and have dedicated a significant portion of my practitioner efforts toward helping business leaders and the people with whom they work to gain greater rewards from their investments of time and energy in meetings. I often say this to leaders who are colleagues, friends, family members, neighbors, or strangers who might be unfamiliar with my

work. When doing so, before COVID-19 sent a shockwave through the U.S. culture, I would hear a consistent sort of response. It would include a combination of an audible groan with complaints about how "bad" meetings are, how much people loathed the meetings they felt compelled to lead or attend, and how "boring" meetings were. Now, in this pandemic era, I hear something different, something akin to an emotional pot ready to over-boil. In April 2020, just one month into the massive societal move to working from home, one leader said to me, in a seething tone, "If I have to be in one more Zoom meeting today, I am going to lose it." In May 2020, another leader said to me, "It used to be really challenging to be in all those meetings at work. Now it's just impossible. I'm an introvert, and that video thing just wears me out. At the end of the day, there's nothing left." Unlike that leader, I'm an extrovert, but I, too, feel wiped out at the end of a day full of video meetings. I wish to help myself, employers, and workers understand the nature of the exhaustion we feel so we might better craft changes to alleviate video-meeting distress.

Researcher Background

I am a consultant with a specialty in workplace meetings practices that generate higher accomplishments and positive working relationships. In my pre-COVID-19 work, people who complained to me about meetings would talk about ways they attempted to manage their meetings-related stress. The following examples of comments leaders made to me before COVID-19 suggest some of their coping strategies.

- A CEO I spoke with declared, "The best meeting is no meeting."
- A retired executive friend said, "Just have every meeting standing up. That way people get tired and you get it over with."

- A professional associate shared, “We [the senior leaders] always show up late so we don’t have to wait for people.”
- A public policy consultant said to me a few years ago, long before the rampant adoption of video meetings to control the spread of infectious disease, “I always take a cup of coffee. That way, I have something neutral I can focus on when the meeting gets boring, so people don’t see how annoyed I am.”

These solutions to ease the psychological burdens associated with workplace meetings are now obsolete. Due to work-at-home restrictions related to the COVID-19 virus, the CEO who said “The best meeting is no meeting” can no longer casually bump into people in the office hallway to have a quick chat. If he wants to talk to someone, he must have a meeting. The retired executive’s advice to have stand-up meetings is passé: many workers sit in makeshift home offices in their kitchens or their laundry rooms, “chained” to their chairs, unable to stand up because that would put their faces out of camera range. The leader who arrived late to meetings—to avoid waiting for others to show up—will also be thwarted. When her face meets the screen, she will find those others have mentally and physically disengaged from the meeting and moved to other technology applications to perform their regular work instead of spending precious minutes waiting for her. As a result, when those others attempt to re-engage in the meeting, their minds will remain fixed on the tasks they were performing instead of the meeting at hand. The leader who focused on a coffee cup to cover up her negative feelings will find her strategy much less effective when her face is continuously displayed on a streaming video panel. She must expend additional emotional energy to maintain her pretense of interest when the cup is not hiding her face; if not, everyone will see her true feelings.

As these anecdotes demonstrate, the workplace of just a year ago, where most people worked in the same physical location, has become "workplaces" in which we are apart but sometimes together via video-meeting platforms. In these new workplaces, old meetings-related stressors become aggravated, and new sources of stress manifest. Work society, therefore, needs to develop new strategies and norms about how workers interact socially in the construct of virtual, camera-enabled video meetings (Zaman, 2020) so they are less painful. A better understanding of the psychological impact of ubiquitous virtual, camera-enabled video meetings holds promise for our ability to create those new strategies and norms. The insights produced in this study might help those who design work meetings to initiate new practices that will mitigate the psychic damage of emotional exhaustion and reduce the perceived necessity for people to "fake it" in meetings. Such fakery is, indeed, associated with such emotional distress (Diestel & Schmidt, 2012). New practices might relieve the cumulative stress workers feel as the current societal crisis caused by the pandemic extends to the future of virtual work.

Study Terms and Definitions

The following definitions ensure an understanding of specific terms since their use might connote ideas different from those intended in the study.

- *Emotional exhaustion* is a chronic state of physical and emotional depletion resulting from excessive job or personal demands or continuous stress (Wright & Copranzano, 1998). It involves feeling emotionally overextended and exhausted by one's work and manifests in physical fatigue and a sense of feeling psychologically and emotionally drained (Zohar, 1997).

- *Stress* or *stressor* is an environmental, social, or internal demand that requires one to readjust one's usual behavior patterns (Holmes & Rahe, 1967).
- *Surface acting* is a social behavior that involves faking the emotions one perceives to be appropriate for the meeting context (Hochschild, 1983).
- *Impression management* is the process of presenting and expressing oneself—verbally and nonverbally—to control how others perceive oneself (Goffman, 1959).
- *Coping resources* are social and personal characteristics one may draw upon when dealing with a stressor (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978).
- *Coping strategies* are problem-focused or emotion-focused behavioral and cognitive attempts used to manage stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).
- A *meeting* is a synchronous (same-time) coming together of "people who agree to assemble for a purpose ostensibly related to the functioning of an organization or group" (Schwartzman, 1989, p. 61). The modifier "synchronous" is significant due to the emergence of asynchronous technology-enabled meeting platforms that provide a so-called "meeting" environment in which people can contribute ideas to each other asynchronously (different-time).
- An *in-person meeting* is a form of the afore-defined meeting in which the people who attend are co-located. In body, they are together in a single conference room, office, or other physical location.
- A *video meeting* is a form of the afore-defined meeting in which some, if not all, the people present are not co-located. Those not co-located use the live video-streaming functionality of a virtual meeting platform (e.g., Zoom, Skype, or Microsoft Teams).

Their cameras enabled, they display themselves to other attendees for most or all of the meeting's duration.

- *Video gatherings* are distinct from video meetings and refer to nonwork-related assemblies via a virtual meeting platform. These gatherings might be social (e.g., a "Zoom happy hour"), academic (e.g., virtual classroom), or for other nonwork purposes (e.g., a virtual appointment with one's physician).
- *Meeting load* is the total number of hours and number of meetings a person attends over a specified elapsed time.
- *Video meeting load* distinguishes the immediately preceding definition from the load of other forms of meeting.
- An *attendee* is any person who shows up to a meeting.
- A *leader* is an attendee who initiates and is primarily, although not necessarily entirely, responsible for how a meeting unfolds. Likely, this person will also hold some hierarchical status power. This term serves to differentiate power relationships among attendees. It does not imply that only one person displays leadership behaviors in a meeting, nor does it imply only one person holds a leadership title or responsibilities in a meeting. For example, in an executive meeting, multiple attendees carry a leader title and leader responsibilities outside the meeting. However, one of them typically serves as the "leader" of the meeting.

Rationale and Significance of the Study

The World Health Organization (2020) confirms workers in the U.S. and across the globe are suffering from emotional distress related to the COVID-19 pandemic. Much of that distress is

due to people's compromised physical, emotional, and financial wellbeing, and the protracted ambiguity about the virus's potential to devastate entire societies' economic and physical health. At the time of this study's publication, further economic recession or depression looms in the U.S. Provisions for public health continue to be overwhelmed, underfunded, and understaffed, and people are continuing to die from a not-fully understood virus. Fears of and grief from the loss of loved ones, of income, and of the freedom to gather together and experience the comfort of human touch haunt society's consciousness (Gottlieb, 2020).

In this context of change and loss, the manner in which people come together to work has also changed. Although video meetings are not a new technology, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic they have become a prevalent means for workers to communicate.

This study does not seek to isolate stress from attending video meetings from the aforementioned societal sources of stress. Rather, it suggests that video meetings stress occurs within that broader societal context. The study, therefore, includes sociodemographic variables that might serve as controls for the aforementioned sources of stress. However, the focus of this study is an exploratory endeavor to gain some insight into the relationships that exist between video meeting stressors, forms of coping, and emotional exhaustion.

If popular media have it right, many workers are facing a heaping addition of video meetings into their regular work. The popular conversation has been focused on what is generally termed "Zoom fatigue." As a professional with expertise in the area of effective meetings, I suspect that fatigue is associated with several stressors. Thus, this study argues that, as workers transferred from in-person meetings to a video environment, they were required to

expend additional energy to show up. In support of this notion, consider together these two data points:

1. Before societal responses to the COVID-19 pandemic, video meetings had already become executives' "tool of choice" for work communications ("Video Meetings: The Default Setting for Business Communications," 2020).
2. However, for many, video meetings have been shown to add another layer of fatigue to the workday (Levenson, 2017).

Thus, this study has four interests:

1. Explore the relationships between video meeting load, emotional exhaustion, and surface acting on camera.
2. Examine resources that aid coping and thereby reduce the stressors associated with video meetings.
3. Understand the degree to which socio-demographic variables influence video meeting stressors, coping, and emotional exhaustion.
4. Discover what attendees perceive makes video meetings exhausting and what makes them less so.

This study does to attempt to prove causality, or compare pre-pandemic and pandemic video meetings-related stress. Its intent is to illuminate relationships between variables that can be further explored in future research.

Organization of the Dissertation

The remainder of this dissertation is organized thus. Chapter II positions the study in the context of relevant literature. I refer to peer-reviewed studies and nonacademic literature related

to emotional exhaustion, work meetings in general, video meetings, meetings stressors, and coping resources. Nonacademic literature includes research, documents, interviews, blogs, and other media that, in the pandemic era, illuminate the novel challenges before us.

Chapter III describes the rationale for mixed methods, the study design, and the survey used. Among the items discussed are participant sampling, data collection, analyses, and interpretation.

Chapter IV presents the results of the data collection and analyses. This study emphasizes quantitative data. A discussion of qualitative findings related to each hypothesis provides further illumination to the quantitative results.

The dissertation closes with Chapter V, which highlights the key findings and emergent themes in the study. Chapter V also discusses the limitations of the study, implications for practitioners, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

This study is a novel endeavor. Academic findings of the relationships between video meetings stressors, coping resources, and emotional exhaustion have not yet appeared in the peer-reviewed scientific literature. In the following pages, however, I use scientific and other literature to examine a systemic framework of meetings-related stressors, coping, and outcomes within their social and cultural constructs.

Introduction to a Systemic Framework

Mental health outcomes are explained by a model of the stress process. That model involves people's broader social context; disruptive life events, chronic stressors, daily hassles; and coping resources and mechanisms (Aneshensel & Mitchell, 2014; Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978; Thoits, 1995). Although this study does not attempt to test this model nor demonstrate causal relationships among variables, the concepts of stressors, coping, and wellbeing outcomes are germane. Applying the model to likely contributors to meetings-related stress, and resources for and ways of coping, inform this exploration of a specific mental health outcome—emotional exhaustion. Thus, I draw upon the immediately aforementioned studies to introduce a framework for organizing this discussion of literature. Figure 2.1 depicts the framework.

Figure 2.1

Systemic Framework: Meetings, Stressors, Coping, and Outcomes Within Contexts

Note. Original figure by author, based on elaborations of the stress and coping process by Aneshensel and Mitchell (2014), Holmes and Rahe (1967), Lazarus and Folkman (1984), Pearlin and Schooler (1978), and Thoits (1995).

The U.S., the Workplace, and Meetings Society and Culture

As illustrated in Figure 2.1, the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic caused turmoil in U.S. society and culture. That turmoil influences how we live, if we live, and thus provides those in the U.S. with a daily dose of widespread fear, anxiety, uncertainty, and prejudice (Ren et al., 2020). While this study is explicitly concerned with one of the contexts within U.S. society (i.e., video meetings), dotted lines in Figure 2.1 indicate that the domains delineated are permeable; each influences the other. Thus, emotional exhaustion exists not only in the context of meetings. Indeed, emotional exhaustion is rampant throughout U.S. society (Grant, 2020) because there is a great deal of emotional labor in play. Negative affect states are heightened by apprehension about health and economic concerns associated with the virus (World Health Organization, 2020). Social unrest in the U.S. manifests in outcries over racial injustice exemplified by overt, violent actions against people of color (Laurencin & McClinton, 2020). Together, these crises permeate social and mass media, thereby creating additional emotional hardships at work (Chen, B. X., 2020, March 18). Thus, while not the focus of this study, society-wide emotional distress has implications: heightened negative emotional states (e.g., worry about nonwork matters) can increase the likelihood of emotional exhaustion at the end of the workday (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013).

Within that broad societal culture lies the workplace context. Within the workplace lies the context of meetings society and culture, including behaviors and impact colored by (as indicated by the dotted lines in Figure 2.1) stressors, resources, and mental health (i.e., emotional exhaustion). Among the stressors are chronic strains and daily hassles, including meeting load,

which is associated with emotional exhaustion (Luong & Rogelberg, 2005). Chronic stressors and daily hassles also include interpersonal difficulties, hierarchical power dynamics, goal-striving, and surface acting. People who attend meetings use pre-determined social scripts based, at least in part, on their socio-demographic differences, and adherence to those scripts can induce stress.

Within workplace society and culture, disruption involves work-from-home mandates, resultant social distancing from work colleagues, and school closures, which effectively bring children into the new workplaces that are also home places. That disruptive event produces new chronic strains and daily hassles that require additional coping efforts when coupled with general meetings stressors. Coping efforts include resources that ameliorate stress and cognitive coping that involves perceptions and mental framing.

In the immediately following pages, I discuss each domain of Figure 2.1. I begin with emotional exhaustion as a form of mental health because it is a meetings-related problem which this study aims to understand more fully.

Mental Health and Emotional Exhaustion

An examination of emotional exhaustion as a particular form of mental health is fundamental to this study due to the much-discussed fatigue that accompanies the now-massive use of video meetings. However, emotional exhaustion is also a malady experienced in the broader workplace, as suggested by the dotted lines in Figure 2.1.

Zohar (1997) describes emotional exhaustion as feeling physically or psychologically drained. Maslach and Leiter (1997) maintain emotional exhaustion is at the core of burnout. Maslach et al. (2001) found those who experienced personal misalignment with six aspects of

their work environment were more susceptible to increased emotional exhaustion, cynicism, and burnout. Those six aspects of work environment have to do with the emotional labor one must perform if there are personal mismatches with:

- Manageability of their workload;
- Autonomy and control over decisions;
- Consistency of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards with their expectations;
- Social interactions;
- Fairness; and
- Personal values.

The COVID-19 pandemic has heighten workers' stress hormones due to broader societal woes (Bailenson, 2020). Thus, there may be a greater need for alignment with these aspects of their work culture.

As discussed later in this chapter, emotional exhaustion related to meetings is not a new phenomenon. There are innumerable reasons why people feel wiped out from meetings in general. However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, video meetings have become "the lynchpin of business communication" (Kretchmer, 2020, para.1). Kretchmer continues, saying this almost overnight shift in how workers communicate is associated with "being worn out by endless virtual meetings, chats, and quizzes, borne witness to by widespread complaints on social media" (para. 3).

In a BBC interview conducted by Jiang (2020), the scientist Petriglieri offered this perspective about video meetings: "Our minds are together when our bodies feel we're not. That dissonance, which causes people to have conflicting feelings, is exhausting. You cannot relax

into the conversation naturally" (para. 4). Schoenenberg et al. (2014) illustrate the point. Periodic silence is a normal part of the rhythm in an in-person meeting; it allows attendees to reflect and process new information. In a video meeting, however, silence creates discomfort. Indeed, Schoenenberg et al. found silence as short as 1.2 seconds in a virtual meeting made people perceive the responder as less friendly and conscientious.

According to Bailenson (2020), attending video meetings requires our brains expend energy to: (a) process the meanings of nonverbal cues from multiple people, (b) monitor ourselves to control the nonverbal cues we send to others, and (c) perform these feats simultaneously. That can be mentally and emotionally exhausting. Bailenson et al. (2003) maintain that video meetings may also be emotionally difficult because their very nature can violate nonverbal social norms. Those violations can trigger the amygdala and produce feelings that obstruct a sense of psychological safety. The study by Bailenson et al. (2003) illustrates the point: when participants experienced large virtual faces looking directly at them, they physically flinched, indicating a fight-or-flight neural response.

Bailenson (2020) argues employers expect workers to spend long stretches staring nonstop at another person in a video meeting and if such staring were done in an in-person meeting, it could be socially inappropriate; the person being stared at could experience it as aggressive and become defensive. Bailenson concludes such staring in a video meeting is, thus, psychologically draining. Indeed, Moyer (2016) found a continuous gaze of more than three seconds can cause people to feel uncomfortable in less relaxed situations. Yet, as this study will demonstrate, workers spend hours gazing at each other through their video cameras.

Electronic speech transmission creates another source of fatigue: delays of more than a second can cause participants in a video meeting to perceive those causing the delay as less attentive (Schoenenberg et al., 2014). Murphy (2020) argues, "The distortions and delays inherent in video communication can end up making you feel isolated, anxious, and disconnected (or more than you were already)."

As demonstrated in this discussion of emotional exhaustion, attendees expend tremendous emotional labor on managing their social interactions in the video meeting environment. Thus, this conversation turns to an examination of meetings as a social construct.

The Social Construct of Meetings

Meetings are a tool used to achieve something, such as an understanding, an agreement, or a resolution (Schwartzman, 1986). They are also much more. Although meetings are specific, time-bound points in organizational life, each constitutes an event that mirrors and impacts the larger workplace system, as suggested by the dotted lines in Figure 2.1.

Schwartzman (1989) notes few, if any, boundaries on the potential impact people's experiences in meetings can have on their workplace society and culture:

> Meetings exist within a sociocultural system, but they also play a major role in shaping this system, as they both create and then respond to the context that they have generated. Meetings provide individuals with a way to make sense of as well as to legitimate what otherwise might seem to be disparate talk and action, whereas they also enable individuals to negotiate and validate their relationships to each other. Finally, I suggest that meetings are a form that frequently stabilizes but can just as easily destabilize and

> transform a cultural system in ways that are often unrecognized and even unintended by actors in the system. (Schwartzman, 1989, p. 11)

According to Schwartzman's (1986) seminal work, a meeting is a social forum in which people recognize and inevitably react to others' expressions of emotions. Subsequent scientific studies expand Schwartzman's view. For example, Nummenmaa et al. (2012) examined meetings as social contexts in which behaviors synchronized brain activity across individuals. Hareli and Rafaeli (2008) demonstrated how interaction behaviors generate emotion contagion; one person's emotions elicit reactive responses from others. Kauffeld and Meyers' (2009) study of emotion contagion in meetings found one person's complaints led to others' and that cycle produced a group mood of discontent and a spiral away from solutions. Kauffeld and Meyers also found a conversation focused on what was possible enabled people to generate new ideas for solutions; such solution cycles, if not interrupted, were sustained in a self-energizing way. Lehmann-Willenbrock et al. (2013) found nonleader attendees could prevent dysfunctional behaviors that led to the loss of train of thought, unnecessary conformity, criticism, complaining, social loafing, and poor decision-making. Lehmann-Willenbrock et al. found those attendees could prevent such dysfunction by making supporting statements that enabled proactive communication—for example, confirming who will do what by when. Mirivel and Tracy (2005) found that friendly, lighthearted small talk at the beginning of a meeting about personal interest topics created a more relaxed environment, one conducive to relationships and task accomplishment. Hoogeboom and Wilderom (2015) offered examples of positive relationship building practices, including showing a personal interest in, listening to, and encouraging others; being friendly; and asking for ideas.

Schwartzman (1989) posits work meetings are a social construction, and their effectiveness depends on three factors:

1. People's perceptions of the qualities of their human interactions;
2. The extent to which those qualities promote their success at accomplishing what they intend; and
3. The degree to which those intentions promote positive relational interactions.

Behaviors and Impact

How people experience behaviors in meetings impacts job engagement and motivation (Rogelberg et al., 2006), attitudes about diversity (Gerpott & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2015), and the degree to which people seek employment elsewhere (Shanock et al., 2013). Perceptions about meeting experiences contribute to or detract from team potency (O'Neill & Allen, 2012) and create or erode employee satisfaction (Nixon & Littlepage, 1992). Meetings behaviors reflect an organization's degree of support for innovation (Reiter-Palmon & Sands, 2015). What happens in them can influence the way people manage risk and the degree to which they transfer, sustain, and use their knowledge for competitive advantage (Hansen & Allen, 2015). Experiences in meetings correlate with the degree to which people adapt during change (Klöneg et al., 2015) and produce a collective mindset that can enable or constrain work (Scott et al., 2015). The impact of meetings can be enduring; people synthesize what they encounter in meetings and use that unconsciously to make judgments about future meetings (Duffy & O'Rourke, 2015).

Despite the systemic impact of meeting behaviors on workplace society and culture, there is a relative shortage of scientific literature reflecting perspectives from both leaders and other attendees. Many studies examine only leaders' satisfaction with the meetings they conducted

(e.g., Bang et al., 2010; Myrsiades, 2000). An exclusive focus on leader perceptions is problematic for this study for two reasons. First, evidence suggests leaders perceive their meetings to be better than do other attendees who have less hierarchical power (Cohen et al., 2011). For example, a leader might be highly satisfied that their meeting didn't take too long, whereas other attendees of that same meeting might feel the meeting was a waste of their time and energy. Second, all attendees are close to and experience the systemic impact of meetings on their individual, team, and organizational wellbeing.

Research on virtual teams casts light on the importance of cross-hierarchical perspectives. For example, Sivasubramaniam et al. (2012) found both frequency and openness are necessary for virtual teams to develop shared meaning. Lack of shared meaning can result in severe breakdowns in collaboration (Cramton, 2001; Maynard & Gilson, 2014). Anderson et al. (2007) found that in meetings where some people were co-located and others were not, those who controlled the meeting technology also controlled who could talk and how much.

Stressors

In the mid- to late-1980s, meetings in their own right, not just as an outlet for team behavior, became a focus of scientific study. The following decade, societal interest in meetings began to emphasize concerns about the chronic strains and hassles of wasted time and effort. For example, Kayser (1990, p. 38) reflected the sentiments felt by those who were becoming weary of their meeting experiences by saying, "a meeting is an interaction where the unwilling, selected from the uninformed, led by the unsuitable, to discuss the unnecessary, are required to write a report about the unimportant."

Aneshensel (1992, p. 16) maintains stress comes from "discrepancies between the characteristics and conditions of the individual —his or her needs, values, perceptions, resources, and skills" and external conditions. Peer-reviewed literature demonstrates those discrepancies can include:

- High meeting load (Luong & Rogelberg, 2005).
- Persistent interpersonal difficulties (Avison & Turner, 1988).
- Hierarchical power dynamics (Tost et al., 2013).
- Accomplishment-striving (O'Neill & Allen, 2012).
- Surface acting (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2000).
- Stereotypes or negative views attributed to those of varied backgrounds such as race and gender (Dudley, 2000).

The following pages discuss each of these stressors.

Meeting Load. Workers strive to perform in a vast number of workplace meetings. There are historical indicators of the growing degree of that vastness. In 1976, Doyle put forth a figure of 11 million meetings in the U.S. every day. In 2007, Doyle revised the number to 25 million. The 2007 statistic remains the most frequently cited in scientific studies. However, in 2015, the practitioner Keith leveraged Doyle's (1976, 2007) data and offered a more contemporary educated guess about the total number of meetings. Keith measured the curve between the dates of Doyle's two reports and applied that curve to produce an estimate that the total number of all daily meetings in the U.S. in 2015 was around 56 million. It remains unclear how many meetings people have thus far attended in 2020, nor do we know how much time they spent doing so.

Meeting load is a source of chronic stress. While not examining video meetings per se, Luong and Rogelberg (2005) found meeting load and negative emotions positively correlated. The researchers demonstrated that the more meetings people attended in a day, the more tired and frustrated they felt, the lower their overall enthusiasm for their job, and the higher their intent to quit.

Other Stressors. The term "meeting science" is the study of "what happens before, during, and after meetings in the workplace," including their "psychological, sociological, and anthropological underpinnings and consequences" (Allen et al., 2015a, p. 4). Most published meeting science studies concern in-person meetings. More than just a few are focused exclusively on meeting mechanics (e.g., using an agenda, punctuality, note-taking) and their correlation with meeting satisfaction. However, regardless of their environment (in-person or virtual), meetings are not just a series of technically right or technically wrong mechanics. Meetings are social interactions that can produce interpersonal conflicts, hierarchical power dynamics, accomplishment-striving, and surface acting.

Interpersonal Conflicts. Interpersonal disagreements range in intensity from minor to major and include overt and covert behaviors (Spector & Jex, 1998). Arguments with others at work represent interpersonal conflicts that create stress (Hershcovis, 2010). Frone (2000, 2004) distinguished interpersonal conflicts between those that occur with one's supervisor and those with a coworker. Such disharmony can be perpetrated by oneself, another person, or the organization, and the *intent* to produce conflict is not necessary (Hershcovis, 2010).

Hierarchical Power Dynamics. Studies demonstrate power dynamics heavily influence meeting interaction rules and expectations (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Scott & Myers, 2010; Tost

et al., 2013; Vine, 2004). Status dynamics can produce stress related to voice and agency; when there is a tendency to favor the inclusion of views of like-kind or higher hierarchical-status individuals, suffering can ensue (Gerpott & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2015; Hareli & Rafaeli, 2008; Kauffeld & Meyers, 2009). The following studies further illustrate the point.

Wodak et al. (2011) demonstrate a meeting leader can positively or negatively influence people's ability to contribute, depending on whether the leader uses egalitarian or authoritarian conversational strategies. Lehmann-Willenbrock et al. (2015) show attendees' ability to problem-solve links to their leaders' transformational behaviors. Lehmann-Willenbrock et al. demonstrate transformational leadership behaviors also inhibit stress-producing actions (e.g., going off-topic, criticizing, or complaining). Carletta et al. (1998) found in a group exceeding two people, meeting conversations comprised a series of paired interactions in which one person generally talked more than the other. Their study showed that if one person held decision-making authority, that person dominated and controlled the conversation and dominated and controlled the conversational pairings. Such were the findings, regardless of the number of attendees beyond two.

***Accomplishment-Striving*.** Barrick et al. (2002, p. 44) state, "accomplishment striving reflects an individual's intention to accomplish tasks and is characterized by a high task orientation." Barrick et al. continue, "Task oriented employees have a strong desire to accomplish task-related goals as a means of expressing their individual attributes and preferences." Thus, those who are task-oriented may become more engaged in accomplishing their immediate work tasks and more likely to view meetings as interruptions. Rogelberg et al. (2006) found when meetings consumed working hours necessary for employees to fulfill their

regular job responsibilities, accomplishment-striving conflicts ensued, negatively affecting wellbeing.

Surface Acting. Surface acting includes "expressing inauthentic emotions in meetings" (Shanock et al., 2013, p. 457) to adhere to the situation's social requirements. Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) maintain surface acting occurs when people perceive a socially constructed requirement to mask their negative thoughts, feelings, and emotions with positive manifestations. For example, a person might enhance their smile or fake a smile when in a bad mood, or when interacting with other people whom the person experiences as difficult. Brotheridge and Grandey also found surface acting, or faking, at work predicted depersonalization (another form of burnout) outside of work. In their study, Judge et al. (2009) found the degree to which individuals engage in daily surface acting is associated with their emotional exhaustion, negative mood, and decreased job satisfaction. Shanock et al. (2013) found that when attendees perceive it necessary to surface act (e.g., to smile versus grimace), doing so negatively informs their perceptions about meeting effectiveness. Shanock et al. found those negative perceptions have an enduring psychological impact; they relate to how emotionally exhausted employees feel and their intentions to find employment elsewhere. Erks et al. (2017) demonstrate when participants deem it necessary to fake positive emotions in a meeting, doing so harms group performance before and after the meeting.

Researchers differentiate surface acting from deep acting. According to Judge et al. (2009), deep acting involves intentionally trying to *change one's emotions* [my emphasis] to align one's behavior (including displays of emotion) with what others expect. Unlike deep

acting, in which one actively, even if only temporarily adjusts one's emotional state, surface acting involves *superficially displaying* [my emphasis] an emotion counter to what one feels.

Surface acting is also differentiated from hiding. Hiding is when a person needs to express themselves in a way that is not consistent with societal expectations of their role, and secretly does so in a hidden way. An example of hiding is turning one's video off before rolling one's eyes. While the effort to hide emotions is inherently stressful (Hochschild, 1983), doing so can be an expected part of worker performance (Diefendorff & Erikson, 2012). Not hiding emotions can harm inclusivity (Scherer et al., 2013). The display of negative thoughts, feelings, and emotions—such as impatience, annoyance, distrust, distress, disconcertment, hesitancy, boredom, and doubt—can manifest behaviors that actively block voice and trust (Allen et al., 2015b; Paul & McDaniel, 2004). The distinction between hiding and surface acting is significant; given the near impossibility of fully hiding one's emotions in a video meeting, engaging in surface acting offers a recourse.

Surface acting is also not the same as social loafing. Social loafing involves behaviors that represent a tendency to contribute less than full effort. Blaskovich (2008) found social loafing occurs more in virtual meetings, and the number of humorous YouTube videos displaying social loafing behaviors that emerged in 2020 bear this out (e.g., 987TheBull, 2020; Topi The Corgi, 2020). As a coping strategy, however, social loafing has costs. Blaskovich demonstrated social loafing in virtual meetings adversely affected group performance, reduced participants' recall abilities, and was associated with exhibits of recency bias, indicating that decisions made were of poor quality. Social loafing may not be due to laziness, as the term implies, and may increase hypervigilance. To illustrate, videoconferencing apps (e.g., Zoom,

Skype) have a setting that lets the meeting host know if someone switched away from the app for more than 30 seconds. That switching represents a signal that the person wasn't paying attention in the meeting (Chen, T., 2020, June 3). While some hosts might see that switching as a person's tendency to contribute less than full effort, it might reflect something else. It could be associated with a person's inability to fully participate, given the role and script they are assigned.

Meetings involve people's adherence to unwritten behavioral rules for the workplace, such as act friendly and hide annoyances (Ashforth & Humphrey, 2012). Those social rules might lead to beliefs that one must "resist expressing my true feelings" or "pretend to have emotions that I don't really have" or "hide my true feelings about a situation," as reflected in Brotheridge and Grandey's (2002, p. 35) measure of surface acting. Such social self-control behaviors can produce psychological costs, including emotional exhaustion (Diestel & Schmidt, 2012).

The higher up people are in an organization, the more power and status they hold and thus the freer they feel to be themselves and to say and do what they want (Galinsky et al., 2008). Therefore, leaders of meetings may not feel the same need to surface act as do other attendees. In any case, the extent to which people surface act in a meeting is positively related to the presence of higher-status people in that meeting because hierarchical dynamics often compel a person to suppress any indication of negative emotions (Thomas et al., 2018).

The negative psychological impact of surface acting may also reach beyond those who perform it. Research shows that even when attempting to surface act, people leak their genuine emotions (Semmer et al., 2015) such that those real emotions are perceived, even if unconsciously, by others. Bartel and Saavedra (2000) argue other people process social cues

automatically and mostly outside of their conscious awareness and that processing produces emotional contagion in social settings.

Roles and Scripts. As previously discussed, meetings are a social construct where people perform their roles in interaction with each other. For example, Schwarz (2013) posits a leader who avoids revealing information that might compromise others' buy-in will erode trust. Axelrod et al. (2005) say leaders who act in ways that cause people to feel left out will have followers who "feel uninvolved, uncommitted, and distracted in . . . meetings" (p. 55).

Goffman (1959) maintains that whenever people have face-to-face interactions, they function as social "actors" who assume and act out roles with each other in ways that depend on the social rules and rituals for the situation and the expectations of the audience observing the metaphorical "stage." In his study and theory of this concept of dramaturgy, Goffman argued that reading a transcript of what people said during an interaction—along with notes of their behaviors including their nonverbal communication cues—was like reading a play script, act by act. Goffman argued, due to humans' innate need for acceptance, we generally attempt to follow the scripts assigned by social rules and expectations. We do so through how we perform, including what we say and do.

Going off-script in a meeting is not easily accomplished and can have negative consequences. For example, voicing a complaint or making a critical statement might represent a person's attempt at such an effort, but doing so can decrease psychological safety (Allen et al., 2015b). Psychological safety is a necessary condition for productive interpersonal risk-taking in a meeting environment (Edmondson, 1999; Stohl & Cheney, 2001).

Like-Kind Preference. People need to feel they belong, and this desire is a fundamental human motivation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). That motivation leads people to define themselves and others by continually comparing themselves with other people (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Through those comparisons over time, a person categorizes one's self and others based on distinguishing characteristics and uses those characteristics to implicitly identify others similar to and different from the self to reinforce a positive self-image by casting those who are dissimilar in a less favorable light (Fiske & Lee, 2008). For example, Makela et al. (2007) found those with like-kind status have a greater tendency than other attendees to interact in meetings, to share business knowledge, and to work together toward consensus.

In meetings, when like-kind preference causes some people's contributions to be favored and others' not, the conversation can narrow. In such a case, those in the "in-group" marginalize remarks of those in the "out-group." Polzer et al. (2002) illustrate this dynamic. Their study examined what happens when people representing a nondominant subgroup make conversational contributions. Those nondominant subgroup contributors are likely to receive overly critical feedback from those in the dominant group due to categorization stereotypes. Relatedly, Gerpott and Lehmann-Willenbrock (2015) show those who find themselves on the outside of a meeting conversation experience suffering associated with marginalization of voice.

Age. Those of similar age often share similar attitudes and values (Cogin, 2012; Glass, 2007) that might inform expectations for how they engage in their work roles. Age difference can represent a stressor in the meeting environment because it serves as an essential mediator between conversational interactions and meeting outcomes (Gerpott & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2015.)

Gender. Gender is also an essential mediator between conversational interactions and meeting outcomes (Gerpott & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2015). West and Garcia (1988, p. 571) found that when men feel uncomfortable with a topic in a gender-mixed conversation, they are more likely than women to interrupt and change the subject; women are more likely to remain quiet. West and Garcia's findings suggest men's scripts provide more power than do women's to control the conversation in a meeting. Subsequent studies discussed below bear out that suggestion.

Brescoll (2012) found men with power talk more than others in meetings, while women with power do not. The gender discrepancy is due, at least in part, to the assumption among both men and women that powerful women will incur backlash if they talk more than others. Relatedly, McKinsey and Company (2019) reported findings from a survey of 329 companies and 68,000 employees: half of women respondents reported they had experienced being interrupted or spoken over in meetings, compared to 34% of men. Of women respondents, 38% said others had taken credit for their ideas, compared to 27% of men.

The McKinsey report is consistent with published findings of practitioners Heath et al. (2014), who interviewed 65 top men and women executives from companies such as JPMorgan Chase, McDonald's, PepsiCo, Lowe's, Google, Time Warner, and eBay to discover perceptions about the role gender plays in meetings. Among the findings of Heath et al.: Half the men interviewed said when their female peers did speak up, those women allowed themselves to be interrupted, apologized repeatedly, and failed to back up their opinions with evidence. One CEO interviewed by Heath et al. (2014, para. 9) said, "Women are often either quiet and tentative, or they pipe up at the wrong moment, and it sounds more like noise to some of us." Heath et al.

found that when women expressed their passion for an opinion or an idea in a meeting, the men in attendance perceived them as too emotional. Further, women executives interviewed reported feeling alone (because there were so few other women in their meetings), and "unsupported, outside their comfort zones, and unable to advocate forcefully for their perspectives" (para. 10).

Manning and Reece (2004) suggested people form such communication tendencies in childhood, and the greater or lesser degree of dominance and sociability tendencies remain in place into and throughout adulthood. Manning and Reece argue these communication tendencies affect people's judgments about other people's competence and confidence.

According to Tannen (1995, para. 7), the use of "jokes, figures of speech, stories, questions, and apologies" are "the signals by which we not only communicate what we mean but also interpret others' meaning and evaluate one another as people." Tannen maintains those signals differ between men and women. The signals determine who gets heard, who gets the credit, and what gets done. As a result, misunderstandings and conflict ensue. Tannen says, "Everything that is said must be said in a certain way" (para. 7), including adherence to unspoken, gender-based rules about length of speaking time, pauses between speakers, frequency of asking questions, and the amount of overlapping talk.

Race/Ethnicity. Race and ethnicity stressors permeate every structure in U.S. society and COVID-19 compounds that societal stress. "While everyone is facing the battle against coronavirus, Black people in America are still facing the battle against racism *and* coronavirus," (Noah, 2020).

The literature on race- and ethnicity-related stress is vast. Therefore, it is impossible to provide a concise argument for how this stress affects workplace society and culture, and

therefore meetings. Instead, consider Reitman's (2006) evidence presented in a case study of the software workplace. Reitman argues the U.S. workplace is "formed through a process of whitewashing, which simultaneously denies race and superimposes white culture. Whitewashing wields language and invisibility to deny race and promote a particular kind of multiculturalism, while cloaking the workplace in a culture of informality and business politics." For example, in their 2009 study, Bazarova and Walther found societal expectations required people who represented a nondominant culture to follow unwritten dominant-culture expectations about how they should perform in meetings. Bazarova and Walther argued when those expectations went unmet, interpersonal practices marginalized nondominant-culture voices and led those representing the dominant culture to make negative assumptions about and negative attributions toward their nondominant-culture colleagues.

First Language. Although multinational teams are becoming evermore common (Nam et al, 2009), according to a 2018 virtual teams survey conducted by RW3 Culture Wizard, English remains the standard business language for multicultural meetings as well as meetings comprised of U.S. only attendees. Yet, 22% of the U.S. population does not speak English at home (Bedard, 2020), and while some of those people can converse in English, approximately 8% of the U.S. population— 25.1 million people, foreign and U.S. born and living in the U.S—have limited English proficiency (Scamman, 2018). Aguirre (2012) maintained that when informal English-only rules apply, they silence the voice rights of non-English speakers and limited-English speakers. Silencing produces disempowerment, and with disempowerment comes emotional distress.

Impression Management. The phrase impression management coined by Goffman (1959) refers to attempts to alter others' perceptions to satisfy one's needs and goals. It is motivated by whether a person believes they can convey the intended impression (Döring, 1999, pp. 261–262). When engaged in impression management, a person in:

> Ordinary work situations presents himself and his activity to others, the ways in which he guides and controls the impression they form of him, and the kinds of things he may and may not do while sustaining his performance before them. (Goffman, 1959, p. 8)

Goffman (1967) positions impression management as a positive social activity. More recently, Browning et al. (2010) argue likewise.

In the work environment, impression management can include self-disclosure, managing appearances to fit in, ingratiation, and making one's actions seem appealing to increase social capital (Vitez, 2020).

Hegarty (2019) maintains efforts to manage others' impressions are more significant for women than for men because women face more scrutiny than men about how they look. Hegarty cites:

- Women spend an average of 27 minutes per day, or ten working days per year, getting ready for work. Thus, over their lives, women will spend, on average, 3,275 hours in grooming; men will spend 1,092 hours.
- People generally expect professional women to keep gray hair colored and expect women of color to keep their hair straightened, "tamed"; men do not face these expectations.

Disruptive Life Event. Dohrenwend et al. (1978) defined a disruptive life event as an occurrence of sufficient magnitude to change most persons' usual activities. Such events are "acute changes which require major behavioral readjustments within a relatively short period of time" (Thoits, 1995, p. 54). A disruptive life event represents a particular source of stress (Dohrenwend, 1978). When a disturbing life event involves prolonged chronic psychological distress, and when the potential duration of that stress is ambiguous, the life event can cause chronic damage to emotional wellbeing (Aneshensel, 1985; Avison & Turner, 1988; Lin & Ensel, 1984; Norris & Murrell, 1987).

Many workers today are experiencing the significant disruptive life event of work-from-home mandates (Thompson, 2020). Many now suddenly find they must use video meetings to stay connected with the colleagues and bosses with whom they were formerly co-located. While video meetings are not new to workplace society, this disruptive life event is a stressor because of the significant change in daily life it represents and the almost overnight requirement for workerd to make significant behavioral readjustments.

New Forms of Meetings-Related Stress. In the new work context, there is ample evidence that the chronic strains and daily hassles of meetings persist, and are increasing due to the now-ubiquitous use of video meetings. To illustrate, an Amazon.com search for "bad meetings" in October 2019 (five months prior to the pandemic) produced over 3,000 results. In October 2020, one year later and seven months into COVID-related work-from-home orders, that same Amazon.com search yielded 369,000,000 results. More telling: a Google.com search in October 2020 specifically for "bad *video* work meetings" generated approximately 860,000,000 results. Society's evident preoccupation with bad video work meetings provides a compelling

argument for exploring the stressors associated with that "badness." Thus, the discussion immediately turns to new forms of meetings-related stress and potential resources and strategies for managing that stress.

New Forms of Interaction and Human Relationships Stress. Goffman (1959) argued people need face-to-face interactions. We might understand the pandemic-era culture's immediate grasp onto video meetings as a life raft for interacting "face to face" in an era of work-from-home mandates. However, psychological safety can be challenging to create in a virtual environment (Handy, 1995).

Face processing research demonstrates adults recognize faces of their own race better than those of other races (Hugenberg et al., 2010; Meissner & Brigham, 2001). When one looks at their own-race and other-race faces, one varies in the facial features one tends to look at, based on others' ethnic backgrounds (Blais et al., 2008). In a video meeting, attendees' faces appear in a grid similar to the opening to the 1970s television show *The Brady Bunch*. Cash (in Wylde, 2020) argues the practice of staring *simultaneously* [my emphasis] at multiple faces and simultaneously interpreting them puts an unnatural and unsustainable strain on the limbic system as the brain strives to make sense of the visual cues. Cash says video meetings often make it impossible to pick up on nuanced facial cues, and eyes do not meet one another during many video meetings. Graham (2020) maintains people's eyes do not naturally meet because people gaze at their screens, but the camera is usually above the screen. Cash (in Wylde, 2020) maintains those who participate in video meetings are, therefore, unable to experience the limbic resonance felt during in-person meetings. Cash says, "The in-person experience (if we feel safe and cared for) releases a bouquet of neurochemicals in our limbic brains that keeps us

well-regulated emotionally and physiologically" (para. 4). Without that resonance, Cash argues we do not get to feel the satisfaction of being connected or feeling we belong.

Compounding the multiple-face dynamic are problems identified by Murphy (2020) having to do with the underlying engineering that makes video meetings work. Murphy says video images are digitally encoded and decoded, altered and adjusted, patched, and synthesized. As a result, the way they appear to video meeting attendees creates perception gaps below people's conscious awareness. Murphy argues people might become aware of the visual perception gaps whenever they observe other people's faces freeze, blur, or digitally jerk, or hear out-of-synch audio. However, these gaps also happen in milliseconds that the conscious mind does not see but must deal with to create order out of disorder and thus soothe the limbic system.

Humans are highly sensitive to others' facial expressions (Dimberg et al., 2000). Murphy (2020) describes how authentic emotional expressions involve an intricacy of muscle contractions in the face, especially around the eyes and mouth. Murphy maintains that others perceive many of these contractions unconsciously, and those perceptions are integral to how people understand each other and whether they feel psychologically safe. Murphy argues those slight contractions that indicate authentic emotion can disappear in a video meeting due to pixilation, image-freezing, or use of videoconferencing platforms' facial "touch up" settings that smooth over a person's image.

Video meeting technical issues create challenges to performing the natural facial mimicry with which people spontaneously and unconsciously respond to each other (Dimberg et al., 2000). Casting one's eyes away from the screen, away from the camera, might relieve the associated disturbance, the uneasiness, the stress of video meetings by allowing a pause from

hypervigilance to facial cues. But Bailenson (2020) argues looking away from the camera can be read by others as a lack of attention and that concern is why, even while exhausted, one feels compelled to perform a constant into-the-camera gaze.

New Forms of Hierarchical Power Dynamics. In-person conference room meeting settings have a power seat: the head of the table. Video meetings disrupt that social norm; who is in the power "seat" becomes ambiguous. As discussed later in this study, ambiguity is inherently stressful. Harrison (in Morris, 2020) observes in a video meeting of more than two people, the power seat is at the top of the *Hollywood Squares* game-show-style grid of video images, but the platform's algorithm (not the leader) decides who gets that spot. Harrison discovered through his conversations with the people at Zoom how the algorithm makes that hierarchical determination. It does so by order of people's arrival in the meeting, depending on the number of people who arrive, and changes throughout the meeting as people turn their videos off then back on. Harrison suggests the algorithmic seating arrangement alone could significantly change workplace politics as people continue to work from home because those who can manipulate the video medium can distort old ideas about hierarchical leadership.

New Forms of Accomplishment-Striving Stress. The scientific literature on leaders' versus attendees' experiences of accomplishment-striving in video meetings is scant to non-existent, likely due to the recency of the rapid adoption of the medium. Leaders now hold large numbers of video meetings with their teams, thinking doing so will "help keep employees engaged" (Fallan, 2020) while they are otherwise out of sight during the COVID-19 pandemic. Doing so can consume working hours employees need to fulfill their regular job responsibilities.

When meetings consume the hours needed to fulfill one's job responsibilities, it can induce goal-striving conflicts (Rogelberg et al., 2006).

New Forms of Age-Related Stress. A large number of stereotypes exist based on age (Posthuma & Campion, 2007). Smartsheet (2020) suggests among those false assumptions is the notion that working from home might be easier for members of younger generations because they are considered "digital natives." Smartsheet's workforce survey found 75% of the U.S. workforce as a whole feel less connected than they did before the COVID-19 pandemic, and younger workers are especially suffering. Among their findings[1]:

- 95% of Gen Z workers and 93% of Millennial workers reported having a tough time transitioning to virtual work.
- While 60% of surveyed workers said they are now less informed about what is going on in their companies, Gen Z and Millennials said they feel even less-informed (74% and 66%, respectively); this, compared to 53% of Gen Xers and 50% of Boomers.
- 61% of Gen Z and 57% of Millennials indicated their video meeting load is making it hard for them to get work done; 35% of Gen Xers and 26% of Boomers said so.
- 48% of Gen Z and 46% of Millennials indicated that communicating with their colleagues is now more difficult; 35% of Gen X and 36% of Boomers responded as such.
- 50% of Gen Z and Millennials said they find it difficult to get status updates when working from home; 40% of Gen X and 39% of Boomers said the same.

[1] Smartsheet's (2020) findings are presented as they pertain to age groups defined by the Pew Research Center (Dimock, 2019): Generation Z (those born 1996 and after), Millennials (those born 1977 to 1995), Generation X (those born 1965 to 1976) and Baby Boomers (those born 1946 to 1964).

- While 36% of all respondents said it is harder to get the information they need when working from home, 44% of Gen Z and 42% of Millennials indicated so; 33% of Gen X and Boomers said this is the case.
- Though people might see younger workers as generally more tech-savvy, Smartsheet reports 73% of Gen Z and 71% of Millennials are now using "old school" email to track and measure their work, compared to 57% of Gen Z and Boomers.
- Also of interest: Smartsheet found only 19% of all respondents indicated they use phone or video meetings most often to get updates on their projects.

Exacerbated Gender Stress. Organizational expert Spicer (in Kale, 2020, para. 6) says, "We know that males tend to dominate conversations, and with video calls this is often the case." In a video meeting, the leader can choose to have everyone else's microphone muted, thereby nullifying others' opportunities to speak. Women, who are less likely to have the power seat (Warner et al., 2018) are likely to experience this stress. Even with hierarchical power, women are less likely than men to use their power to speak up or interrupt when conversations get uncomfortable (Brescoll, 2012); instead, they are more likely to remain silent in their distress.

New Forms of First Language Stress. Those whose first language is something other than English often rely on visual and sound cues to understand what English speakers say (Hardison, 2005). Video meetings often involve disruptions of these cues: voices can become fragmented, and faces can become blurred or frozen, as previously discussed. Without clear and synchronized sounds and lip movements, those who are less proficient in English can lose the meaning of what others say, causing stress and anxiety (Webster, 2017).

Poncini (2002) argued the choice of language in a virtual meeting serves either to build or to disable group cohesion and "reflects and construes the business relationship between the participants" (p. 354), not just in terms of who can understand what. Language produces or denies a fair playing field for achieving goals. Poncini says language choice can tacitly create a hierarchy of relative power among attendees who might otherwise have considered themselves to be of equal status.

New Forms of Impression Management Stress. Impression management efforts exacerbate today's video meeting stress. While people may use impression management during in-person meetings to influence others' perceptions, their gaze is continually outward, looking at others—primarily at whoever is talking, or whoever one specifically wishes to influence. In video meetings, research shows people spend most of their observation time staring at their *own* faces (Feder, 2020). Observing oneself in such a way is much like staring at oneself in a mirror in that one becomes "hyper-aware of every wrinkle, expression, and how it might be interpreted" (Fosslien & Duffy, 2020, para. 5). The preoccupation with staring at oneself in video meetings is a hypervigilant attempt to ensure one's self-presentation, appearance, and nonverbal behavior continuously conveys what one perceives is expected, and that one's lighting, posture, background, hair, mouth appearance while talking, and nonverbal language seem "good enough" (Lagasse, 2020).

Unintentional, spontaneous nonverbal signals can hamper impression management (Mehrabian & Ferris, 1967). When those signals suggest microinsults, negative assumptions about the performer or negative attributions might follow (Sue et al., 2007). For example, in the U.S., "rolling your eyes" can represent a microinsult in that it signals annoyance, boredom,

disbelief, impatience, or disdain toward another (Blake et al., 2011). In an in-person meeting, someone might roll their eyes while no one else is looking. Thus, the microinsult might be unseen and, therefore, uncommunicated. In a video meeting environment, however, everyone can see such eye-rolling because of the gallery view of attendees' faces on display for everyone else to see during most of or the entirety of the meeting.

Exacerbated Video Meeting Load Stress. Today's video meetings represent an adapted social construct that has not yet settled into the culture. Due to the novelty of widespread video meetings, it seems we do not have a full grasp of the degree of load or strain on workers they represent. Data from the popular press related to the increase in their use, discussed below, provides some clues.

In the first four-month period of 2020, workers in the U.S. experienced explosive growth in video meetings in response to work-from-home mandates (Ramirez, 2020). Consider just one of the many videoconferencing providers serving the U.S., Zoom. As reported by Iqbal (2020):

- In 2019, before the pandemic, Zoom reported approximately 10 million daily meeting participants.
- Three months later, in March 2020, that number grew to 200 million participants.
- One month later, in April 2020, Zoom's number of daily participants shot up to 300 million (Bursztynsky, 2020).

Zoom's exponential growth is reflected in other videoconferencing firms' reports (e.g., Microsoft Teams, WebEx, Skype, BlueJeans). Zoom's numbers indicate global participation (i.e., not just the U.S.) in all forms of virtual gatherings (i.e., not only work meetings). Thus, it is unclear whether workers in the U.S. are engaged in more meetings than Keith's (2015)

previously discussed 56 million estimate. However, it is clear from Zoom's data that the number of people regularly participating in video meetings is far higher than it has ever been and is rapidly increasing. While it appears that scientific studies have not yet explored the stress of camera enabled video meeting load, popular media makes it abundantly clear that video meetings are the "new normal" for work-life now and after the issues related to COVID-19 dissipate (e.g., Boland, 2020; Waksvik, 2020).

A high load of video meetings may contribute to emotional dis-ease that earned a new term: "Zoom fatigue." In the popular press, Skylar (2020) maintains "Zoom fatigue" is not platform-specific; it is also used to describe tiredness from Skype, WebEx, and other platforms. Skylar (para. 4) says the "unprecedented explosion of [video meetings] used in response to the pandemic has launched an unofficial social experiment, showing at a population scale what's always been true: virtual meeting interactions can be extremely hard on the brain."

The new burden of work-related screen time to stay virtually connected while physically distant compounds the challenge to stay "on time" with the body's biological clock. The body's internal timekeeper is oriented toward light and dark to help regulate sleep, mood, appetite, and energy (National Institutes of Health/National Institute of General Medical Sciences, 2020). Popular press maintains the preponderance of video meetings presents a new challenge to that clock: fewer breaks from blue light, such as that emitted from computer screens, which suppresses the hormone that helps people sleep (Gottlieb, 2020).

Work Location Stress. Popular press maintains those who are now working in an isolated fashion (i.e., from home instead of co-located) find themselves working more days and longer hours, keeping their technology continuously humming (Brawner, 2020). This unplanned-for

merging of work and life can infringe on personal boundaries. Home-based workers now show themselves working in spaces where coworkers and customers would not formerly have been allowed. Those spaces include their children's cluttered bedrooms, their overloaded laundry rooms, or their kitchens where their life circumstances are on display (Chen, B. X., 2020, March 18). There are now available a vast array of virtual backgrounds (photographs or short-clip videos that play behind an attendee's head during a video meeting) to mask their personal environment. The preponderance of these virtual backgrounds suggests their use might be rapidly advancing as a new culturally appropriate norm. Yet, there seems to be no hard data to indicate their use relieves the sense of boundary invasion. There are also no hard data to suggest whether these virtual backgrounds produce an uncomfortable disorientation from reality.

While working remotely, a preponderance of video meetings can also purportedly produce physical distress due to a lack of movement. When working in an office with others, one's physical activity can take place throughout the day. Workers walk from their desks to the conference room, from their office to another's office, and make the often lengthy trek from their department to the cafeteria or break room and back, sometimes chatting to passersby along the way. Conversely, working from home, physically isolated, with the kitchen a relatively short distance from the workspace, and using a video screen to connect with others, involves hours of sitting in one place with only periodic intervals comprising a few short steps. Such loss of physical movement creates stress on physical health (Deslandes et al., 2009).

Where people work is also in flux, and that flux increases location-related emotional distress. As the COVID-19 virus curve flattens, then arcs upward, flattens, and arcs again, national dialogue reflects ambiguous predictions about who will return to shared workplaces,

who will remain home, and when those shifts might occur (Prokopeak, 2020). Hsu et al. (2005) describe how humans' neural systems respond to ambiguity by activating the amygdala and the orbitofrontal cortex, which has extensive connections with the limbic system structures involved in emotion. Peters et al. (2017) report as one's cognitive system strives to reduce uncertainty about the future, it faces a critical constraint: cerebral energy. As the brain depletes cerebral energy, it demands extra energy from the body. Peters et al. report that, despite energy consumption, a persistent cerebral energy crisis may develop when the brain cannot reduce uncertainty. When that happens, one's memory becomes impaired—also, the likelihood of atherogenesis, diabetes, and subsequent cardiovascular and cerebrovascular events increases. In short, the inability to resolve uncertainty generates so much stress it affects our mental and physical health.

Given that many workers experience the meetings-related stressors exacerbated by the disruptive life event previously discussed, some workers are affected by additional life stressors specific to their socio-demographics. Though not related to their workplace or meetings, per se, these stressors can compete for the emotional energy required to perform one's work. Following is a discussion of some of these potential stressors.

Marital Status Stress. The word "singlism" refers to stereotyping, stigmatizing, marginalizing, and discrimination against single people. More than 1,000 laws provide overt legal or financial benefits to married people (Arnold & Campbell, 2013). Arnold and Campbell argue unmarried women in the span of their lifetimes can pay as much as $1 million more than married women for housing, healthcare, insurance, and taxes; married men get paid more than single men. In short, the privileges of being married marginalize the roughly 50% of Americans

who are single (Arnold & Campbell, 2013). Thus, single people have less money in savings than married people (Poterba et al., 2013). Fear and worry about one's financial situation or job loss can create stress, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2020, July 1) should savings be inadequate to carry one through until the next job is found.

Household Income Stress. A person's confidence in their ability to perform according to expected outcomes varies inversely with their socioeconomic status (Mirowsky & Ross, 1990; Thoits, 1987). Video meetings add new challenges to that income-performance stressor. Indeed, the pandemic reveals new forms and layers of inequity related to Internet access or lack thereof (Seale, 2020). For example, compromised Internet service and bandwidth are a result from many people staying at home and using the Internet all day (Chen, T., 2020, June 3). If workers cannot afford the highest-speed Internet service available, they may find their voices disrupted by technology, which could thwart success in their attempts at impression management.

Constrained data transfer speeds may require a worker to turn off their camera so that audio comes through more clearly. In such a case, the worker would be unable to provide visual cues to others. Congruent with Mehrabian and Ferris's (1967) findings, their meaning when speaking could be less than fully understood.

Household income also determines whether people can afford support resources that help offset sources of stress. For example, higher-income people might be better able to financially weather a job loss. They might more easily afford nannies to care for children, sitters to care for aging parents, meal delivery to relieve the burden of shopping and cooking, and professional housecleaners to ensure a tidy visual background during video meeting participation.

Young Children in the Home Stress. In the first quarter of 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in more than 1.6 billion children and youth, or 80% of the world's enrolled students, to be out of school (Saavedra, 2020). The World Health Organization (2020) advised parents newly working from home to maintain familiar routines in their daily lives or create new ones. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020, May 10) suggested those routines should include (a) encouraging children to play outdoors, (b) using indoor breaks like stretching or dancing throughout the day, (c) checking in with the school about meal delivery services, (d) picking up meals from the school, and (e) overseeing attendance to virtual classes. In other words, children at home during the day require care. If schools, camps, and other programs formerly performed that care, the duty fell to parents who were suddenly working from home. A comment from a meteorologist at the National Weather Service exemplified the related stress: "For people scheduling meetings via Zoom, please keep in mind that it is NOT easy for those of us with young children at home to free ourselves for such meetings" (Shepherd, 2020, para. 5). The degree of stress from young children in the home may be disproportionately shared, depending on gender. McCarthy et al. (2020) took an in-depth look at mothers working from home; they found that "thriving is out of reach" (para. 9) for mothers working from home because they are trying to balance career and children. According to Brenan (2020), that burden is be worse for women than for men, in part because gender roles still make women primarily responsible for the appearance of the home.

Castle (2020) says, "It was easy enough for the working world to pretend our home lives didn't exist when we were all going into the office." Now, Castle continues, "it's become

painfully obvious that there's a disconnect between our expectations of employees and their bandwidth as human beings."

The stress caused by attempting to work while also completing the added jobs of caretaker, teacher, cook, entertainer, nurse, and tutor remains unresolved. School re-opening dates, re-closing states, educational processes, and schedules remain ambiguous across the U.S. (EdSource, 2020, October 13). As previously discussed, human brains and limbic systems cannot manage long-term ambiguity.

Adult Children in the Home Stress. As adult children found themselves out of work due to the pandemic-related economic recession, and their universities transitioned to virtual learning platforms, adult children moved in with their parents. That movement occurred in such magnitude that by September of 2020, the share of 18- to 29-year olds living with their parents—52%—surpassed that of the Great Depression (Fry et al., 2020). This phenomenon can create additional worker fatigue and stress. For example, the number of adults in the home determines, in part, the amount of shopping for necessary home products and food. In the first half of 2020, that shopping often required waiting in line to enter occupancy-restricted stores.

Additional adults in the home also determines, in part, workers' regular physical contact with others' potentially viral breath droplets. Indeed, while COVID-19 incidence was highest among older adults early in the pandemic, during June through August of 2020, the incidence was highest in those aged 20-29 (Kasai, 2020, August 18).

Elder Parents in the Home Stress. COVID-19 concerns amplify stressors related to home-based eldercare. On March 16, 2020, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported infections among those over 65 to

be particularly deadly; of the U.S. lives lost by that date, roughly 80% were among those aged 65 and older. In response, 32% of assisted living providers ceased admitting new residents (Regan, 2020). Thus, some aging parents needing care moved into their adult children's homes; others, fearing the surging contagion in their eldercare facilities (Regan, 2020), left and moved in with younger relatives (Bhanoo, 2020). Thus, while roughly 40,000,000 Americans provided unpaid elder-care before the COVID-19 pandemic (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019c), that number could now be higher.

Bhanoo (2020) argues maintaining care for aging parents requires tremendous labor to perform challenging and new roles, especially during COVID-19. Those roles can include adult children's help with parents' toileting, bathing, preparing special-diet food, medication dosing, proper handwashing, social distancing, and dealing with cognitive dysfunction due to Alzheimer's disease or other dementia. Bhanoo maintains all of these tasks can be difficult, and some frictions naturally arise between family members, regardless of age.

***Percent of Domestic Labor Responsibility Stress*.** Data published shortly before COVID-19 demonstrate women in the U.S. perform a disproportionate share of unpaid domestic work over their lifetime (Hess et al., 2020). The Institute for Women's Policy Research (Hayes et al., 2020, January 20) analyzed data from the 2018 American Time Use Survey, showing that women's unpaid household and care work averaged 5.7 hours per day compared to 3.6 hours for men. Thus, on an average day, women in the U. S. spend 37 percent more time on unpaid domestic labor than men. The disparity of housework time increases women's perceived time pressure, increases conflicts between work and family, and decreases women's happiness (Baxter & Tai, 2016). Men and women are now both working from home. They might, therefore,

shift the share of unpaid domestic duties. If not, the unequal share might heighten marital discord, and therefore stress.

Sense of Burden of Family/Personal Responsibilities Stress. To understand how COVID-19 era work-family arrangements affect employees, Correll (in Feder-Stanford, 2020) conducted a focus group of 27 corporate and nonprofit leaders. Among the findings: many workers are worried about family or community members working "on the front lines."

Family responsibilities also extend beyond caring for those in the home to those dying or no longer alive. The following excerpt from *The New York Times* makes the case:

> This highly contagious virus has forced us to suppress our nature as social creatures, for fear that we might infect or be infected. Among the many indignities, it has denied us the grace of being present for a loved one's last moments. Age-old customs that lend meaning to existence have been upended, including the sacred rituals of how we mourn. ("An Incalculable Loss," 2020)

Resources

Stressors can be relieved by the resources people bring to deal with them (Aneshensel, 1992). Among them are coping resources, "pre-existing assets" that can be called upon when stress arises (Aneshensel, 1992, p. 18), and cognitive coping characterized by actions a person takes on their behalf to alter the meaning of the stressful situation (Pearlin & Aneshensel, 1986).

Coping Resources. Coping resources "define a potential for action but not an action" (Thoits, 1995, p. 60). Coping resources include social support from others and personal characteristics (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978) as discussed in the following pages.

Social Support. Social support resources are generally provided for a person by significant others, including friends, family members, and coworkers (Thoits, 1995, p. 64). Actions those significant others take that relieve a person's stress can include demonstrations of affection, encouragement, or approval, or behaviors that promote belonging or security (Aneshensel, 1992). Social support can be exemplified by significant others' love and caring, sympathy, and understanding (Thoits, 1995). Johnston (2010) categorized social support behaviors as:

1. Emotional (listening, empathizing),
2. Esteem (confidence, encouragement),
3. Informational (advice),
4. Tangible (taking on responsibilities), and
5. Physical comfort (holding hands, giving hugs).

Experiences of these social support behaviors have changed in response to the COVID-19 environment (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2020, July 1). Dwyer (2020) maintains the COVID-19 pandemic has changed daily life in the U.S. more than did the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on this country. Staunching the spread of the COVID-19 virus pandemic necessitates social distancing and resultant physical isolation (e.g., deprivation of hugs) from friends (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2020, July 15). Thus, I surmise those more likely to receive daily social support are married or otherwise partnered. However, since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, Americans' divorce inquiries to the legal profession

and filings for divorce have increased (Fies, 2020). In sum, regardless of marital status, experiences of friends' and family members' social support have been disrupted.

Social support can also come from coworkers (Thoits, 1995). Kossek et al. (2011) demonstrated supervisors who consistently acted with employees' wellbeing in mind—for example, by listening—were viewed as supportive by those employees. Consistent with Homans' (1961) social exchange theory, Yoerger et al. (2015) found meeting attendees who felt encouraged by a leader mirrored that leader's encouragement; attendees thereby encouraged other attendees.

Actions that promote voice and agency in virtual groups help create a sense of belonging (Staples & Zhao, 2006) thus represent a social resource. Yoerger et al. (2015) found a precondition to perform in ways that promote voice and agency: an environment of psychological safety. In their study of organization employees who regularly attended meetings, Yoeger et al. showed two requirements for attendees to engage in authentic participation. First, attendees perceived the meeting environment as a place where they could voice their relatively unfiltered thoughts and ideas. Second, attendees felt they could do so without fear of negative consequences such as displays of anger, annoyance, or disrespect. Yoerger et al. found that without a safe environment for authentic contribution, attendees' anxiety and excessive worry prevented their genuine participation in meetings. Thus, a safe environment for voice and agency represents a social resource for relieving stress.

Mroz et al. (2018) compared meeting attendees' perspectives about meetings led by either a participative leader or a directive leader. Attendees with a participative leader viewed that leader as warmer and more supportive than meeting attendees who had a directive leader.

The researchers demonstrated that working adults preferred participative leaders over directive leaders across every type of work meeting. When participants perceived the leader heard them, they felt valued and had a greater sense of belonging.

Introvertism/Extrovertism. Personal characteristics that serve coping include people's needs, values, perceptions, resources, and skills (Aneshensel, 1992). This study explores the relationship between stress and one such characteristic related to how a person reacts to their environment: introvertism/extrovertism. As a personality trait, tntrovertism/extrovertism has to do with how people direct their energy, either inward toward self or outward toward others. When introducing the terms introvert and extrovert, Freyd (1924, p. 74) said introverts' thought processes produce an observable tendency to withdraw socially, while extroverts' thinking produces a tendency to make social connections. Where a person falls on the trait continuum can contribute to whether they experience emotional exhaustion or engage in surface acting, as discussed below. Extroverts are not as strongly affected by emotion regulation efforts as are introverts (Gross & Levenson, 1997; John & Gross, 2004; Richards & Gross, 2006; Robinson & Demaree, 2007). Extrovertism also seems to ease the emotional labor burden of surface acting. Judge et al. (2009) found introverted participants perceive surface acting as more strongly related to increased emotional exhaustion and negative affect than extroverted participants. Judge et al. also found introverted participants expend more emotional labor than extroverts and are more likely to experience negative affect from performing surface acting.

Eysenck and Eysenck (1963) argued individuals high in extroversion are generally more outgoing, less inhibited, and more likely to be involved with group activities than introverts. Individuals low in extroversion would rather avoid social situations, such as meetings, in that

they may feel apprehension when expected to explain, confirm, or exchange information (McCroskey, 1977).

Lucas and Diener (2001) found the higher the self-reported extrovertism, the more participants preferred to interact with others in a social environment. Thus, extrovertism can serve as a coping resource in that those who are extroverted might have less fatigue from video meetings than do others more introverted. Lucas and Diener also argued those who are higher in extrovertism draw energy from the outside. Whether extrovertism is a coping resource may be less certain in the video meeting context: it is possible those high in extrovertism find it difficult to draw energy from the "outside" of a computer screen.

McCroskey (1977) associated introvertism with communication apprehension. However, Allen et al. (2014) found the benefits of pre-meeting small talk (the unstructured conversation of topics not necessarily related to the purpose of the meeting) to be perceived as more beneficial by introverted participants than those higher in extrovertism.

Today, there are conflicting views about the relationship between introversion/extroversion personality traits and video meetings. In a BBC interview, the scientist Petriglieri (in Jiang, 2020, para. 8) shared his belief that "The video call is our reminder of the people we have lost temporarily. It is the distress that every time you see someone online, such as your colleagues, that reminds you we should really be in the workplace together." Petriglieri (para. 8) continues, "What I'm finding is, we're all exhausted. It doesn't matter whether they are introverts or extroverts. We are experiencing the same disruption of the familiar context during the pandemic." Petriglieri's view is consistent with that of Erks et al. (2017), whose study suggests general emotional affect is related to emotional exhaustion from meetings. Petriglieri's

view is, however, contrary to the findings of Judge et al. (2009) who study showed introversion/extroversion traits moderated meetings-related emotional exhaustion.

Cognitive Coping. Cognitive coping is a strategy one can use to manage specific situational demands perceived as taxing or beyond one's ability to adapt (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Cognitive coping involves a person's attempts at altering the meaning of their situation (Pearlin & Aneshensel, 1986; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Research indicates cognitive coping is gender-differentiated: Milkie and Thoits (1993) found men have a more stoic style than women in responding to stress, are more likely to control their emotions, accept the problem or avoid thinking about it.

Meaning-Making. How people psychologically construe, understand, or make sense of the events in their lives, their relationships, and themselves is at the heart of meaning-making. The term is used to describe how people cognitively imbue their situations with meaning and apply order to that which they experience (Basseches, 1997; Carlsen, 1988; Dorpat & Miller, 1992; Drath & Palus, 1994; Ignelzi, 2000, p. 5; Kegan, 1980, 1982; Mackay, 2003; Neimeyer, 2009; Neimeyer & Raskin, 2000; Rosen & Kuehlwein, 1996). The exploration of meaning-making in this pandemic-era of loss is particularly appropriate: psychological clinicians and their patients often employ it as a strategy to make sense of bereavement, to help people feel less distressed, and be more resilient when experiencing a loss (e.g., Calhoun & Tedeschi, 2006; Davis et al., 2012; Webster & Deng, 2015).

Resources Protection. Conservation of resources theory (Hobfall, 1989) suggests people are motivated to acquire and protect their resources. Resources include the things one values, including states and conditions (Halbesleben et al., 2014) such as energy. In meetings, counter-

productive behaviors can represent a threat to these resources (Allen et al., 2015b). Investing too much of one's resources at work can lead to problems at home (Grandey & Copranzano, 1999). Conversely, having sufficient resources can reduce one's involuntary compulsion to conserve them (Hobfall, 1989).

Research Questions

In light of the review of the literature discussed in this Chapter, this study explores the three questions. These questions guide the formation of hypotheses in the study, the selection of variables for examination, the research method, and the analysis which are all addressed in subsequent chapters.

The first research question is: How does emotional exhaustion relate to workers' load of camera-enabled video meetings or the surface acting they perform in those meetings? The second: How do coping resources relate to emotional exhaustion? The third and last research question is: How is cognitive coping associated with emotional exhaustion?

Literature Review Summary

The mass movement to remote work puts a tremendous human and technology strain on people, taxing their physical and mental wellbeing, and perhaps permanently changing the way we work (Hill & Jacobs, 2020, March 29). As previously introduced, the pandemic's disruptive life event includes work-from-home mandates, resultant social distancing from work colleagues, and school closures that bring children out of school and into the home during the work day, and unpaid-care responsibility of elders moving into the home. Many are experiencing the demands of working remotely at recently crafted home-based workstations while, at the same time, attending to their children's daylong needs for educational instruction and general childcare.

The rapidly adopted work-from-home context can bring new stressors and exacerbate others previously experienced in face-to-face meetings. Literature indicates those stressors contribute to emotional exhaustion, which coping resources and cognitive coping can ameliorate. As such, this study explores three research questions. The first investigates how emotional exhaustion relates to video meeting load and surface acting in video meetings. The second considers how coping resources relate to emotional exhaustion. The third examines how cognitive coping is associated with emotional exhaustion.

Chapter III, immediately following, details the hypotheses associated with the research questions. Chapter III also provides discussion of the methods used in the study, the research design, the sample selection, the data collection procedures, variables and measures, and the analyses' plan.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

Chapter II provided a review of the literature that supports the research questions in this study. The organization of Chapter III is thus: an introduction to the hypothesis in the study, then a discussion of the research design, followed by participant sample selection, data collection procedures, variables and measures, and the data analysis plan.

Study Hypotheses

The three research questions introduced in Chapter II guided the formation of hypotheses and selection of variables for study.

Research Question 1

How does emotional exhaustion relate to workers' load of camera-enabled video meetings or the surface acting they perform in those meetings?

Hypothesis 1. Stressors related to emotional exhaustion include (a) camera-enabled video meeting load and (b) surface acting.

Research Question 2

How do coping resources relate to emotional exhaustion?

Hypothesis 2. Coping resources negatively related to emotional exhaustion include (a) personal social support and (b) extrovertism.

Research Question 3

How is cognitive coping associated with emotional exhaustion?

Hypothesis 3. Cognitive coping in the forms of meaning-making and resources protection are positively or negatively associated with emotional exhaustion as follows:

1. When people perceive video meetings as useful to themselves, emotional exhaustion is lower.
2. When people perceive the number of video meetings is more than enough to accomplish their job, emotional exhaustion is higher.
3. When people perceive the energy required for family, household, and personal responsibilities competes for the *energy* needed for their work, emotional exhaustion is higher.
4. When people perceive the time required for family, household, and personal responsibilities competes for the *time* needed for their work, emotional exhaustion is higher.

I next discuss the methods by which I studied the hypotheses.

Mixed Methods

This study design reflects a concurrent dominant quantitative with a nested qualitative approach. While "recognized as the third major research approach" (Johnston et al., 2007, p. 112), the use of mixed methods is relatively new to scientific research. The approach originated in the 1980s in diverse scientific areas, including evaluation, education, management, and sociology. Subsequently, it underwent development stages that reflected philosophical debates, procedure clarifications, and arguments for and against its use (Creswell, 2014). In 2011, Creswell and Plano Clark outlined those mixed methods developmental stages; they discussed how, during the methodology's emergence near the end of the 20th century, different terms described the approach (e.g., integrating, multimethod, mixed methodology, synthesis). Scholars

(e.g., Bryman, 2006; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010) now use the phrase *mixed methods* to refer to a combination of quantitative (i.e., closed-ended) and qualitative (i.e., open-ended) data.

Methodological Fit

This study's use of mixed methods fits with Creswell's (2014, p. 215) argument that the approach allows a more robust examination of hypotheses than would be possible through the collection of one form (i.e., closed-ended or open-ended) of data alone. The use of mixed methods also fulfills my desire to: "study what interests and is of value to you, study it in the different ways you deem appropriate, and use the results in ways that can bring positive consequences within your value system" (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998, p. 30). Chapter I positions the value of such to me and workplace society at large. Generating a deeper understanding of video meeting fatigue, stressors, and coping might inform new meeting structures that can provide some respite from emotional exhaustion. Chapter II reviews the scholarly literature regarding video meetings as a social construct embedded in other social and cultural contexts. What happens in them is shaped and constrained by those contexts and, in turn, shapes and informs those contexts; the use of mixed methods in this exploratory study aids in understanding that complexity. The application of mixed methods allows me to gather and then compare quantitative and qualitative data that, as Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argued, will produce comprehensive insights beyond those I can achieve using a single method approach.

Design

This study used an anonymous online survey questionnaire. The design provided an efficient means by which respondents could produce qualitative data that address the research

questions and hypotheses in this study and open reflections to further explain the quantitative findings.

The design was particularly appropriate given the novel pandemic-related stressors on workers' daily lives discussed in Chapter II. I decided other design options, such as participant diary-keeping, as used by Thomas et al. (2019) when studying surface acting, or researcher-conducted interviews (such as Grandey's 2003 emotional exhaustion study) would be especially overly burdensome to participants during a pandemic. Given the societal stressors permeating the U.S. culture at the time of this study, as discussed in Chapter II, a more time- and energy-efficient design was required for participants to provide data.

The literature demonstrates surveys are a well-respected and often-used design in social research. Researchers commonly use surveys to assess thoughts, opinions, and feelings (Shaughnessy et al., 2011). Evans and Anil (2018) argued electronic surveys administered via the Internet have several advantages for the production of quality research, including:

- **Flexibility:** The use of logic control design allows question-skipping, thereby saving participants' time.
- **Quality:** Invalid responses can be restricted, thereby enabling data quality.
- **Speed, timeliness, and convenience:** A researcher can reach potential participants quickly and easily, virtually anywhere at any time, and participants can respond when most convenient to them. This speed, timeliness, and convenience are specially made possible due to the significant number of people who now access the Internet (thus surveys) via their smartphones.

- **Large samples:** A researcher can obtain many participants at a much lower cost than the time and labor expense of distributing postal mail or conducting telephone surveys.

Online Survey Questionnaire Design. I designed the online survey questionnaire (for brevity and convenience, here forward referred to as "survey") to avoid placing an undue burden on participants' time and cognitive energy. For example, I could have asked participants to (a) recall their video meetings the previous week and; (b) parse their responses to; (c) reflect perceptions only of those with three or more people in attendance (congruent with Schwartzman's 1986 definition of a meeting.) Doing so, however, would have been unduly mentally burdensome for participants. Therefore, in the survey design, I did not include the "three or more people" condition in the definition of video meetings. Instead, the survey content reflected the following:

> A video meeting is a same-time gathering for work where you are not physically co-located with the other people attending and use the video-streaming function of a virtual meeting platform, such as Zoom or Skype, to display yourself on camera for most or all of the meeting.

Important note: For the remainder of this study's the phrase "video meeting" reflects the definition provided in the survey.

Participant Anonymity. The survey guaranteed participant anonymity and privacy of data collection. SurveyMonkey® protects user logins via Transport Layer Security, ensuring the transport of encrypted data and preventing it from being modified or replayed. SurveyMonkey's secure platform transmits data over a secure HTTPS connection and stores respondent

information in SOC 2 accredited data centers. SOC 2 accreditation reflects adherence to security, privacy, confidentiality, processing, and technology-availability best practices. I disabled the platform's option to collect IP addresses: collecting IP addresses was not valuable to this study because it was unlikely any participant would be interested in completing the survey more than once and I offered no reward for their doing so.

Anonymity was particularly useful to this study because respondents are more likely to admit undesirable attitudes (e.g., negative thoughts about one's employer) when provided anonymity (Monette et al., 2011). Therefore, survey items did not collect identifying information, such as participant names or employer names. Congruent with an anonymous-response design, Facebook's messenger application was not among the social media channels chosen to solicit participants since SurveyMonkey cannot turn off the collection of Facebook Messenger respondents' first and last names.

Risks to Participants. The study design did not present any apparent risks to participants beyond those associated with everyday work life. The survey enabled simple, quick, and easy completion, congruent with Datta's (1997) principles for pragmatism and to ensure no undue burden on participants' time and energy. Participation was entirely voluntary, without any duress, coercion, and without any offer of compensation or other rewards for participation. My recruitment efforts did not solicit direct or indirect employees of my firm. I thereby ensured completely voluntary participation without coercion, duress, or implicit reward.

The design also allowed participants to contribute as much or as little qualitative data as they were inclined to do. In that way, I provided participants with agency and voice opportunities without overtaxing them in the process.

There was a chance that asking people to focus on their experiences with video meetings and related exhaustion might create distressing awareness. For example, participants might have become more aware of how video meetings contributed to their feeling tired or the emotional benefits they gain from video meetings. Such increased awareness did not represent an apparent risk to the participant; however, the end of the survey presented participants with an 800-telephone hotline number and a text contact for professional resources should they want to talk about thoughts or feelings that emerged from participating in the study.

Mixed Methods Survey Content. Among the quantitative items in the survey, I used those from three validated scales: one measuring emotional exhaustion, another measuring surface actin, and a third measuring introvertism/extrovertism. Those items were from:

- The emotional exhaustion subscale of the Maslach Burnout Inventory – General Survey (Schaufeli et al., 1996);
- The scale used by Grandey et al. in their (2005) surface acting study (which includes items from Brotheridge and Lee's [2003] scale); and
- Two items from the Gosling et al. (2003) Ten Item Personality Indicator scale (the two items that measure introversion/extroversion).

Additional quantitative items measured socio-demographic characteristics, video meeting stressors, coping resources, and cognitive coping. Those items are discussed later in this chapter.

The survey design reflected an ordered prioritization of closed-ended items related to the essential control variables and the independent and dependent variables, followed by less essential variable closed-ended items. I nested five open-ended questions between the items

measuring essential and less-essential variables and included a sixth open-ended question at the end of the survey.

Open-ended questions were designed to gather perspectives related to participant perceptions about emotional exhaustion, video meetings stressors, coping resources, and cognitive coping. These items were designed, congruent with Johnson and Onwuegbuzie's (2004) argument, to produce comprehensive insights that closed-ended items could not adequately capture. Survey items will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Participant Sample

This study used convenience sampling. A convenience sample is when the participants are a group of people easy to contact or reach. A convenience sample is a nonprobability sample because it does not provide a good representation of the entire population to which the hypotheses might apply. However, it is useful in studies (such as this one) when participant randomization is impossible because the relevant population is too vast (Etikan et al., 2015).

Convenience sampling enabled rapid pilot testing, expedient subsequent design revisions, and the implementation of data collection in a short period. Speed was particularly useful given the ever-changing nature and impact of pandemic-related stressors on potential participant recruits.

Pilot Testing

Fifteen pilot participants tested the initial survey design. I recruited these pilot participants via a group email to my academic network and through one-on-one cellphone texts to selected members of my professional network. Some of the potential pilot participants were

familiar with the study and its intent; others were not. Pilot testing provided participant anonymity. Figure 3.1 depicts a sample of my pilot participant recruitment texts.

Figure 3.1

Sample Text for Pilot Participant Recruitments

The pilot version of the survey included open-text fields wherein those testing the design provided their feedback regarding the survey's design and content. Based on that feedback, I made subsequent revisions, which resulted in a final survey design comprising 44 questions and requiring approximately 10 minutes to complete. For a complete list of the final design survey items and their sequence, see Appendix A.

Study Participant Recruitment

My recruitment efforts aimed to generate a sufficient number of volunteer participants and quality responses in the shortest amount of time possible to discover the relationships between variables discussed later in this Chapter. I recruited participants using three strategies, listed here in order of their implementation:

1. I sent approximately 300 one-to-one emails to my personal, professional, and scholarly networks. I sent these emails using either my business or educational email

account (depending on my relationship with the person), requesting their participation in the research.

2. I posted announcements on my social media accounts. I limited the social media channels to LinkedIn and Twitter. For anonymity purposes, and for reasons previously discussed, I did not recruit participants through Facebook's messenger application.
3. Some social media contacts, in turn, unmotivated by implicit or other rewards, reposted my announcements to their networks.
4. I used Linked In's messaging system to send one-to-one recruitments messages to potential participants.

All recruitment efforts provided potential participants with a brief description of the study, a promise of participant anonymity, and a link to the survey hosted on Antioch University's SurveyMonkey platform. Figures 3.2 through 3.4 depict samples of my recruitment strategies.

Figure 3.2

Sample Participant Recruitment Email

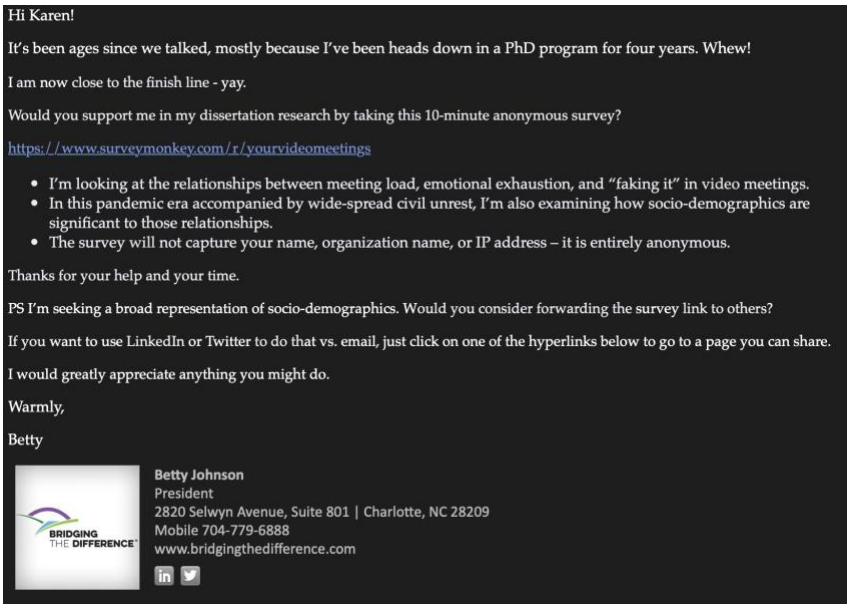


Figure 3.3

Sample Participant Recruitment Social Media Posting

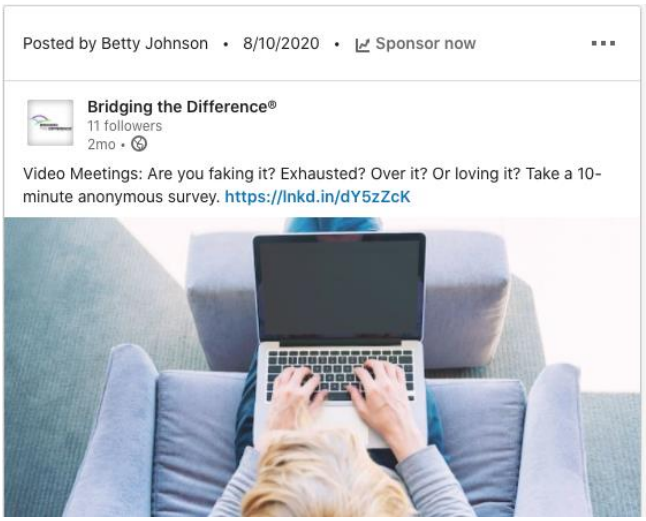
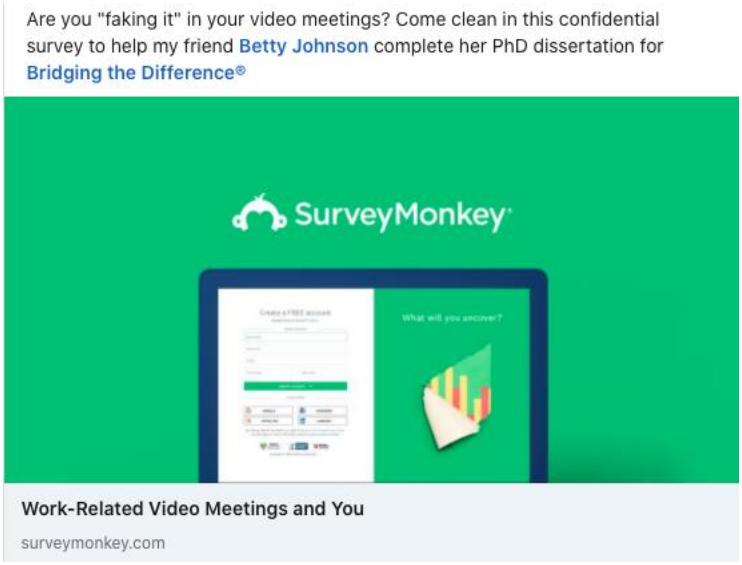


Image used with with licensed permission from storyblocks.com.

Figure 3.4

Sample Social Media Reposting



Informed Consent

Upon clicking the link to the survey, participants were presented with further details and provided the opportunity to consent to participate. Informed consent occurred through the SurveyMonkey platform. Appendix A includes the consent language. Participants were unable to advance to subsequent survey items without first indicating their consent to participate in the study and attesting they were 18 years of age or older.

Data Collection

A convenience sample of 430 respondents completed the online survey over two consecutive weeks in mid-August 2020. Given the sufficiency of the number of responses to explore this study's hypotheses, I then closed online access to the survey to additional interested recruits.

Qualified survey respondents were:

1. Working adults aged 18 and older who;
2. Over the previous week, worked at least 20 hours for a U.S.-based organization, and;
3. Worked at least some of those hours from a virtual (i.e., not colocated) site where they;
4. Led or attended at least one video meeting the previous week wherein they displayed themselves on camera for most, if not all, the meeting's duration.

Quantitative Data Cleaning

I exported raw response data from SurveyMonkey into an Excel spreadsheet. In the Excel file, I performed data cleaning, which began with assigning an identifying number to each of the 430 respondents. Step two in data cleaning was transferring all qualitative data to a separate Excel sheet, where it remained unexamined until preliminary quantitative analysis was complete. Quantitative data cleaning proceeded with removing extraneous fields from the spreadsheet and scrubbing response data from 85 participants due to insufficient or missing responses. Among those scrubbed from the data set were:

- Three respondents who declined consent.
- Twenty who failed to meet the requirement of working at least 20 hours for a U.S. based organization the prior week.
- Ten who failed to meet the requirement of at least some portion of remote work.
- Twenty-four who failed to meet the requirement of, during the previous week, attending or leading a video meeting as defined in the survey.
- One who failed to respond to socio-demographic control variable items.

- Twenty-seven who failed to respond to independent variable scale items, leaving their participation insufficient to discover the relationships enumerated in the hypotheses.

After data cleaning, a final quantitative data respondent sample (n = 345) remained from the original sample of 430.

Data Preparation for Quantitative Analysis

Data preparation began with assigning acronyms to represent each quantitiative item in the survey and giving numeric codes to each item's response options. Preparation advanced to the import of Excel data to IBM's SPSS program, where I constructed variables for measurement, conducted those variable measures, ran correlations, tested for collinearity, and calculated descriptive statistics in preparation for conducting regression analyses to test the study's hypotheses.

Emotional exhaustion was the dependent variable in this study. Video meeting load and surface acting as *stressors* were independent variables. Other independent variables concerned *coping resources*, including potential sources of social support and extrovertism. Additional independent variables examined *cognitive coping* in the forms of meaning-making and emotional resources protection. Cognitive coping variables included:

- Meeting sufficiency in both frequency and number of hours.
- Meeting usefulness.
- Camera autonomy.
- The extent to which family, personal, or household demands compete for work time or work energy.

Control variables consisted of 19 socio-demographic characteristics. Table 3.1 depicts these variables along with the dependent and independent variables measured in the study. Table 3.1 includes the measurement for each variable and is organized according to its association with this study's hypotheses.

Table 3.1

Dependent and Independent Variables Among the Study's Hypotheses

Variable	Form of Measurement
Dependent variable in all hypotheses	
Emotional exhaustion	7-pt. Likert sub-scale items from Maslach Burnout Inventory – General Survey (Schaufeli et al., 1996)
Hypothesis 1 independent stressor variables	
Video meeting days in previous week	7-pt. interval scale item
Video meeting hours in previous week	12-pt. Likert scale item
Surface acting	5-pt. Likert scale items adapted from the Grandey et al. (2005) scale
Hypothesis 2 independent coping resources variables	
Social support from another adult in the home	5-pt. Likert scale item
Nonwork video gathering hrs. in previous week	12-pt. interval scale item
Nonwork video gathering days in previous week	7-pt. interval scale item
Extrovertism	7-pt. Likert scale items from the Gosling et al. (2003) TIPI scale
Hypothesis 3 independent cognitive coping variables	
Meeting sufficiency: frequency	6-pt. Likert scale item
Meeting sufficiency: hours	6-pt. Likert scale item
Meeting usefulness	5-pt. Likert scale item
Camera autonomy	5-pt. Likert scale item
Personal demands compete for work time	4-pt. Likert scale item
Personal demands compete for work energy	4-pt. Likert scale item
Control variables	
Employment status	Dichotomous scale item
% of remote work	12-pt. interval scale item
Video meeting attendance	Dichotomous scale item
Gender	Multiple-choice item
Age	12-pt. Likert scale item
Race/ethnicity	Multiple-choice item
First language	Multiple-choice item
Marital status	Multiple-choice item
No. of children under age 18 in the home	11-pt. interval scale item
% of unpaid childcare labor responsibility	12-pt. interval scale item
No. of other nonspousal adults in the home	6-pt. interval scale item
No. of adult children in the home	6-pt. interval scale item
No. of elder parents in the home	6-pt. interval scale item
% of unpaid eldercare labor responsibility	12-pt. interval scale item
% of unpaid household labor responsibility	12-pt. interval scale item
Industry	Multiple-choice item
Job role	Multiple-choice item
2019 household income	9-pt. interval scale item
Expected income change in 2020	5-pt. Likert scale item

The following discussion justifies the forms of measurement I used (listed in Table 3.1) and describes the variables' construction, following the order in which variables are listed in Table 3.1. The linguistic design of the survey items measuring the variables, and the order in which the survey items appeared to participants, are shown in Appendix A.

For each variable discussed below, I computed and examined index scores, descriptive statistics (including frequencies), measures of central tendency, and variance, along with skewness and kurtosis. All scaled variables were within normal ranges..

Dependent Variable: Emotional Exhaustion

As discussed in Chapter II, socio-demographic differences permeate U.S. culture and society and produce stress at work. Some studies examining socio-demographic characteristics and stress at work (e.g., Erks et al., 2017) used the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson et al., 1988) to make comparisons of work-related emotional affect over time (e.g., from the current moment to the past week or month). Other measures of emotional affect at work include the Job-Related Affective Well-Being Scale (Van Katwyk et al., 2000), the Job Affect Scale (Brief et al., 1988), Warr's (1990) measure of anxiety-contentment and depression-enthusiasm, and Daniels' (2000) measure of affective well-being. Today, however, if the popular press is to be believed, emotional affect is pervasively stressed. As Tsaousides (2020, para. 2) says, "There is nowhere to hide, as every corner of our cities, states, and nations has been covered by the cloak of a disease whose weight is overbearing and its impact crushing on all aspects of life." As discussed in Chapter II, situations formerly compartmentalized as work or life and talked about as a balancing act are, for many, now happening all in one time and

space—the home. Thus, I deemed any of the above-cited general affect scales that might have been useful to this study to be less relevant.

Society and culture are in an unprecedented global crisis. While workers might have unprecedented stress and exhaustion levels, they might also have good days and bad days (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2020, May 19). Thus, I anticipated participants were unlikely to have a stable, general affect, or mood. Therefore, in addition to using a scale to measure emotional exhaustion related to work, I included 19 socio-demographic control variables (discussed later in this section). These are variables the literature review in Chapter II suggests might also bear weight on exhaustion levels.

I measured this study's dependent variable, emotional exhaustion, using the emotional exhaustion subscale from the Maslach Burnout Inventory – General Survey (Schaufeli et al., 1996), here forward referred to as the EE-MBI-GS. The EE-MBI-GS is a good fit for this study for three reasons:

1. It has strong reliability. Schaufeli and Buunk (1996) demonstrated the subscale's test-retest reliability after one year was 0.65.
2. It has been used in studies to show strong relationships with job demands and emotional resources (e.g., Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Wheeler et al., 2011).
3. It has been validated for use with general work populations and has been used with these groups by many researchers, including Iwanicki and Schwab (1981), Leiter and Schaufeli (1996), Richardsen and Martinussen (2005), Schaufeli et al. (2002), and Schutte et al. (2000).

The nine-item EE-MBI-GS measures feelings of being emotionally overextended and exhausted at work. Responses to each item on a frequency scale result in total-score ranges of none, low, moderate, and high. The items ask participants, “How often do you … ” followed by a series of statements such as “feel emotionally drained from work.” Respondents used a 7-point frequency scale ranging from never to every day. Higher scores correspond to a more significant experience of emotional exhaustion than do lower scores. The nine items comprising the emotional exhaustion scale (Schaufeli et al., 1996) were factor analyzed for validity in this sample and tested for reliability. The nine items factored into a single dimension; each item had a strong loading (.70 and higher, and the Cronbach’s alpha = .91). The results appear in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

Results From Factor Analysis of the Emotional Exhaustion Scale

Factor	Factor Loading 1
emotionally drained from work	.803
working with people a strain	.718
used up at end of workday	.798
tired in the am to face another day	.814
burned out from work	.881
frustrated by job	.793
working too hard on job	.734
people stress me	.659
end of my rope	.806

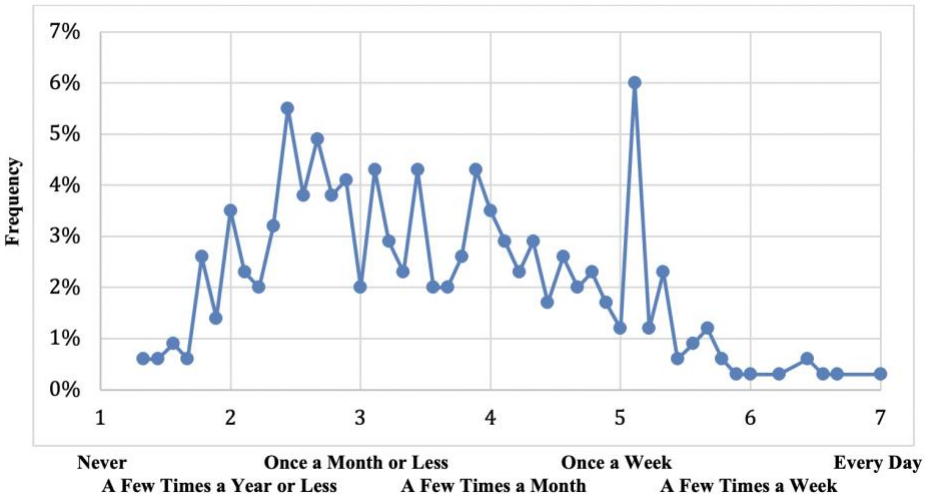
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
1 components extracted.
Cronbach’s alpha =.91

SPSS software calculated emotional exhaustion scores by summing then averaging for each participant the nine items in Table 3.2. Though M = 3.45 for the sample (i.e., falling roughly midway between emotional exhaustion once a month or less, to emotional exhaustion a few

times a month), percentage spikes across the distribution show, the most considerable frequency of responses were near the once-a-week mark. Figure 3.5 depicts the response distribution for the emotional exhaustion scale.

Figure 3.5

Response Distribution for Emotional Exhaustion



Independent Stressor Variables

Two stressor variables measured in this study are related to video meeting load: video meeting days the previous week and video meeting hours the previous week. These items are consistent with Luong and Rogelberg's (2005) definition of meeting load as the frequency and time spent in meetings. Thus, together, these two variables comprised video meeting load. A third stressor variable, surface acting, was also measured. Following is a discussion of each of these stressor variables. In this discussion, I include justifications for forms of measurement and descriptions of how I constructed the variables.

Video Meeting Load. As discussed in Chapter III, previous studies have shown the statistical significance of meeting load in general in relation to measures of meeting effectiveness and exhaustion. This study collected data regarding video meeting load through two items. The first, a 7-point interval scale item consisting of numeric options one through seven days, asked participants to estimate the *number of days* (i.e., frequency) they attended video meetings the previous week. The median was 5 days and the mean was 4 days (standard deviation = 1.5). The second item asked participants to estimate the total hours (i.e., time) they spent in video meetings the previous week using an interval scale of 3-hour ranges, spanning from "less than 1 hour" to "39-42 hours."[2] The median category reflected "11 to 14 hours" and the mean represented a value of 12.5 hours (standard deviation of 2.5 categories represented 7.5 hours).

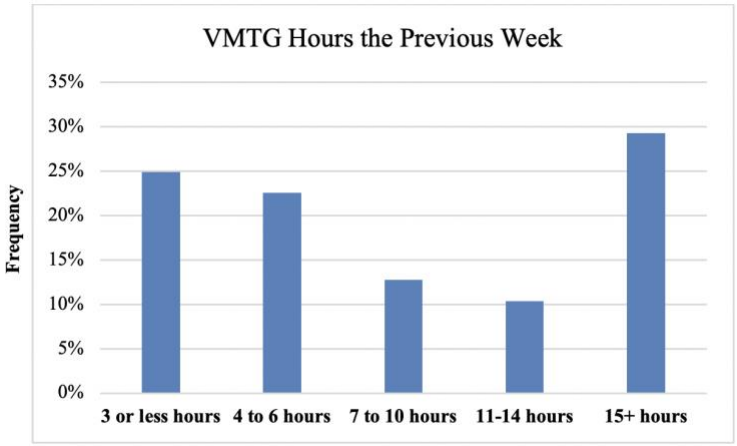
The two items measuring meeting load were found to be collinear in this sample. When two variables are collinear, a solution is to keep one variable and omit the other. While some argue there is no statistical reason to choose one over the other (Field, 2018, p. 668), Blaikie (2003) advised a researcher retain the variable that makes the higher contribution to the model (p. 295). I, therefore, kept the variable with greater theoretical relevance to the construct of video load—hours spent in video meetings in the previous week—because it better captured that construct compared with the omitted variable (number of days with a video meeting the previous week.) The choice to retain the hours variable was further justified because, at the bivariate level, it had a slightly stronger relationship to the dependent variable and, in regressions, accounted for slightly more variance in the dependent variable than the omitted variable.

[2] Response options included: 1-3 hours, 4-6 hours, 7-10 hours, 11-14 hours, 15-18 hours, 19-22 hours, 23-26 hours, 27-30 hours, 31-34 hours, 35-38 hours, 39-42 hours, and more than 42 hours.

For analysis practicality purposes, I reassigned responses to the 12-point interval scale that measured the number of hours variable to five categories. Responses indicating less than one hour (3.5%) and 1-3 hours (21.4%) in video meetings the previous week came to comprise the category "3 hours or less." Response categories indicating 4-6 hours (12.4%), 7-10 hours (12.8%), and 11-14 hours (10.4%) in video meetings the previous week remained as categorized initially. All other responses to the survey item measuring video meeting hours came to comprise the category "15 or more hours." As justification for this recategorization: only four of the original 12 interval responses had frequencies higher than 10%. Figure 3.6 demonstrates the response distribution (n = 345) across the five categories.

Figure 3.6

Response Distribution for Video Meeting Load



Surface Acting. In this study, I adapted scale items from Grandey et al. (2005) to measure surface acting. (Three of those items originally appeared in Brotheridge and Lee's [2003] Emotional Labour Scale.) The Grandey et al. scale was a fit for this study due to its established validity when testing employees from a variety of occupations: through principal

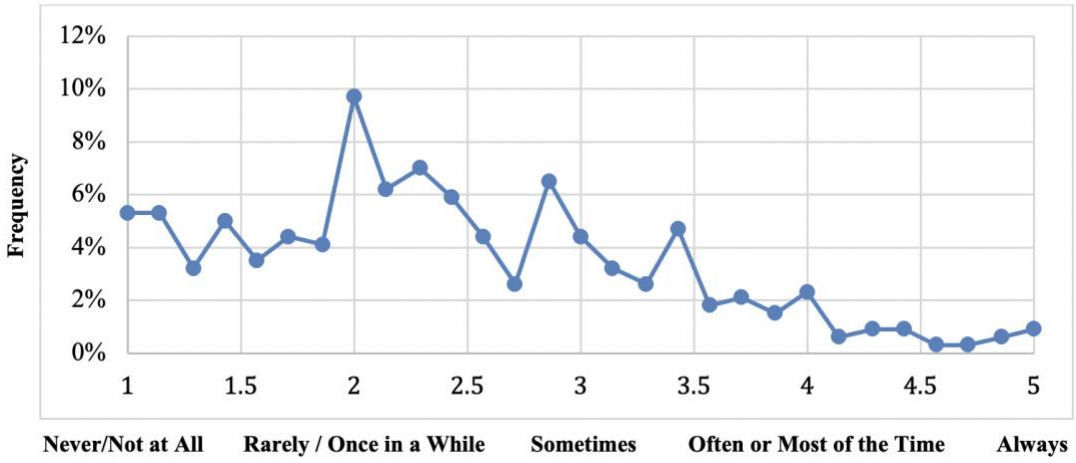
components analysis (PCA), Grandey et al. (2005) demonstrated these scale items comprise a single factor with an eigenvalue > 1.00, high loadings, and internal consistency with a Cronbach's alpha reliability of $\alpha = .89$ in a U.S. sample, and $\alpha = .83$ in a French sample. The choice of this scale is consistent with, though not precisely the same as, other researchers' studies of work meetings and surface acting (e.g., Diefendorff et al., 2005; Shanock et al., 2013) that used different combinations of scale subsets published by Grandey (2003) and Brotheridge and Lee (2003).

The seven-item surface acting scale (adapted from Grandey et al., 2005) asked participants, "In your video meetings where you showed yourself on camera over the last full work week, how much of the time did you … "[3] followed by a series of statements, such as "put on an act in order to deal with others in an appropriate way" and "fake a good mood." Participants responded to items in the surface acting measure using a Likert frequency scale ranging from 1 ("never / not at all") to 5 ("always / constantly"). SPSS software summed then averaged responses to all the surface acting items. Those calculations resulted in scores that ranged from 1 to 5, with a mean of 2.4 (standard deviation .9) and a median of 2.3. The mean fell roughly midway between surface acting "rarely / once in a while" to surface acting "sometimes." The response distribution of averaged scores shown in Figure 3.7 demonstrates very few people in this study's sample perceived themselves to be surface acing often or always. This finding was promising for workplace culture. It was also surprising because the literature reviewed in Chapter II suggests surface acting to be a far more prevalent practice than demonstrated in this study's sample. See Figure 3.7 ($n = 345$).

[3] The introductory statement was adapted from that presented in Grandey et al. (2005).

Figure 3.7

Response Distribution for Surface Acting



Independent Coping Resources Variables

This study measured *coping resources* and their relationship to video meetings and exhaustion. Three variables represented personal social support; one pertained to such support from an adult in the home, two pertained to nonwork video gathering load. (One item measured the variable of *day*s with such gatherings, the other measured the variable of *hours* in such gatherings). Also, extrovertism was considered a coping resource and therefore measured.

Nonwork Video Gathering Load (Days and Hours) the Previous Week. The study measured nonwork video gathering load because these gatherings (such as virtual medical appointments, virtual classroom attendance, or social "happy hours") might influence the relationships between the dependent and independent stressor variables in this study. I measured nonwork video gathering load similarly to the way I measured video meeting load.

A multiple-choice item asked participants the number of days (i.e., frequency) they spent in such gatherings the previous week to, for example, meet with their doctor or socialize with

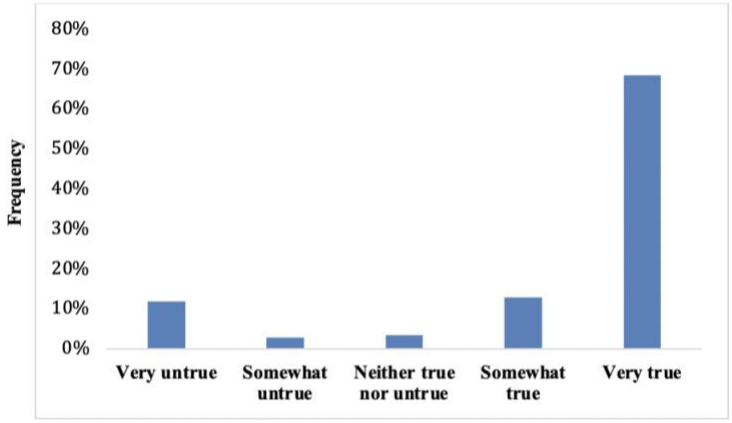
friends or family. The median and mean were 1 day per week with a standard deviation of 1 day. A second item asked participants to estimate the total hours (i.e., time) they spent in such gatherings the previous week using a frequency interval scale ranging from “less than 1 hour” to “35 to 38 hours” in 3-hour-increment categories. The median and mean gathering hours were “1 to 3 hours” in the last week (with standard deviations of 1 day per week and 3 hours per week). After testing the potential importance of these variables in their relationship with emotional exhaustion, including combining them with video work meeting days and hours (to explore whether social time in video meeting adds to overall video meeting load), I found them nonsignificant as unique predictors. They did not add to work-related video meeting load variables in explaining emotional exhaustion. I, therefore, dropped both variables related to nonwork video gatherings from further analyses.

Social Support From Another Adult in the Home. As discussed in Chapter II, social support serves as an essential coping resource in the stress and coping model. Empirical evidence supports its significance (e.g., Aneshensel, 1992; Johnston, 2010; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978; Thoits, 1995.) The actions that significant others take can help relieve a person’s stress. Those actions can include affection, encouragement, approval, or behaviors that give a sense of belonging or security (Aneshensel, 1992). They can have to do with the individual’s perceptions of “love and caring, sympathy and understanding” (Thoits, 1995, p. 64). Due to COVID-19 social isolation and work-from-home mandates, I surmised these actions were likely to be experienced in the home. Therefore, a 5-point scale item prompted participants to gauge the truthfulness of the statement, “In my household, there is another adult who gives me affection, encouragement, or approval, or acts in ways that help me feel secure” (adapted from Aneshensel,

1992). Scale responses ranged from “very untrue” (coded 1) to “very true” (coded 5). In the response sample (n = 333), the median was 4.23 (somewhat true). However, the vast majority (66%) said this was “very true” for them, and only 15% responded either “very untrue” or “somewhat untrue.” Figure 3.8 depicts the response distribution for this scale.

Figure 3.8

Response Distributions for Receive Social Support From Another Adult in the Home

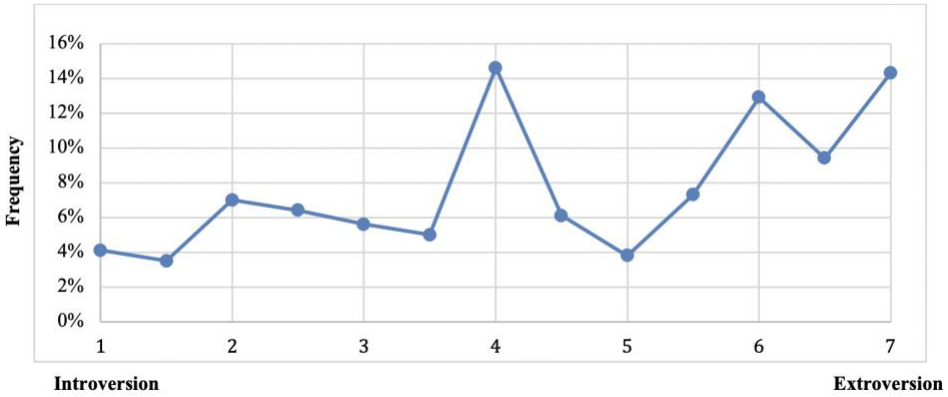


Extrovertism. Two items extracted from the Gosling et al. (2003) Ten-Item Personality Indicator (TIPI) provided a self-report of introvertism/extrovertism. Development and evaluation of the TIPI scale reflected an intention to offer an option to researchers who faced the dilemma of using lengthier, standard five-factor personality assessments (e.g., Big Five) or, for efficiency, forego such measurement. In their evaluation of the TIPI compared with widely used Big Five measures, Gosling et al. found a convergence correlation of .87, test-retest reliability of .72, and external correlation patterns exceeding .90. The TIPI is less reliable than the standard Big-Five measures. However, its scale items for introversion/extroversion were adequate for this study’s purpose, as they were in the study conducted by Allen et al. (2014) on meeting communications.

This study's participants responded to the prompt "I see myself as … ," followed by the items "extroverted, enthusiastic" and "reserved, quiet" (Gosling et al., 2003, p. 525) using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (agree strongly). Scoring involved: (a) scoring the first item, (b) reverse-scoring the second item, (c) totaling the two scores, then (d) averaging them in a single score of introversion/extroversion. Higher scores reflect greater extrovertism. In this sample (n = 345), the median was 4.5, and the mean was 4.6 (standard deviation = 1.8). The frequencies across the distribution depicted in Figure 3.9 show the highest proportions of participants scored as ambiverted (i.e., at the mid-point) or extroverted (at the far end) of the 7-point scale.

Figure 3.9

Response Distribution for Introvertism/Extrovertism



Independent Cognitive Coping Variables

People psychologically construe, understand, or make sense of the events in their lives, relationships, and themselves, cognitively imbuing their situations with meaning and lending order to their experiences (Park & Folkman, 1997). Five additional independent variables had to

do with how participants thought about (i.e., cognitively copied with) their experiences related to video meetings. Those cognitive perceptions involved meaning-making about:

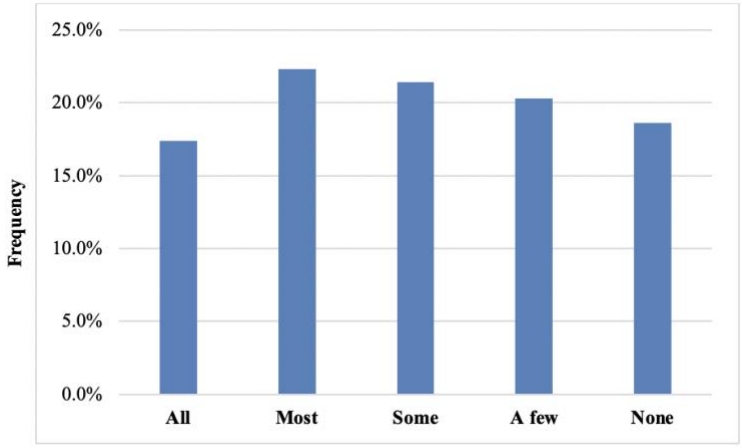
- Their freedom to choose whether to have their camera on or off in video meetings.
- The sufficiency and usefulness of video meetings for the participant.
- The extent to which the participant's family, household, and personal responsibilities competed for the necessary time or energy to do their jobs successfully.

A discussion of the five variables related to cognitive coping follows here.

Camera Autonomy. Autonomy (control over decisions) is one of six aspects of the work environment that can, when there is a mismatch with one's personal needs, require emotional labor. (I discuss the findings of Maslach et. al [2001] that support this concept in Chapter I.) Therefore, a survey item prompted participants to indicate the percentage of video meetings the previous week in which they felt they could freely choose to turn off their camera without fear of negative repercussions. Responses options ranged along a 5-point scale from "all of them" (coded 1) to "none of them" (coded 5). Higher scores reflected a greater lack of camera autonomy. In the sample (n = 345), the mean was 3.0. Distributions, as shown in Figure 3.10, illustrate a roughly even response distribution. Thus, while 40% of respondents perceived they could freely choose to turn their cameras off in "all" or "most" meetings, the remaining 60% felt they could *not* freely choose to turn their camera off (in "some," "a few," or "all" of their meetings). See Figure 3.10 (n = 345).

Figure 3.10

Response Distribution for Percent of Meetings With Camera Autonomy



Sufficiency of Video Meetings the Previous Week. As discussed in Chapter II, when meetings consume working hours necessary for employees to fulfill their regular job responsibilities, accomplishment-striving stress can ensue (Rogelberg et al., 2006). Similar to video meeting load, sufficiency variables had to do with the extent to which the number of days (i.e., frequency) of, and number of hours (i.e., time) in video meetings the previous week matched with participants' time and energy needs to accomplish their overall job responsibilities. Meeting sufficiency was measured using a two 6-point Likert scale items with responses ranging from "not enough" to "way too many." 4 The first item questioned the extent to which the number (i.e., frequency) of video meetings the prior week were sufficient to accomplish their overall job responsibilities. The second item questioned the extent to which the total hours spent in video meetings the preceding week were sufficient.

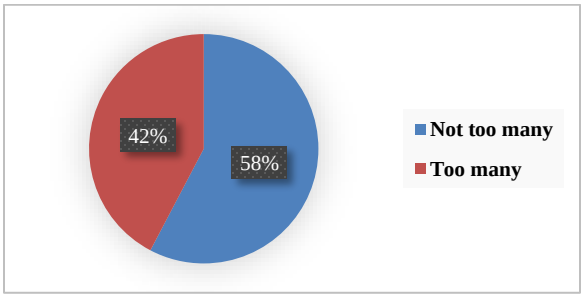
[4] Response options included: not nearly enough, almost enough, enough, more than enough, too many, and way too many.

Because I had removed the variable measuring video meeting load as the number of days due to collinearity, I, accordingly, pulled the variable measuring the sufficiency of days with video meetings. This action left the sufficiency of hours variable as the sole measure of sufficiency in further analysis.

From this sufficiency of hours variable, I created a dummy variable. The dummy variable permitted me to compare the responses among participants who perceived their time spent in video meetings was beyond sufficient to do their job. Using this dummy variable comparison, I saw a total of 42% of participants who, together, responded their video meetings the previous week were: “more than enough” (26.4%), “too many” (11.6%), and “way too many” (4.3%). I compared that 42% with the 58% of participants who, together, responded their video meetings the previous week were: “not nearly enough” (1.7%), “almost enough” (3.5%), and “enough” (53%). Based on this comparison, I reassigned scale responses to the sufficiency of hours item from the six original responses to the two categories “too many” and “not too many.” Justification for this recategorization was the frequencies among some of the original categories were less than 5%. Response distribution among the recategorized options, depicted in Figure 3.11, graphically shows the data’s story. Of the total sample (n = 345), a substantial proportion of respondents perceived the hours they spent in video meetings the previous week were too many to fulfill their overall job responsibilities.

Figure 3.11

Response Distribution for Sufficiency of Video Meeting Hours the Prior Week



Usefulness of Video Meetings the Previous Week. Stress can come from a mismatch between a person's needs, values, or perceptions compared with their external conditions (Aneshensel, 1992). As an external condition, an attendee will perceive whether a video meeting is useful or not useful to themself. I surmised that a match between that perception and their needs might ease video meetings-related stress.

The item measuring this variable asked participants to consider to what degree they found their video meetings the prior week to be useful to themselves. Responses to the 4-point scale item ranged from "not at all useful to me" (coded 1) to "extremely useful to me" (coded 5).[5] The median response was 2.3 "very useful to me."

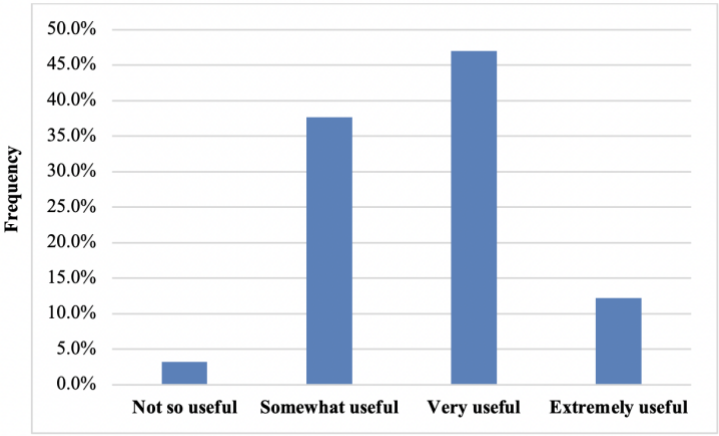
In the distribution of responses, it is promising for workplace society and culture that 0% of the sample (n = 345) found their video meetings the previous week to be "not at all useful to me." On the other end of the scale, only 12% found them "extremely useful to me." The vast majority of respondents found their video meetings the previous week to be either very or somewhat useful to themselves. While 47% of respondents perceived their video meetings the

[5] Response options included: extremely useful to me, very useful to me, somewhat useful to me, not so useful to me, and not at all useful to me.

preceding week to be very useful to themselves, this item revealed a troubling result: roughly 38% of respondents found their video meetings the previous week to be only somewhat useful to themselves. See Figure 3.12.

Figure 3.12

Response Distribution for Usefulness of Video Meetings the Prior Week



Personal Demands Compete for Work Time and Energy. Discussions in Chapters I and II demonstrate work and life responsibilities no longer occur in two separate spheres. People once referred to "work-life balance": that can now be a minute-by-minute juggling act, with life responsibilities presenting fierce competition for work energy and work time. As discussed in Chapter II, on an average day, women in the U.S. spend 37% more time on domestic labor than men (The Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2020). However, many men in the U.S. have transitioned to home-based virtual work.Therefore, this study's interests made it essential to determine the extent to which family, household, and personal responsibilities competed for the time or energy participants needed to perform their jobs successfully.

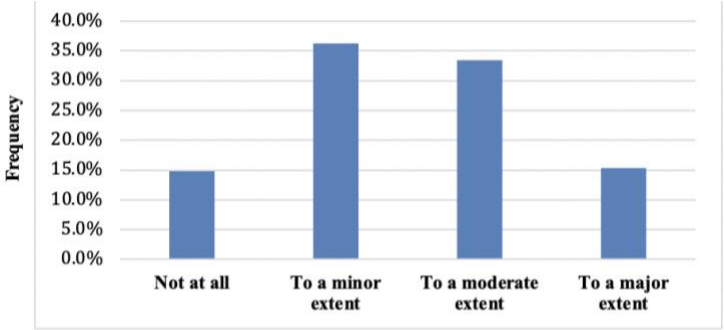
The items prompted participants to gauge how much, since March 2020 (i.e., the onset of U.S. wide response to the pandemic), their family, household, and personal responsibilities competed for (a) their energy and, (b) in a separate item, their time they needed to do their job successfully. Participants responded to the two measures using a 4-point scale[6] ranging from "not at all" (coded 1) to "to a major extent" (coded 4). For both items, the median response was "to a minor extent" (*M* = 2.50 for the time-related item and M = 2.34 for the energy-related item.) But fully 49% (roughly half) reported their family, household, and personal responsibilities compete for their work energy to a "moderate" or a "major" extent, and 40% said the same regarding their work time.

Correlation analyses and collinearity diagnostics that made use of variance inflation factor (VIF) statistics in initial regression models identified collinearity of two variables: family, household, and personal demands compete for work *time*, and family, household, and personal demands compete for work *energy* in predicting emotional exhaustion. Removing the variable related to work *time* from further analyses and retaining the variable related to work *energy* served to resolve the collinearity issue. The choice to retain the energy-related variable was due to its slightly stronger relationship with emotional exhaustion and because it accounted for slightly more variance in the dependent variable. Response distributions for the energy variable are depicted in Figure 3.13.

[6] Scale response options included: not at all, to a minor extent, to a moderate extent, and to a major extent.

Figure 3.13

Response Distributions for Personal Demands Compete for Energy



Control Variables

The study collected data related to 19 control variables. Three control items ensured respondents met minimum conditions for inclusion in this study's analysis. Those three control variables were: (a) employment status, (b) percent of remote work, and (c) video meeting attendance the previous week. The three items measuring these variables used skip-logic such that, if the minimum condition was unmet by a respondent, the survey presented a thank-you exit page. Here begins a discussion of the measurements of the remaining 16 control variables.

Employment Status. I measured employment status with a yes or no response item asking whether the participant worked at least 20 hours the previous week for a U.S. based organization. This item ensured respondents met a minimum condition for inclusion in the study, while also ensuring relevance for the first language variable. Those who responded "no" were presented with a thank-you exit page.

Percent of Remote Work. I measured the percent of virtual work using a 12-point interval scale that asked participants what percent of their work during the previous week took place from their home or another remote location distant from their coworkers. Those who

responded “0” were exited from the survey. Responses reflected: 100% remote work (73.6%), 91-99% remote work (8.1%), and 81-90% remote work (6.7%). Responses to all other categories represented from .3% to 2.3% of the sample (n = 345). In sum, “100% remote work” was the only the response option that garnered more than 10% of total responses. As such, while useful for verifying participants’ remote work status, because there was little variation in this measure, the variable was not useful for analyses other than describing the sample and was therefore extracted from further analysis.

Video Meeting Attendance. I measured particition in video meetings by using a yes or no response item asking whether, in the prior week, the participant either led or attended a video meeting as defined in the survey. Those who responded “no” were automatically exited from the study via a thank-you page.

Twelve of this study’s 19 control variables represented personal socio-demographics. As discussed in Chapter II, these personal socio-demographics can relate to a general degree of emotional exhaustion. They can inform beliefs about how people must “show up” in a video meeting, and the stress involved in trying to do so or experiencing others not conforming to such expectations. Therefore, gender, age, race/ethnicity, first language, marital status, the number of children under age 18 in the home, the percent of the work performed to care for these children, the number of other nonspousal adults in the home, the number of adult children in the home, the number of elder parents in the home, the percent of eldercare labor responsibility for these parents, and the percent of other unpaid household labor responsibility in the home (e.g., house cleaning, cooking, doing laundry) served as control variables. In the following pages, I discuss the forms of measurement for these variables.

Gender. Gender was measured by a multiple-choice item that offered the following response options: woman, man, genderqueer or nonbinary, agender, or other. The "other" option provided an open text field in which respondents could self-identify gender in a manner of their choosing. All qualified participants (n = 345) indicated either "women" (74%) or "man" (26%); no participant responded to any of the other options provided. Given the composition of the sample, I coded responses to this item "women" (coded 1) or "man" (coded 0).

Age. I measured this variable with an open text item that included the prompt, "What is your age*?"* Responses ranged from 23 to 77 years of age, with a median and mean age of 49. Due to the broad range of responses to this item, I formed responses into "career stage" categories that served as a proxy for age in further analyses. Early career represented ages 18 to 39 (coded 1). Mid-career represented ages 40-59 (coded 2). Late career represented ages 60 and older (coded 3).

Race/Ethnicity. I measured this variable using a multiple-choice item with eight response options (see Appendix A). Whites comprised 78% of the sample (n = 345). Black/African American (10.1%), Hispanic/LatinX (4.3%), Asian (1.7%), and multiracial/multiethnic (.3%) comprised the remainder of the sample. Due to the relatively low portion of responses in the sample to options other than "White," for purposes of further analysis, I created a "non-White" category (coded 1) to represent all responses other than white (coded 0).

First Language. I measured this variable using a single item with two response options: "English" and "other, please specify." The "other" option provided an open-text field in which participants could respond in a manner of their choosing. 93.9% of respondents indicated their

first language was English. 2.2% indicated Spanish. Other self-identified first languages were Chinese, Farsi, French, German, Hindi, Kikuyu, Korean, Russian, Telegu, and multiple languages, which, in sum together, comprised 3.9% of response data. Because only 6% of this sample indicated their first language was something other than English, I recategorized responses as “not English” (coded 1) and “English” (coded 0).

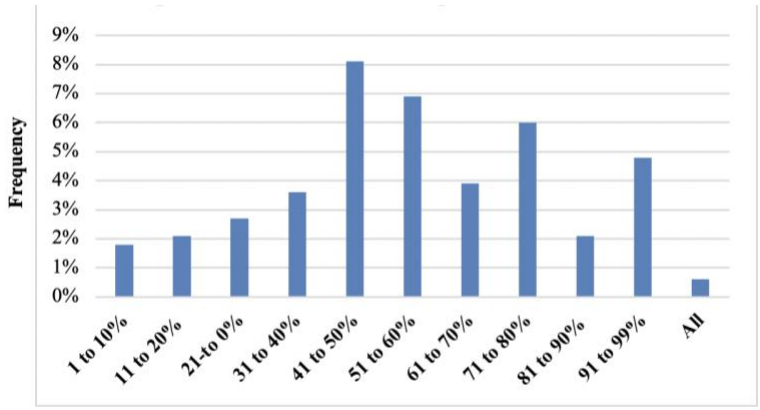
Marital Status. A multiple-choice item measured this variable with seven response options (see Appendix A). 74.8% of respondents indicated they were married. Divorced (11.3%), single / never married (7%), single but cohabitating with a significant other (3.5%), widowed (1.4%), separated (1.2%), and domestic partnership or union (.8%) responses comprised the remainder of the sample (n = 345). Because only 21% of this sample indicated they were not in a significant domestic partnership (married or otherwise), I sorted responses to this item into two categories: “partnered” (coded 1) and “unpartnered” (coded 0).

The Number of Children Under Age 18 in the Home. A 10-point interval scale measured this variable with single-digit intervals of 0 (coded 0) to 10 or more (coded 11.) The distribution of responses (n = 332) to this item was: no children (57.2%), 1 child (18.4%), 2 children (19.9%), 3 children (3.3%), 4 children (.9%), and 5 children (.3%). Other response options garnered no response. Thus, those with children under age 18 in the home comprised less than half the sample. Within that less-than-half was little variance between the frequencies of one child under 18 and two such children. Frequencies for other response options were slim to none. To aid further analysis, I, therefore, recategorized the responses to this item into two categories: “no children “ (coded 0) and “one or more children” (coded 1).

The Percent of Unpaid Childcare Labor Responsibility. SurveyMonkey presented the item measuring childcare labor responsibility only to participants who indicated at least one child under age 18 in the home. (The remainder of the participants advanced to the next item in the survey sequence. For the arrangement of survey items, see Appendix A.) I measured the childcare variable using a 12-point interval scale with responses ranging from 0% (coded 0) to 100% (coded 12). The distributions of responses held potential importance for the study, given that studies demonstrate women perform a disproportionate share of unpaid domestic labor (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2020). See Figure 3.14 for the distributions for both genders in the sample who responded to this item (*n* =142).

Figure 3.14

Response Distributions for Percent of Unpaid Childcare Labor Responsibility



The Number of Other Nonspousal Adults in the Home. A 6-point interval scale measured this variable with single-digit intervals of 0 (coded 0) to 5 or more such adults (coded 6). Of the total responses to this item (*n* = 331), frequencies were: "none" (76%), "one" (15%), "two" (6%), three (2%), and four (.3%). Given the sample size's alignment for this item and the

following two variables that provided detail about who those adults were (i.e., adult children and elder parents), I dropped this variable from further analysis.

The Number of Adult Children in the Home. SurveyMonkey presented the item measuring the number of adult children in the home only to participants who indicated at least one nonspousal adult in the home. (The remainder of the participants advanced to another item in the survey sequence. For the arrangement of survey items, see Appendix A.) A 6-point interval scale measured this variable with single-digit intervals of 0 (coded 0) to 5 or more adult children in the home (coded 6). Responses to this item (n = 79): 33 participants indicated none, 33 indicated one, 11 indicated two, and two participants indicated three adult children in the home. Due to the low frequency of respondents indicating at least one adult child in the home (n = 47) compared to the total sample (n = 345), I removed this variable from further analysis.

The Number of Elder Parents in the Home. SurveyMonkey presented the item measuring the number of elder parents in the home only to participants who indicated at least one nonspousal in the home. (The remainder of participants advanced to the next item in the survey sequence.) Responses to this item (n = 80): 65 participants indicated none, 10 indicated one, and five indicated two elder parents in the home. Due to the low frequency of respondents indicating at least one elder parent in the home (n = 15) compared to the total sample (n = 345), I also removed this variable from further analysis.

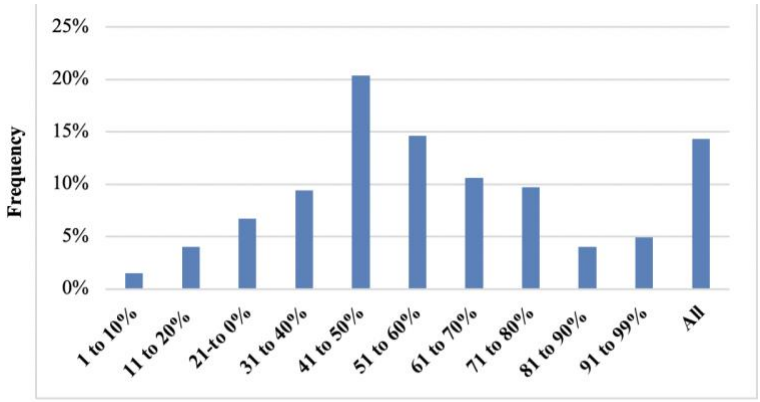
The Percent of Unpaid Eldercare Labor Responsponsibility. SurveyMonkey presented the item measuring the percent of eldercare responsibility only to participants who indicated at least one elder parent in the home. As with the childcare variable, a 12-point interval scale measured eldercare responsibility, with responses ranging from 0% (coded 0) to 100%

(coded 12). Unpaid eldercare labor responsibility for the 15 respondents who indicated one or more elder parents in the home ranged from 9.1% to 27.3%. However, because only 15 respondents reported having elder parents in the home, the variable measuring percent of responsibility to care for those parents was insufficient for further analysis, and therefore dropped.

The Percent of Unpaid Household Labor Responsibility. This variable, which gathered data about domestic labor such as house cleaning, cooking, and doing laundry, was measured in the same manner as other forms of unpaid domestic work (i.e., childcare and eldercare): using a 12-point interval scale with responses ranging from 0% (coded 0) to 100% (coded 12). The bell curve distribution of responses (n = 329) for this item were sufficient for retaining for further analysis. See Figure 3.15.

Figure 3.15

Response Distributions for Percent of Unpaid Household Labor Responsibility



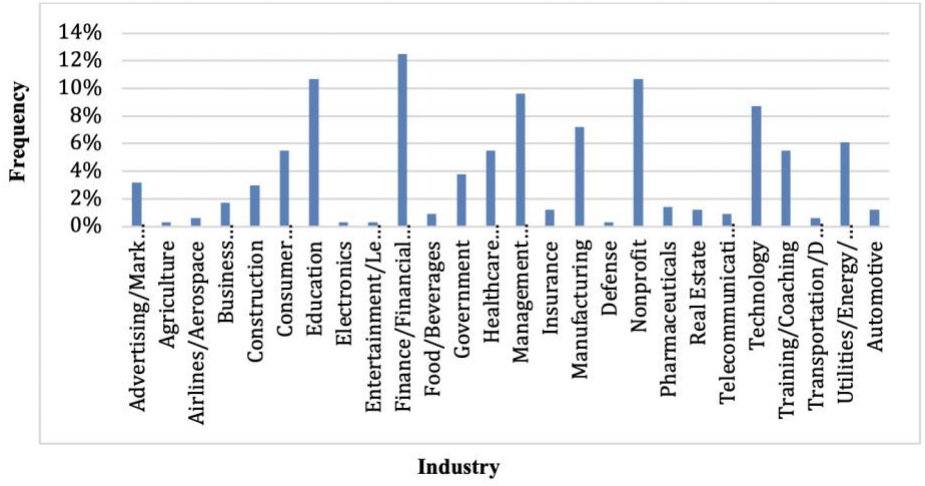
The remaining four control variables among the 19 measured in the survey represent work-related socio-demographics. They included: industry, job role, 2019 household income,

and expected household income change in 2020 compared to 2019. Following is a discussion of the forms of measurement and composition of the samples.

Industry. This variable was measured using a multiple-choice item. Response options representing a complete list of the 1,514 standard industry classifications (SICCODE, para. 7) would have been impractical. I chose to adhere to this study's intention of avoiding undue participant burden. Therefore, the item measuring the industry variable prompted participants to select, from among 26 options, the industry that best described the organization for which they worked. I chose those 26 because they mostly represented the industries of those in my personal, professional, and scholarly network (who were potential recruits for the convenience sample.) As shown in Figure 3.16, response distributions indicated no single industry represented more than 13% of the sample (n = 345).

Figure 3.16

Response Distributions for Industry



The industry variable was thus useful for verifying a cross-sector sample. However, because of the wide distribution of industries represented among response data, the variable was of no further use and therefore dropped from further analysis.

Job Role. This variable was measured by a multiple choice-item that provided nine options[7], including an "other, please specify" open-text response field. I conducted a preliminary examination of response frequencies for the sample (n = 345). In doing so, I quickly found that meaningful analysis of this variable's effect on the dependent and independent variables would be impractical, if not impossible, due to the broad range of job-type responses to the "other" open-text response field. Therefore, I needed to develop a role typology to recategorize the responses to carry them forth in further analyses. To create this typology, I examined participant response data across all the socio-demographic fields. I made a "best guess" about the relative power, autonomy, and job security reflected in each response. The resulting role-type hierarchy included the following role types: "support staff" (lowest code in the order), "manager," "contractor/small business owner," senior manager," "advanced professional," or "C-level/executive" (highest code in the order). The bullets that follow present the frequency for each role type in the sample (*n* = 345), the types' composition based on inferences I made, and the survey responses assigned to each type.

- "Support staff" (*n* = 82, or 24% of the sample, and coded 1) included roles I perceived likely to have relatively low power over others, low autonomy to do things their way, and medium job security. The support staff role type included the

[7] Reponses options in the survey included: individual contributor, manager, senior manager, vice president, executive/C-level, owner/partner, consultant, intern, and other, please specify.

following survey responses: individual contributor; intern; executive assistant; researcher; scientist; learning and development specialist; associate; graphic designer, and; trainer.

- "Manager" (*n* = 50, or 15% of the sample, and coded 2) included roles I perceived (based on industry) likely internal to a larger organization (i.e., not a small business), and likely to have relatively medium power over others, low autonomy to do things their way, and medium job security. The manager type included the following survey responses: manager; project manager; administrator; manager/VP in the financial services, finance, or insurance sectors, and; associate professor.
- "Contractor / small business owner" (*n* = 52, or 15% of the sample, and coded 3) included roles I perceived (based on industry and income) likely external to a large organization, an advisor or supplier to organizations or people, and likely to have relatively low power over others, high autonomy to do things their way, and low job security. The contractor / small business owner type included the following survey responses: consultant/freelancer; owner/partner with household income under $200,000; owner/partner in the training/coaching industry, and; owner/partner acting as a contributor.
- "Senior manager" (*n* = 85, or 25% of the sample, and coded 4) included roles I perceived likely to have relatively high power over others, medium autonomy to do things their way, and high job security. The senior manager type included the following survey responses: senior manager; VP in sectors other than financial services, finance, or insurance sectors; faculty; educator; professor; director; senior

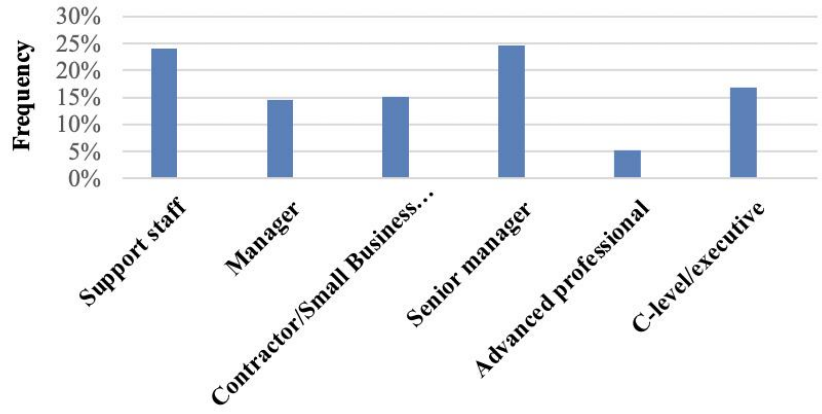
director; regional director and; managing director in industries other than management consulting.

- "Advanced professional" (*n* = 18, or 5% of the sample, and coded 5) included roles I perceived to have relatively low power over others, high autonomy to do things their way, and high job security due to their expertise and career-moveability. The advanced professional type included the following survey responses: owner/partner in the management consulting sector with household income over $200,000; board member; private banker, and; senior wealth advisor.
- "C-level/executive" (*n* = 58, or 17% of the sample, and coded 6) included roles I perceived to be internal to an employing organization, with high power over others, high autonomy to do things their way, and high job security. The C-level/executive type included the following responses: executive/C-level, executive director, and principle.

Figure 3.17 shows the response distributions for the role typology for the entire sample (*n* = 345).

Figure 3.17

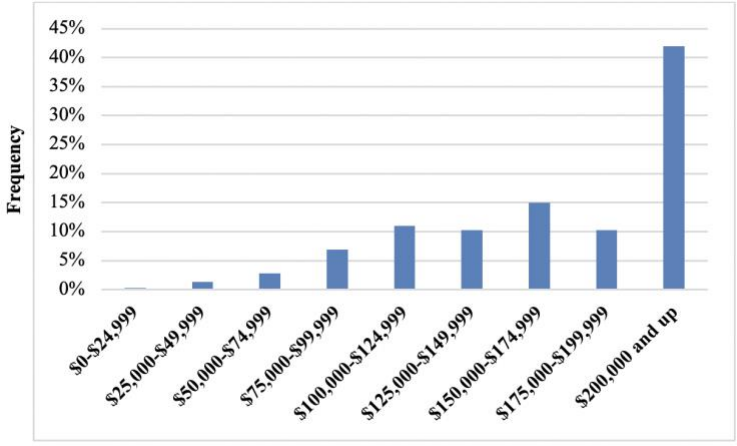
Response Distributions for Role Type



2019 Household Income. I measured participants' previous year household income using a 9-point interval scale with response options ranging from "$0-$24,999" (coded 1) to "$200,000 and up" (coded 9). The mean score for the sample (n = 319) was 7.2, or an annual 2019 household income range of $150,000 to $174,000. Figure 3.18 shows the response distributions for this variable.

Figure 3.18

Response Distribution for 2019 Household Income



Expected Household Income Change in 2020 as Compared to 2019. A 5-point Likert scale item measured this variable with responses (n = 329) ranging from “much less” (coded 1) to “much more” (coded 5). Response distributions were: “much less” (5.5%), “somewhat more” (21%), “about the same” (52.9%), “somewhat more” (18.8%), and “much more” (1.8). Because of the small frequency of responses on either end of the scale, I recategorized responses to this item into two categories: “don’t expect lower income” (74% of the responses, coded 0) and “expect lower income” (26% of the responses, coded 1).

Descriptive Statistics

Table 3.3 provides the number (*n*) of respondents to items measuring each variable retained for analysis. The table indicates the mean (*M*) response, the percentage result (%) of categorical responses, the standard deviation (*SD*) of the responses, and the lower limit (*LL)* and upper limit (*UL*) values of the response options for each variable measured.

Table 3.3

Descriptive Statistics

Variable	*n*	%	*M*	*SD*	*LL*	*UL*
Control variables						
Gender (women)	345	73.6				
Age (years)	345		49	10.36	23	77
Race/ethnicity	345					
White		78.0				
Non-white		22.0				
First language	345					
English		93.9				
Not English		6.1				
Marital status	345					
Partnered		79.1				
Unpartnered		20.9				
Career stage	345		2.01	.60	1	3
Early career		17.7				
Mid-career		63.8				
Late career		18.6				
No. children < 18 in home	332		.43	.50	1	2
None		57.2				
One or more		42.8				
% unpaid childcare labor responsibility	142		7.08	2.50	2	12
No. other nonspousal adults in the home	331		.77	.78	0	3
None		75.8				
One		16.0				
Two		6.3				
Three		1.5				
Four		0.3				
No. of adult children in the home	79		.77	.78	0	3
None		41.8				
One		41.8				
Two		13.9				
Three		2.5				
% household labor responsibility	329		7.50	2.68	2	12
Job role	345					
Support staff		23.8				
Manager		14.5				

Variable	*n*	%	*M*	*SD*	*LL*	*UL*
Contractor / small business owner		15.1				
Senior manager		24.6				
Advanced professional		5.2				
C-level executive		16.8				
2019 household income	319		7.2	1.94	1	9
2020 income change	329		2.91	.83	1	5
Do not expect lower income in 2020		73.6				
Expect lower income in 2020		26.4				
Dependent variable						
Emotional exhaustion	343		3.45	1.14	1.33	7
Independent variables						
Stressors						
Surface acting	341		2.40	.914	1	5
Video meeting load	345		4.48	2.55	1	12
Coping						
Extrovertism	342		4.57	1.83	1	7
Sufficiency of video meeting hours	345		3.56	.96	1	6
Usefulness of video meetings	345		2.32	.73	1	4
Camera autonomy	345		3.00	1.37	1	5
Social support from adult in home	333		4.23	1.37	1	5
Personal demands compete for work energy	331		2.50	.93	1	4

Bivariate Correlation of Variables for Study

Table B1, presented in Appendix B, presents the results of bivariate correlation of all variables related to the hypotheses and considered worthy of inclusion in regression analyses. I discuss regression analyses in Chapter IV.

Summary of Quantitative Data Preparation and Descriptive Statistics

As demonstrated in Table 3.3 and the data preparation discussions in this chapter, this study's convenience sample was mostly female, white/Caucasian, partnered (married or otherwise), with English as their first language. The average age was mid-career. As shown in Figure 3.17, they worked in jobs distributed in a bell curve across the role-type hierarchy. On

average, respondents had few if any children under 18 in the home, though roughly a quarter of respondents had at least one *adult* child in the home. On average, respondents performed a little more than half of the unpaid household labor in their homes. Their average 2019 annual household income ranged between $150,000 and $174,000 (as depicted in Figure 3.18), and, on average, they expected their 2020 income to be somewhat less or remain about the same.

Participants in this convenience sample, on average, felt emotionally exhausted once a month to a few times a month and, as shown in Figure 3.7, most engaged in surface acting either rarely, once in a while, or sometimes. On average, respondents were somewhat extroverted, but not overly so (as demonstrated in Figure 3.9). On average, they spent seven to ten hours in video meetings the previous week, found those meetings to be more than enough to accomplish their overall job responsibilities, and thought the video meetings they attended the preceding week were useful to themselves.

This study's participants perceived they had, on average, the autonomy to at least sometimes freely choose to turn off their camera in their video meetings the prior week, without fear of any negative repercussions. On average, this sample felt it was "somewhat true" that they experienced affection, encouragement, approval, or other social support acts from another person in the home. On average, they perceived their family, household, and personal demands competed to a minor or moderate extent for the energy necessary to do their work successfully.

These quantitative data give insights into the convenience sample population. It is useful to keep these insights in mind when considering the hypothesis testing results discussed in Chapter IV. Before turning to those results, I describe my qualitative data preparation efforts..

Data Preparation for Qualitative Analysis

Given the magnitude of social and cultural stress during the COVID-19 pandemic, this study needed to include means for participants to express through open response fields how they are experiencing video meetings as part of the ubiquitous remote work newly constituting their everyday life. Participants responded to open-ended questions interspersed at two relevant points in the survey. Each item provided an open-text response field limited to 100 characters. See Appendix A for the linguistic structure of these six items.

Open-ended items introduced at the approximate mid-point in the survey asked respondents five questions. The first item asked them to consider what comes to mind when they think about their work-related video meetings where they show themselves on camera most or all of the time. The second and third questions asked what other people do, and could do, to help make video meetings be more beneficial to the participant. The fourth question asked if video meetings are exhausting for you, what is it about them that makes them so tiring. The fifth question asked what others do to make video meetings less exhausting for the participant. At the end-point of the survey, a sixth and final open-ended question allowed participants to make any comments of their choosing.

This study did not intend to predict or control the content of responses to these items. Instead, the intention was to explore and learn more about participants' experiences and perceptions, thereby adding insight into the relationships between the dependent variable (emotional exhaustion) and the independent and control variables.

I took a series of steps to prepare the qualitative data to enable subsequent comparison between it and the quantitative data. I did not use predetermined codes when coding and theming

the responses that appeared in the qualitative data. Instead, I adhered to the coding process described by Creswell (2014, p. 197–200), which allows categories and themes to emerge. The process was as follows.

1. I read the entirety of the qualitative response data from the sample (n = 331) and reflected upon it for overall meaning.
2. Using the Dedoose software program, I coded discrete phrases in all responses to the first qualitative item—that coding of the first qualitative item's data resulted in approximately 200 codes.
3. I then coded discrete phrases in all responses to the second qualitative item using the approximate 200 codes already established and adding new codes when necessary to appropriately capture the meaning of the entirety of all the data in that second item.
4. I applied the same process used with the second qualitative item to the data set from the third, fourth, fifth, then sixth qualitative items in the survey.
5. Once I had coded all responses to all items, the number of individual unique codes totaled approximately 300. I examined each and formed them into like-kind codes. For example, "no breaks during," "can't move," and and "back to back" were combined in a like-kind code "no breaks." Like-kind codes numbered approximately 120.
6. I then clustered those approximately 120 codes into topical themes related to this study's hypotheses. For example, I assigned the code "no breaks" to the theme "process."

7. I then mapped the themes to this study's variables. For example, I mapped the theme "process" to the video meeting load variable.

Upon completing the seventh data preparation step for the qualitative data, both forms of data were ready for results analysis. This analysis, and the findings, are reflected in Chapter IV.

Methods Summary

This study's method was an anonymous electronic survey questionnaire designed for the exploration of relationships among variables. The dependent variable in this study was emotional exhaustion. It is a workplace society and culture problem that this study aims to understand better. Independent variables allowed an exploration of the relationships between emotional exhaustion, stressors that have to do with "showing up" for video meetings, potential coping resources for managing video meetings-related stress, and cognitive coping perceptions about video meetings.

The online survey questionnaire made use of three validated scales:

1. The nine-item emotional exhaustion subscale from the Maslach Burnout Inventory – General Survey (Schaufeli et al., 1996).
2. A surface acting scale adapted from the seven-item scale from Grandey et al. (2005), which includes three items from Brotheridge and Lee's (2003) scale.
3. Two items from the Ten Item Personality Indicator scale (Gosling et al., 2003) specific to introvertism/extrovertism traits.

Other survey items collected data on additional independent variables and control variables. In sum, the online survey questionnaire gathered quantitative data relating to the dependent variable, fourteen independent variables, and nineteen control variables listed in Table

3.1. The survey also produced a secondary qualitative data set gathered from six open-ended items with the intention that those data might illuminate quantitative findings.

Ordering of survey items allowed participants to, in one participation instance, respond first to a series of closed-ended items, then to a nest of qualitative questions, followed by additional close-ended items, followed by a final qualitative question (see Appendix A). The survey was hosted on SurveyMonkey's secure web-based platform and required approximately 10 minutes to complete. Both data sets went through extensive preparation efforts to enable hypothesis testing. Those tests and resultant findings are discussed next, in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Introduction

This study explores the relationships between emotional exhaustion and video meeting stressors, coping resources, and cognitive coping. As described in Chapter III, I took steps to prepare quantitative data, including iterative data cleaning and preparation. I removed some variables from further analysis due to collinearity, sample insufficiency, or lack of usefulness beyond describing the sample. Also, I recategorized responses to some of the survey items to enable regression analyses I describe in this chapter. I also took steps to prepare qualitative data, including coding and thematically organizing responses to so they might further illuminate quantitative findings. Here I present the results of hypotheses-testing using a series of linear regressions and qualitative data analysis. That presentation is consistent with Creswell's (2014, p. 215) argument that a mixed methods approach allows a more robust examination of hypotheses than would be possible by collecting one form of data alone.

Exploration of Research Questions and Hypothesis Testing

Regression analysis of quantitative data "permits the researcher to estimate how much change in the dependent variable is produced by a given change in an independent variable" (Monette et al., 2011, p. 423). Multiple regression allows the examination of relationships between predictor and dependent variables, assessing the association of each predictor variable with the dependent variable independent of the relationships between other predictors and the dependent variable. A series of regression analyses were, therefore, the appropriate analytical approach for testing the hypotheses because the provided a means for simultaneously accounting for the role of multiple variables.

An extensive set of iterative regression analyses tested the independent and control variables against the dependent variable. In these pages, I do not present preliminary analysis models because they demonstrated a lack of statistical significance for certain variables. Those statistically insignificant variables were made absent from further regressions. Further regressions resulted in models that are depicted in the pages that follow shortly.

Upon completing regression analyses, a consideration of the qualitative data set's findings explored the meaning they might bring to the quantitative results. The steps in considering qualitative data included:

1. A *general* consideration of the relationships between the qualitative themes and the quantitative data findings.
2. An examination of the qualitative themes and qualitative analyses related to each hypothesis.
3. Preparation of a descriptive analysis of relationships among the variables associated with each hypothesis.
4. Narrative presentation of the findings regarding each hypothesis, with a quantitative followed by qualitative emphasis.

The following pages provide a narrative presentation of mixed methods findings for each hypothesis in the study. I nest qualitative findings with the appropriate depictions of statistically significant regression models. The research questions, in order, organize the presentation of interconnecting themes, sample quotations, and an interpretation of results for each hypothesis.

Research Question 1

The first research question this study explores is how *stressors* in video meetings relate to emotional exhaustion, specifically how workers' load of video meetings and the surface acting they perform in those meetings are associated with emotional exhaustion. Hypothesis 1, in two-parts, is based on this question.

Hypothesis 1

The first supposition is that two stressors relate to emotional exhaustion.

H1.A. Video meeting load is positively related to emotional exhaustion.

H1.B. Surface acting is positively related to emotional exhaustion.

Bivariate Correlations. As shown in Table 4.1, there is a statistically significant positive bivariate correlation between video meeting load and emotional exhaustion (r = .135, p = .012), although not an especially strong association. There is a moderately strong, significant positive relationship between surface acting and emotional exhaustion (r = .567, p = .000).

Table 4.1

Bivariate Correlations for Hypothesis 1: Stressors and Emotional Exhaustion

Variables	*r*	*p*
a. Video meeting load	.135	.012
b. Surface acting	.567	.000

Note. Video meeting load n = 343. Surface acting n = 339.

Hypothesis 1 Regressions. Hypotheses testing used ordinary least squares (OLS) multivariate regression analyses while controlling for socio-demographics including professional characteristics (e.g., age operationalized as early, mid, or late career). Control variables were

pared for parsimony, keeping only those significant at least $p = .10$ in initial analyses. Subsequent models are consistent with the initial models regarding the inclusion of significant control variables. I examined the possibility of collinearity through correlations and regression diagnostics, such as VIF statistics, and there was no evidence of multicollinearity.

As shown in Table 4.2, in Model 1, I regressed emotional exhaustion on the control variables (including gender and career stage). Gender was positively related to emotional exhaustion ($b = .27$, $p = < .05$), indicating that emotional exhaustion was .27 units higher among women respondents compared with men in the sample. Career stage is positively related to emotional exhaustion ($b = -.26$, $p = < .05$), indicating that emotional exhaustion is .26 units lower for each increase in career stage. Recalling that career stage essentially functions as a proxy for age ranges, the result indicates that emotional exhaustion is lower with each increase in age category for persons in the sample. Although the model is viable ($F = 5.12$, , $p = < .01$), it explains relatively little of the variance in emotional exhaustion in this sample ($R^2 = .03$).

Table 4.2

Hypothesis 1: Regression of Emotional Exhaustion on Stressors (Video Meeting Load and Surface Acting) and Control Variables

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Control variables									
Gender (women)	.27	.14	.11*	.29	.14	.11*	.09	.12	.04
Career stage[a]	−.26	.10	−.14*	−.29	.10	−.15**	−.14	.08	−.08[†]
Stressors									
Video meeting load				.11	.04	.16**	.14	.03	.19***
Surface acting							.71	.06	.57***
R^2		.03			.05			.36	
F		5.12**			6.37**			476.28***	

[a]Early career represents ages 18 to 39, mid-career represents ages 40–59, and late career represents ages 60 and older. In analyses not shown, I conducted a series of regressions that reflect those shown above but included all the control variables measured in the study. To provide parsimony, only those control variables significant in any initial models are included in the regressions above.
Note. Video meeting load $n = 343$. Surface acting $n = 339$.
[†]$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Stressors are introduced to the regression equation in Model 2 with the addition of video meeting load. The significant relationships of gender and career stage to emotional exhaustion do not change, and video meeting load is positively, albeit weakly, significantly related to emotional exhaustion ($b = -.11$, $p = <.01$). This positive relationship indicates that with each unit increase in video meeting load (see Figure 3.6), emotional exhaustion increases by .11 units on the 7-point scale in this study. Here, the model improves only slightly ($F = 6.37$, $p = < .01$), and explains little of the variance in emotional exhaustion in this sample ($R^2 = .05$).

In Model 3, surface acting is included in the regression equation, gender is no longer significantly related to emotional exhaustion, and career stage declines in significance to $p < .10$. The weak, positive relationship between video meeting load and emotional exhaustion remains

the same in Model 3 as it was in Model 2. Model 3 shows that surface acting has a strong, positive, and significant relationship with emotional exhaustion (b = .71, p < .001), reflecting that each unit increase in surface acting (a 5-point scale in this study) is associated with a .71 increase in emotional exhaustion, all else being equal. In sum, hypothesis one is supported: both stressors in this study are significantly and positively related to emotional exhaustion. In Model 3, shown previously in Table 4.2, the model improves dramatically (F = 47.28, p = < .001) and explains more than one-third of the variance in emotional exhaustion in this sample (R^2 = .36).

Hypothesis 1 Qualitative Findings. Responses to the six open-ended items (see Appendix A) add support to hypotheses one. A discussion of insights follows here, organized by the dependent and independent variables reflected in Model 3 (see Table 4.2).

Emotional Exhaustion. While the purpose of this study is to examine phenomena related to video meetings and emotional exhaustion, it is essential to reiterate that quantitative analysis demonstrated most participants in this sample did not score high levels of emotional exhaustion. As discussed in the section on distribution frequencies, on the 7-point emotional exhaustion scale, in this sample, M = 3.45, which is roughly mid-way between "once a month or less" and "a few times a month." Not surprisingly then, a theme emerged in the qualitative data demonstrating a portion of this study's participants enjoy their video meetings. These participants' responses reflected positive emotional states, such as energized, excited, joyful, refreshed, and glad. For example, when asked what first comes to mind when thinking about video meetings, one respondent said, "Fun with colleagues." When asked what makes video meetings tiring, of the total qualitative sample (n = 331), 22% of the respondents (n = 73) said, "They're not" or gave some similar response. Excerpts coded "not tiring" from answers to other

qualitative items in the survey suggest why this 22% portion of the sample find their video meetings not exhausting. Representative statements include:

- "I like them, especially now during COVID."
- "Video is not stressful—it's actually better (I feel) as you can see reactions and read people better than a teleconference."
- "I personally love this new environment. My stress levels are way down and I have a much better quality of life than before."

However, the remaining 78% (n = 258) of the qualitative sample (n = 331) indicated through their responses they experienced video meetings as an exhausting burden.

Zohar (1997) described emotional exhaustion as feeling physically or psychologically drained. Following are representative examples of other responses to the qualitative item that asked what comes to mind when thinking about video meetings.

- "Exhaustion," "Zoom meetings leave me exhausted," and "It's been exhausting."
- "It takes a lot of energy," "It's going to take energy," "They take more energy than meetings with no video," and "Energy drain."
- "They're so draining," "Draining," and "Video is draining."
- "Very tiring, fatigue."
- "I find it unnecessarily stressful, and I tend to spend more time thinking about the stressful factors than concentrating on what I'm supposed to be doing / concentrating on."

A question arises when comparing (a) the previously stated qualitative finding that 78% of respondents felt their video meetings were "tiring" if not exhausting, to (b) the quantitive

emotional exhaustion score $M = 3.45$ (roughly mid-way between "once a month or less" and "a few times a month), and (c) the study's requirement of leading or attending at least one video meeting the previous week. There seems to be a disparity between the quantitative and qualitative findings. Why did a significant proportion of the sample report fatigue, drain, and exhaustion with video meetings, when the median emotional exhaustion score was below the mid-point on the scale? Perhaps a different quantitative scale would have produced other findings, or maybe the phrasing of the qualitative questions encouraged participants to emphasize their fatigue. In any case, the remaining discussion of qualitative findings relevant to hypothesis 1 will, cumulatively, begin to suggest answers to that question about disparity between the data forms. I now turn to qualitative findings related to the relationship between video meeting load and emotional exhaustion.

Video Meeting Load and Emotional Exhaustion. In this study, statistical analysis of video meeting load regressed the *hours* spent in video meetings the previous week on emotional exhaustion. Regressions showed those hours statistically accounted for only a small portion of emotional exhaustion. Congruently, findings from the thematic coding analysis suggest when video meetings are exhausting, it is, at least in part, because they are "too long." This finding supports Bailenson's (2020) argument that employers now expect workers to spend long stretches of time in video meetings. Indeed, coded responses to the question asking, "what comes to mind?" included, "How long they are," "I want to know how long this will take," and "Time consuming." Representative responses to a subsequent question, "If video meetings are exhausting for you, what is it about it that makes them so tiring?" included:

- "Anything beyond 30 minutes of starring [sic] on the screen [is exhausting]."

- “Two hours or more is too long to be on camera.”
- “Difficult to stay present for a long time.”
- “It is the length of time being on video that is exhausting.”
- They are exhausting “only if they go on forever.”
- “A big sigh. Too long.”

Recall that the frequency (number of days) of video meetings was extracted from regression analyses to resolve the collinearity issue previously discussed, and time (number of hours) remained in regression analyses because, in statistical analyses, it showed a slightly stronger relationship with emotional exhaustion. However, thematic coding of qualitative data revealed that the number of complaints about the *frequency* of video meetings was roughly *double* the number of complaints about them being too long.

Quantitative data analysis showed most participants perceived the number of their meetings increased since the onset of work-from-home mandates. In response to the question asking what comes to mind, representative responses included, “Oh god, another video meeting!,” “Not again,” and “Too many.” Representational responses to the question asking what makes video meetings exhausting included:

- “Constant meetings.”
- “Too many of them,” “Too many in a day,” and “The number of them!”
- “Just sheet quantity. On Zoom almost all day.”
- “Lately, I’ve been feeling video meeting fatigue and saying how tired I am of attending another video meeting.”

- "We have more meetings now with the pandemic stay at home order than we did when we were meeting in the office in person."
- "I find that I have more meetings now than I used to. A lot of conversations, pre-COVID, happened organically. Now, a conscious effort to arrange a meeting time must occur."
- "Companies have mistakenly associated 'more meetings' with more productivity and that is not the case. The level of focus time is the issue."
- "Somedays are overloaded with 4 or 5 of these meetings, that amount of time on Zoom causes the fatigue."
- "I think it's the number of meetings rather than the video."

Thus, while quantitative analysis omitted data about the frequency variable due to collinearity, qualitative data analysis suggests load in frequency has a more significant relationship with emotional exhaustion than does load in hours. Statistical collinearity between the two variables suggested they explained some of the same variance in emotional exhaustion. However, thematic coding of the participants' experience of meeting load and exhaustion suggests it can be one or the other (hours or frequency), not necessarily both, that contributes to emotional exhaustion, and those contributions are dissimilar.

Perhaps varying the quantitative forms of measurement for these two variables, rather than measuring them in parallel structure, would have shown that video meeting load in hours *and* frequency each uniquely relate to emotional exhaustion. This possibility hints at answering the question previously posed about the discrepancy between quantitative and qualitative data findings. The discussion now turns to an emergent theme in the qualitative data

associated with the video meeting load variable. Because the emergent theme seems to address the relationship between video meeting load and emotional exhaustion, it is discussed in detail here. I will also return to this emergent theme in Chapter V.

Thematic coding and analysis of qualitative responses relating to video meeting load and exhaustion produced an unexpected and related theme: it is not only the frequency of video meetings, or the total hours spent in them, that produces load-related exhaustion. It is also the *inability to take breaks*, both between and during video meetings. In the qualitative data sample, 11% of respondents overtly and emphatically indicated the lack of such breaks makes meetings exhausting.

Thematic coding suggests that the absence of breaks contributes to load experience in part because back-to-back meetings without gaps between them create, in essence, one long meeting. In the data, the implied relationship between the absence of breaks, load, and exhaustion also points to mental, emotional, and physical fatigue from feeling stuck in one's chair all day.

Responses coded to the "no breaks" theme suggest when there are inadequate or no breaks, even though meetings advance such that the people and topics change, the emotional energy required to be fully present continues on end. Representative answers to the question asking what makes video meetings exhausting and thematically coded to the "no breaks" theme include:

- "Going from meeting to meeting with no break, "One right after another," and "No breaks between consecutive meetings."

- "They are only exhausting when I have too many in a row," "They become exhausting when too many are back-to-back," and "The sheer amount of focus and sitting up straight."
- "Being stationary for long periods of time," "Being in the same seat all day long, no movement," "Not being able to move much all day," and "Sitting still all day."
- "Our meetings are scheduled back to back, so it's not uncommon to have four hours straight of meetings. I find this emotionally and mentally exhausting."

These example responses suggest the absence of walking to transition from one meeting to the next (e.g., from one conference room to the next, from one building to another) that was generally necessary when meetings were in-person is exhausting for at least a portion of this participant sample. My in-context examination of response excerpts coded to the "no breaks" theme suggested the brief reprieves formerly offered through foot-traveling from one meeting to the next not only refreshed the body through physical movement. They also allowed a reprieve from the intense focus on meeting topics, thus offered participants momentary opportunities to relax. Though not measured quantitatively in the study, qualitative data from the sample suggests, at least for some, those opportunities to relax have all but disappeared in the new video meeting culture.

Coding to the emergent "no breaks" theme also revealed stress from the absence of *during*-meeting breaks that naturally took place in in-person meetings (e.g., getting up for a coffee or fetching a snack to bring back to one's seat). Related remarks appeared in response to the item asking what makes video meetings exhausting:

- "I can't leave to go to the bathroom."
- "Not being able to eat a snack," and "No freedom to grab water or eat grapes!"
- "Not being able to EVER stand up or get something to drink from the kitchen without turning off the camera."

These responses and others coded to the theme suggest that in pre-pandemic, in-person, conference-room meetings, participants could take momentary pauses from a load of focused, fully present attention. They did so by standing up, walking to the coffee dispenser, or stepping out of the room for a quick bathroom break without disrupting the meeting's flow. The data imply doing so provided attendees with brief opportunities to reenergize, and those opportunities are, at least for some of the sample, gone.

The emergent "no breaks" theme harkens to one of the 13 guidelines Elsayed-Elkhouly et al. (1997, p. 675) offered for a successful meeting: "schedule appropriate breaks." From the volume of qualitative data plaintively reflecting a need for breaks, it seems the video meeting culture has neglected that wisdom offered 13 years ago.

These data also help explain the discrepancy between the below-the-midpoint $M = 3.45$ score on the emotional exhaustion scale and the qualitative analysis showing 78% of respondents found their video meetings to be "tiring" if not exhausting. Recall emotional exhaustion was measured using a subset from the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Schaufeli et al., 1996). As discussed in Chapter II, Wright and Copranzano (1998) maintained emotional exhaustion is a chronic state of *physical and* emotional depletion resulting from excessive job or personal demands. The qualitative data in this study show: feeling overextended by having one's biological needs (e.g., need for food, water, bathroom, or physical movement) unmet, and a lack

of autonomy to address those needs can (recall findings of Maslach et al., 2001) make workers more susceptible to increased emotional exhaustion. In sum, this emergent theme "no breaks," though not measured quantitatively, almost certainly is related to emotional exhaustion, even if not reflected in quantitative emotional exhaustion scores for the sample. I discuss further discuss this notion in Chapter V.

Surface Acting and Emotional Exhaustion. In quantitative data analyses, video meeting load was not related to emotional exhaustion until Model 3 (see Table 4.2), which introduced surface acting to the calculations. As shown in Model 3, surface acting accounts for roughly one-third of the variance in emotional exhaustion. Given the statistical significance of this variable, the qualitative data related to surface acting bore examination. I thematically coded responses excerpts related to the surface acting scale and sub-themed each response to one of the surface acting scale items. A discussion of those scale-related sub-themes follows here.

Faking a good mood. An example of remarks coded to this surface acting sub-theme was, "You have to be 'up' and have to channel a lot of energy … I have to manufacture the energy to do that." Related examples in response to the item asking what makes video meetings exhausting were, "My face. Trying to keep it looking happy," and "Feeling like you have to be upbeat." Another respondent echoed these sentiments about what makes video meetings exhausting: "Seeing my own face and trying to keep it looking happy and engaged. No one had a 'mirror' in a conference room before."

Putting on a show or a performance. An example response to the item that asked what makes video meetings exhausting and coded to this surface acting sub-theme carried a poignance that exemplifies the emotional cost of pretense: "Pretending to be somebody else … I just want

to hide underneath my desk." Another participant said, "You feel like you are constantly being watched / on stage more so than at other meetings." Other responses were these phrases: "Being 'on stage,'" "Acting interested when sometimes I'm not," and "Having to constantly see myself and look engaged." One respondent said what is exhausting about video meetings is, "Having to feel 'on' the entire time because you are never sure who is looking at you." Given these responses, it is not surprising that surface acting accounts for roughly a third of emotional exhaustion in the sample.

Pretending to have the emotions needed for the job. Remarks coded to this surface acting sub-theme included this response: "I sometimes worry that I'll display less than positive expressions. They seem to be more visible than in a true face to face meeting." This remark hints at a related and emergent theme I introduce immediately after this discussion of the surface acting variable.

Hide true feelings about situations. Qualitative data I coded to this surface acting sub-theme primarily related to keeping facial expressions neutral and pretending to be interested when one is, instead, disinterested, bored, or annoyed. An example response: "So many of our legacy team members are afraid of retaliation or retribution if they are open and honest that I find a lot of the meetings where we have to have difficult conversations to move forward are very tiring because most of my colleagues just sit there due to fear." This response, among others, exemplifies the emotional exhaustion that comes with hiding true feelings (and observing others do so.)

Putting on an act to deal with people. Remarks coded to this surface acting sub-theme further indicated the emotional labor involved in pretense. Example responses to the item asking

what makes video meetings exhausting and coded to this sub-theme: “Acting interested the entire time,” “Have to pretend you’re engaged,” and “Having to appear energetic and engaged the entire time regardless of how engaging the topic is, and feeling guilty about looking away or multitasking.”

Resisting expressing my true feelings. Remarks coded to this surface acting sub-theme reflected suppressed cynicism and outright irritation. One respondent whose comments I coded to this sub-theme said video meetings are “forced teambuilding.” Another said, “Politics are tiring. Situations where you have to self-censor due to political sensitivities in the group [are exhausting].”

Put on a mask to display the emotions needed for my job. Remarks coded to this surface acting sub-theme include this response to the open-ended item asking what makes video meetings exhausting: “How much I have to monitor my facial reactions.” Another response to that item: “After four or five people get in a Zoom room, it gets really QUIET … exactly the opposite of an in-person meeting. That silence is hard for me, and I feel I have to make up for it by ‘performing’ or ‘wearing a mask.’ It’s often the same performance or mask I would have used in person, but it seems amplified because of the nature of a Zoom call.”

In sum, thematic coding of the surface-acting-related qualitative data demonstrated findings similar to those in the Maslach et al. (2001) study. In the Maslach study, those who experience personal misalignment with six aspects of their work environment were more susceptible to increased emotional exhaustion, cynicism, and burnout.

Based on the qualitative data thematic coding and analysis discussed in the immediately preceding paragraphs, it is not surprising that Model 5 regressions (see Table 4.2) show surface

acting predicts emotional exhaustion. Indeed, the thematic coding of qualitative data in this study reveals the critical relationship between surface acting in meetings, mismatches between personal needs and video meeting environments, and emotional labor.

This discussion now turns to an emergent theme in the qualitative data associated explicitly with on-camera stress. That emergent theme is *impression management*. As discussed in the literature review in Chapter II, impression management is different from surface acting. Impression management in the work environment can include self-disclosure, managing appearances to fit in, ingratiation, and making one's actions seem appealing to increase social capital (Vitez, 2020). In this sample, impression management over-emphasized managing appearances. I did not include a quantitative exploration of the relationship between impression management in video meetings and emotional exhaustion. However, qualitative data indicated significant stress associated with impression management. The emergent theme, therefore, merits introduction here and further discussion in Chapter V. That introduction follows here.

In the qualitative data, impression management appeared to be salient to video meetings and emotional exhaustion. When coding the responses to the open-ended item asking what comes to mind when thinking about video meetings, short phrases coded to the "impression management" theme included: "I'm annoyed," "It's awkward," and "It's bizarre." The most frequently occurring phrase coded to this theme was "on all the time." While this phrase may seem to imply surface acting, my in-context examination of the phrase's many occurrences suggested "being on" meant something different than feelings of being on stage or putting on a show. In short, impression management was hinted at by this exemplary quote in response to the

question asking what comes to mind when thinking about video meetings: “I need to be ‘on’ ALL THE TIME.”

Other responses coded to this emergent impression management theme included those in response to the item asking what makes video meeting exhausting. Those responses included: “Being on ‘display’ and looking and reacting perfect,” and “A deep concern about my appearance and background.” These remarks suggest something quite different from covering up negative emotions by pretending to have positive feelings (as is done in surface acting.) They indicate impression management is, at least for at least some of the sample, at the heart of the relationship between video meetings and emotional exhaustion. Chapter V will further discuss the qualitative data pertaining to this emergent theme and that relationship.

Summary of Hypothesis 1 Findings

In sum, the results support the first hypothesis. Video meeting load is positively, albeit weakly, significantly related to emotional exhaustion ($b = –.11$, $p = <.01$), and surface acting has a positive and significant relationship with emotional exhaustion ($b = .71$, $p < .001$). Qualitative data support these findings, and thematic analysis revealed two emergent themes, neither of which were quantitatively measured nor hypothesized, but nevertheless relevant to Hypothesis 1. The first emergent theme is the *inability to take breaks*, both between and during video meetings. The second is *impression management*. Qualitative data analysis suggests the first of these emergent themes bears weight on meeting load, and the second is different from surface acting. I will discuss these emergent themes further in Chapter V.

Research Question 2

The second research question this study explores is how *coping resources* relate to emotional exhaustion. Hypothesis 2, in two-parts, is based on this question.

Hypothesis 2

Two coping resources, extrovertism and social support, relate to emotional exhaustion.

H2.A. Extrovertism is negatively related to emotional exhaustion.

H2Bb. Social support in the home is negatively related to emotional exhaustion.

Bivariate Correlations. As shown in Table 4.3, there are no significant bivariate relationships between the hypothesized coping resources and emotional exhaustion.

Table 4.3

Bivariate Correlations for Hypothesis 2: Coping Resources and Emotional Exhaustion

Variables	*r*	*p*
a. Extrovertism	–.09	.11
b. Social support from adult in home	–.07	.20

Note. Extrovertism $n = 340$. Social support from adult in home $n = 331$.

Regressions. In Table 4.4, Model 3 is carried forward for comparison. Also depicted in Table 4.4., Models 4 and 5 introduce coping resources to the regression equations. Coping resources were not significantly related to emotional exhaustion in bivariate correlations; however, including them in regressions allowed testing for possible relationships when other factors were controlled.

Table 4.4

Hypothesis 2: Regression of Emotional Exhaustion on Coping Resources (Extroversion and Social Support), Stressors (Video Meeting Load and Surface Acting), and Control Variables

	Model 3			Model 4			Model 5		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Control variables									
Gender (women)	.09	.12	.04	.10	.12	.04	.11	.12	.04
Career stage[a]	−.14	.08	−.08[t]	−.15	.08	−.078[t]	−.15	.09	-.08[†]
Stressors									
Video meeting load	.14	.03	.19***	.14	.03	.20***	.14	.03	.20***
Surface acting	.71	.06	.57***	.70	.06	.56***	.70	.06	.56***
Coping resources									
Extroversion				−.02	.03	−.03	−.02	.03	−.03
Social support in home							−.04	.04	−.04
R^2		.36			.36			.36	
F		47.28***			37.87***			30.74***	

[a]Early career represents ages 18 to 39, mid-career represents ages 40-59, and late career represents ages 60 and older.
Note. Extrovertism *n* = 340. Social support in home *n* = 331.
[†]$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

In Model 4, which adds extrovertism to the equation, and Model 5, which adds social support in the home to the equation, these coping resources were not significantly related to emotional exhaustion, and the relationships between the stressors (video meeting load and surface acting) were substantively unchanged from Model 3. The models do not improve, nor do they explain

any more variance in emotional exhaustion in all three models (R^2 = .36). These results indicate, at least in this sample, extrovertism and social support in the home do not serve as coping resources that lessen the impact of stressors on emotional exhaustion related to video meetings.

Hypothesis 2 Qualitative Findings. Thematic coding of qualitative data from the open-ended items in the survey provided insight into the regression analysis findings that demonstrate the nonsignificance of extrovertism and social support in the home as coping resources for video meetings stress. A discussion of related qualitative themes follows here.

Extrovertism. In the qualitative data sample (n = 345), only three respondents mentioned their extrovertism, and views among the three about it being a resource differed. One response I coded to the "extro/introvert" theme was: "I'm very extroverted and video meetings have made me feel more connected during this pandemic." Another response coded to the "extro/introvert" theme: "Thank God for Zoom! I am an extrovert and I miss the person to person interaction I usually get from my work colleagues and my clients." In contrast, a third response coded to the "extro/introvert" theme: "I'm extremely extroverted, but video calls frustrate me." Another response coded to this theme reflected frustration and fatigue from introvertism: "Working in research and engineering - lots of introverts. Couple of people always have their cameras on, but the vast majority do not for most meetings. Only [in] department meetings [when we] Facetime with the very high ups do we all feel like we should have our camera on. When it is mandated, it feels like I am not being trusted to be present, like I am a child. In truth, I do a better job of paying attention when I am not on camera. I think many people feel this way in my work peer group." A fifth item coded to the "extro/introvert" theme illuminates the complexity of introvertism/extrovertism in the video meeting social construct.

> Outwardly in my work life I come off as extroverted, positive and full of positive energy when I am actually introverted so it is a process for me. It's an interesting dichotomy that has really come to the forefront in my Zoom life. Because my colleagues expect that I am an extrovert, they don't understand the toll that it all takes on my energy level. However, I enjoy being a positive role model so I do my best to keep up appearances. I never want to come off as a malcontent.

The immediately preceeding quote offers a possible explanation for this variable's insignificance in Model 4 and Model 5 regressions (see Table 4.4).

When considered all together, items coded to the "extro/introvert" theme mirror the conflicting views discussed in Chapter II: Petriglieri (in Jiang, 2020), Erks et al. (2017), and Judge et al. (2009) disagreed about whether introversion/extroversion traits moderate exhaustion related to video meetings. It is not surprising, then, that extrovertism was not statistically significant in regression analyses on emotional exhaustion.

Social Support in the Home. The sample's homogeneity related to partnership status was likely inadequate to demonstrate significance in the social support in the home variable: Seventy-nine percent of respondents were partnered (married or otherwise). Recall that respondents (n = 345) on average quantitatively indicated it was "somewhat true" that they experienced affection, encouragement, approval, or other social support acts from another adult in the home. Interestingly, attempts to thematically code response phrases related to this variable produced only one qualitative data remark supporting the notion that social support in the home might ease video meeting stress. Even that remark notably reflected the relative insignificance of social support in the home in terms of managing video meeting stress:

"Remote work has made my work and personal life better in most ways and harder in some. I went from traveling by plane every week to working at home on video calls all day every day. Thus to get 'my' work done, I do that after normal business hours and on weekends, working a range of 65 to 80 hours per week, every week. My husband brings me breakfast and lunch to my desk in the midst of the video calls, so I have it made from the perspective of having support."

Given the scarcity of qualitative data related to this variable, I made efforts to identify phrases related to social support of any sort. Those efforts revealed a related and emergent theme: the stress-relieving benefit of *social support from those not living in the home and not one's coworkers.* Though the qualitative evidence of this theme's importance was slight, it bears mentioning since the singular comment relating to it carries weight on other items discussed in this study's presentation of thematic analysis. The comment: "As I am a 100% remote employee, when it comes to housework, I do have a housekeeper that comes in and cleans biweekly. Working from home, I don't mind doing the basic stuff, but it's nice to have someone come in and actually deep clean every couple of weeks. It helps me feel comfortable about being on camera and just good in general to know I have a clean house. While I don't have a support system in my home, I do have one outside my home with friends and family. This all plays into my thoughts, feelings, and actions related to my work video meetings, the environment in which I work, and how I engage and socialize with my colleagues."

The process of parsing the entirety of the qualitative data, then clustering many codes into topical themes related to this study's hypotheses, revealed an emergent theme parallel to social support in the home. That emergent theme is *social support acts from coworkers* in video

meetings. From the qualitative data analysis, it is abundantly evident that the social support that alleviates video meetings stress and thereby ameliorates emotional exhaustion is the encouragement, approval, or other social support acts of *coworkers* (not other adults in the home). Extensive coding efforts for remarks made in response to the qualitative item asking what others do to help make video meetings be less tiring and more beneficial provided rich and varied perspectives related to this emergent theme. Since social support from coworkers was not represented in the study's hypotheses nor quantitatively measured as a variable, I will discuss findings related to this emergent theme in detail in Chapter V.

Summary of Hypothesis 2 Findings

In sum, the results do not support this study's second hypothesis. Regression analyses showed extrovertism and social support from another adult in the home as nonsignificant coping resources for video meetings stress, and qualitative data analysis did not refute these findings. However, thematic coding and qualitative data analysis revealed two emergent themes, neither measured quantitatively nor hypothesized, but nevertheless relevant to Hypothesis 2 and coping resources. The third emergent theme (in addition to the two discussed relative to hypothesis 1) that arose through the qualitative data is: the stress-relieving benefit of *social support from those not living in the home and* not *one's coworkers.* The fourth emergent theme in the study is *social support acts from coworkers*. Qualitative data analysis suggests each of these serves to reduce emotional exhaustion. These themes, and the first two emergent themes identified in hypotheses one findings, will be discussed further in Chapter V.

Research Question 3

The third research question this study explores is how *cognitive coping* relates to emotional exhaustion. Hypothesis 3, in three parts, is based on this question.

Hypothesis 3

The third supposition is that three cognitive coping perceptions relate to emotional exhaustion.

H3.A. When video meeting load is perceived as more than needed to accomplish one's job responsibilities, emotional exhaustion is higher.

H3.B. When video meetings are perceived as useful to oneself, emotional exhaustion is lower.

H3.C. When family, household, and personal responsibilities are perceived as competing for the *energy* needed for work, emotional exhaustion is higher.

Note: Measurement of the fourth cognitive coping variable (family, household, and personal responsibilities compete for the time needed for work) was removed from regressions due to collinearity.

Bivariate Correlations. As shown in Table 4.5, there is a strong, statistically significant positive bivariate correlation between perceptions of video meeting load as more than needed to accomplish one's job and emotional exhaustion (r = .35, p = .000). There is also a statistically significant negative bivariate correlation between perceptions of video meetings as useful to oneself and emotional exhaustion (r = −.29, p = .000). In addition, there are significant positive bivariate correlations between perceptions of family, household, and personal responsibilities competing for the energy needed for work and emotional exhaustion (r = .25, p = .000).

Table 4.5

Bivariate Correlations for Hypothesis 3

Variables	*r*	*p*
a. Video meeting load is too much to accomplish job	.35	.000
b. Video meetings useful to oneself	–.29	.000
c. Family, household, personal demands compete for work energy	.25	.000

Note. Video meeting load too much to accomplish job and usefulness of video meetings to oneself $n = 345$. Family, household, and personal demands compete for work energy $n = 331$. Variable pertaining to family, household, and personal demands compete for work time removed from further analysis due to collinearity (see Chapter III discussion.)

Regressions. In Table 4.6, Model 5 is carried forward for comparison. Model 6 introduces the first of the cognitive coping variables to the regression equation.

Table 4.6

Hypothesis 3: Regression of Emotional Exhaustion on Cognitive Coping (Perceptions of Video Meaning Usefulness, Oversufficiency for Job, and Personal Responsibilities Competing With Job), Coping Resources, Stressors, and Control Variables

	Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Control Variables												
Gender (women)	.11	.12	.04	.12	.12	.05	.13	.12	.05	.09	.12	.03
Career stage[a]	−.15	.09	−.08 ^{t}	−.127	.08	−.07	−.10	.08	−.05	−.05	.09	−.03
Stressors												
Video meeting load	.14	.03	.19***	.10	.03	−.14**	.12	.04	.16**	.10	.04	.14**
Surface acting	.70	.06	.56***	.64	.06	.51**	.61	.06	.49***	.59	.06	.47***
Coping resources												
Extrovertism	−.02	.03	−.03	−.02	.03	−.04	−.02	.03	−.04	−.02	.03	−.02
Social support in home	−.04	.04	−.04	−.03	.04	−.04	−.02	.04	−.03	−.02	.04	−.02
Cognitive coping												
Video meeting load too much to accomplish job				.37	.11	.16**	.29	.12	.13*	.29	.12	.13*
Video meetings useful to oneself							−.19	.08	−.12*	−.18	.08	−.12*
Family, household, personal demands compete for work energy										.13	.06	.10*
R^2		.36			.38			.40			.40	
F		30.74***			28.66***			21.47***			23.44***	

[a]Early career represents ages 18 to 39, mid-career represents ages 40 to 59, and late career represents ages 60 and older.

Note. Video meeting load too much to accomplish the job and video meetings useful to oneself $n = 345$. Personal demands compete for work energy $n = 331$.

$^{t}p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Model 6 adds to the equation perceptions of video meeting load being more than needed to accomplish one's job (coded 0 for not more than needed, 1 for more than needed). In this model, the relationships between gender and emotional exhaustion and between career stage and emotional exhaustion all remain statistically nonsignificant. The positive relationship between video meeting load and emotional exhaustion remains significant ($b = .10$, $p < .01$). The relationship between surface acting and emotional exhaustion remains significant and substantively unchanged ($b = .64$, $p < .01$). A significant relationship is demonstrated between participant perceptions of video meeting load being more than needed to accomplish their overall job responsibilities and emotional exhaustion ($b = .37$, $p < .01$). In sum, when video meeting load is more than needed to accomplish one's overall job responsibilities, emotional exhaustion is higher. Inversely, when video meeting load is not more than needed to accomplish one's job, emotional exhaustion is lower. A little additional variance (2%) in emotional exhaustion is explained by this model ($R^2 = .38$).

Model 7 adds to the equation perceptions that video meetings are useful to oneself on a scale of "extremely useful to me" to "not at all useful to me." In this model, the control variables remain nonsignificant. Similarly, the positive relationship between video meeting load and emotional exhaustion ($b = .12$, $p < .01$) and between surface acting and emotional exhaustion ($b = .64$, $p < .001$) remain significant and substantively unchanged. The positive significant relationship between participant perceptions of video meeting load being more than needed to accomplish their overall job responsibilities and emotional exhaustion ($b = 29$, $p < .05$) also remains substantively unchanged. The new variable in the model, perceptions of video meetings as useful to oneself, is significant and negatively related to emotional exhaustion ($b = –.19$,

$p < .05$). A little more variance (another 2%) in emotional exhaustion is explained by the variables in Model 7 ($R^2 = .40$). In short, the more useful the meetings, the lower the emotional exhaustion. The less useful the meetings, the higher the emotional exhaustion.

Model 8 adds to the equation perceptions that family, household and personal demands compete for the energy needed to do one's work successfully (on a scale from "not at all" to "to a major extent.") Again, in this model, the relationships between gender and emotional exhaustion and between career stage and emotional exhaustion remain statistically nonsignificant. The positive relationship between video meeting load and emotional exhaustion remains significantly unchanged ($b = .10$, $p < .01$) from Model 7, as does the positive relationship between surface acting and emotional exhaustion ($b = .59$, $p < .001$). The positive relationship between participant perceptions of video meeting load being more than needed to accomplish their overall job responsibilities and emotional exhaustion remains wholly unchanged ($b = 29$, $p < .05$). The negative relationship between participant perceptions of video meetings as having been useful to oneself remains significant and substantively unchanged ($b = –.18$, $p < .05$). The newly added variable, perceptions that family, household, and personal demands compete for the energy needed to do one's work successfully, is significant ($b = .13$, $p < .05$) and positively related to emotional exhaustion, as well. For each unit increase in the perception that personal responsibilities compete for the energy needed to successfully do one's work, emotional exhaustion increases by .13 units, all else being equal. While Model 8 is a slight improvement on Model 7 ($F = 23.55$, $p < .001$ versus $F = 21.47$, $p < .001$), it explains no more variance in emotional exhaustion than Model 7 ($R^2 = .40$ in both models). The findings suggest that when domestic demands while working virtually, from a home office or other environment,

compete with the energy one needs to do their work successfully, emotional exhaustion is slightly higher. When these domestic demands do not compete with work energy, emotional exhaustion is slightly lower.

Hypothesis 3 is supported: the three perceptions that reflect cognitive coping in this study ameliorate (perceptions that video meetings are useful) or exacerbate (perceptions that video meetings are more than needed to do one's job and that personal responsibilities compete with energy for work) relate to emotional exhaustion.

Hypothesis 3 Qualitative Findings. The process of creating codes to represent the entirety of the qualitative response data in the sample (n = 331), mapping response excerpts to those codes, then clustering the codes into topical themes provided a means for further elucidating Hypothesis 3 findings. The discussion follows here, in order of the variables as introduced in Table 4.6.

Video Meeting Load Is Too Much to Accomplish One's Job. When taking action to resolve collinearity of variables, I extracted the measure of the sufficiency of the number of days (i.e., frequency) of meetings, leaving the sufficiency of number of hours' as the variable considered when measuring whether participants perceived their video meeting load to be too much to accomplish their job. However, my qualitative data examination of how participants viewed the oversufficiency of video meetings demonstrated oversufficiency *in general, (*i.e., *frequency and hours.* As the following pages show, load oversufficiency (in days *plus* hours) is evident in the qualitative data. The use of italics in the previous sentence emphasizes a distinction between quantitative and qualitative analysis and discoveries. This distinction serves to reinforce the argument (Creswell, 2014, p. 215) that a more nuanced understanding of this

study's interests is possible due to mixed methods data analysis than would have been possible through quantitative research alone. Here follows the discussion of that nuanced understanding.

I coded some responses to the item that asked what makes video meetings exhausting to the theme "over-sufficient." Following are illustrative examples:

- "Too many in one day so I cannot get other tasks done."
- "Not being respectful of the time I need to advance the work."
- "I don't have time to get work done."
- "We're not getting to the point fast enough, because we're acknowledging that everyone can be seen. It just adds more time at work to my day."
- "[When there are 4 to 5 hours of meetings in a day,] I find this emotionally and mentally exhausting and it negatively impacts by ability to engage in 'work time' to move projects forward."
- " Given the pressure on my time, I need meetings to get to the point quicker. We need to be more transactional in the video setting. Instead, we spend more time talking about people's office settings, pets, etc. … I feel like we could accomplish much more by phone, when those distractions aren't present. Yet, people aren't scheduling phone meetings on the same subjects that use to be fair game."

To allow consistency in data comparison with the quantitative measures of sufficiency, I made attempts to sub-theme qualitative data coded to the "over-sufficient" theme into sub-themes "too many hours" and "too many days." Doing so was impossible. As demonstrated by the previous examples, responses often did not differentiate "too many" hours fatigue from "too many days" fatigue. Perhaps the distinction was not critical since the outcome—not enough

time to do one's job—was the same. However, qualitative data analysis suggests an oversufficiency of load in frequency has at least as much a significant relationship with emotional exhaustion as does oversufficiency of hours, and the two are experienced differently by participants in the sample. Each, therefore, contributes differently to emotional exhaustion.

Coding for oversufficiency revealed an emergent sub-theme: perceptions that too much video meeting load (in frequency or hours) to get one's work done is exacerbated by the social pressure *not multitask at all* while attending video meetings. Responses coded to the emergent sub-theme "not multitask at all" include these examples of answers given to the item asking what makes video meetings exhausting:

- "Having to stay focused on the call rather than multitasking," "Not being able to multitask," "Making sure not to do side work," and "Watching what you do, not being able to multitask."
- "On a conference call, you can multitask during the meeting but you can't do that on a video call."

Remarks made about multitasking frustration appear frequently in the qualitative data. However, since multitasking was not included among the study variables or reflected in the study's hypotheses, further discussion of this emergent theme will occur in Chapter V.

Video Meetings Useful to Oneself. As discussed earlier in the quantitative analysis for Hypothesis 2, regressions showed the more useful the meetings, the lower the emotional exhaustion. Inversely, the less useful the meetings, the higher the emotional exhaustion. Significance was $p < .05$. Qualitative data analysis supports this finding and again, congruent

with Creswell's (2014, p. 215) argument, the used mixed methods analysis enables this study to more thoroughly examine Hypothesis 3.b. than I might have been able to do otherwise.

I coded a variety of responses to the "useful" theme. Excepts coded to this theme included: "efficient," "productive," "interesting," and "opportunity." Reviewing these excerpts in context clearly showed participants' views that video meetings were useful to themselves was a cognitive coping strategy that worked to ease video meetings stress, at least for some participants. Comments coded to the "useful" theme were mostly derived from the final qualitative item in the survey, which asked participants to make any comments of their choosing. Following are some of the more salient examples from the 50 remarks coded to the theme "useful":

- "I would add this is my first time having the opportunity to work from home, and I believe that working from home makes it imperative to be intentional about communication and connection with people. We can not take things for granted. This is comparable to having a conversation on the phone versus in person. In person I can see your body language, over the phone it is necessary for you to let the person hear your emotion (good or bad) using appropriate tone and utilizing the right words ... Definitely not relying on emoji's."
- "I don't really feel that they are all THAT exhausting, because I would really rather participate in decision making for my academic department than have some inexperienced mid-level administrator (that was picked by another inexperienced mid-level administrator) making inexperienced & possibly arrogant decisions."

- "I feel like they are a necessary tool for the pandemic, so I'm willing to accept and not question the experience as much as I would otherwise."
- "I am a person who thrives on being with other people and I don't get what I need from the virtual world, however keeping my family and coworkers safe is my priority."
- "The upside to video meetings is the reach— so many more people can participate. And COVID-19 has made scheduling so much easier, because everyone is around. Most of all, despite my ambivalence around video meetings, I am grateful to have a job in this moment."

Cognitive coping through the lens of usefulness or making meetings useful, as demonstrated by the sample remarks provided, is a varied and nuanced mental feat that seems to help participants in this study feel less emotionally exhausted. As the example quotes indicate, "useful to me" can mean much more than just useful to achieve one's job objectives. "Useful" can imply video meetings are "better than no meetings" (a verbatim response from two respondents, or better than not having a job (as expressed by three respondents). What is essential to this study's interests is that cognitive coping mechanisms, such as reframing meetings as useful, are evidenced in the qualitative data. That form of meaning-making seems to (as implied by the example remarks) ease video meeting stress.

When considering the qualitative data, I somewhat uncertainly coded some responses to the "useful" theme. Although they suggested some exhausting situations, they reflected a balanced perspective and thereby suggested cognitive coping. For example:

- "It's a good chance to connect if everyone has a chance to participate but not useful if just one person does all the talking."
- "Sometimes it's the content that's draining."
- "Everyone expects video just because we can. There is too much focus on video vs. content, and, as with all meetings, sometimes there is no need for a meeting."
- "Doing what you love lessens the level of stress we feel. But all jobs come with some level of stress regardless. But I also am an advocate of bringing my true self to work which is why I don't use masks or fake it."

While the qualitative data supports the hypothesis about usefulness as a cognitive coping strategy that eases emotional exhaustion, a preponderance of emphasis within the qualitative data set related to an emergent theme: *uselessness.* Responses coded to "uselessness" reflected strong associated feelings of emotional exhaustion and cognitive perceptions about lack of necessity and the pointlessness of at least some video meetings. Some responses coded to "uselessness" reflected cynicism: for example, in response to the item that asked what comes to mind when thinking about video meetings, rhetorical question-responses included "Is this really necessary? I can accomplish the same through just a phone call," and "Is this necessary EVERY DAY as we work remote?" Other responses coded to the "uselessness" theme also reflected outright cynicism. For example: "Pointless, could have been an email," "They are about someone pushing their agenda and task, and not about learning and connecting," and "The chatter in the beginning is a waste of time."

The final response example in the previous paragraph hints at an emergent and significant theme in the study's qualitative data: *small talk.* As discussed in Chapter II, small talk is the

friendly banter between attendees unrelated to a meeting purpose that provides social connection and a sense of welcome and belonging (Axelrod & Axelrod, 2014.) What makes this theme significant to the study is the radically opposing views on its value. Some respondents openly resent small talk; others find small talk very useful in reducing emotional strain. Since small talk was not a variable in the study, nor did the hypotheses consider small talk as a stressor or a coping resource, this chapter only introduces the theme. I include further discussion of the emergent "small talk" theme in Chapter V.

Family, Household, Personal Demands Compete for Work Energy. As with the perception variables previously discussed, the variable concerning competition for work energy benefits from mixed methods analyses. First, recall the findings from regression analyses (see Model 8, Table 4.6): when domestic demands while working virtually (i.e., from a home office or other environment) compete with the energy one needs to do their work successfully, emotional exhaustion is slightly higher. When these domestic demands do not compete with work energy, emotional exhaustion is somewhat lower.

Also, recall the descriptive statistics presented in Chapter III: on average, respondents had few if any children under 18 in the home, though roughly a quarter of respondents had at least one *adult child* living with them. Then, recall the averages for the variable measuring percentage of unpaid childcare labor (M = 7.08 on a 12-point scale) and unpaid household work labor (M = 7.50 on a 12-point scale) also presented in Chapter III. Given this statistical data, it is likely that the study sample lacked the socio-demographic heterogeneity necessary to sufficiently measure this variable's impact on stressors related to video meetings and emotional exhaustion.

However, qualitative data provides ample support for the significance of this variable to the study's interests.

I thematically coded respondent remarks to the theme "compete for work energy." While relatively few compared with the number of comments coded to other themes, the responses were illuminating. For example:

- "It's stressful when I'm working at home and trying to minimize family distractions and it's obvious that I'm doing so. On a conference call, you can mask those interruptions more easily."
- "I do love my job, but the current environment of working from home every day, most of which is on video calls or regular calls, while caring for children is a bit exhausting. It feels like Groundhog Day—every day is the same thing."
- "My child returning to daycare in July has made a huge difference in my ability to work from home."
- "During this work from home time, I've also sent my last child to school, and moved my only parent into assisted living. So there is lots of action, activity, and stress outside of work. Video is not stressful—it's actually better (I feel) as you can see reactions and read people better than a teleconference."
- "I work in Higher Ed. Supposedly, we have been on 'Summer Recess' since about May 15th (graduation). However, because of the pandemic, I have been working unpaid on email and Dean-required certifications (Quality Matters national certification for online teaching & learning) most of the summer. So I have donated approximately $30,000 of unpaid time to my job. The email just never stops. Next

> week, the unending Zooms will begin. I am thinking of quitting 3 years earlier than I expected to because one of my Program Directors suggested that I take two freshman in-person lab sections to 'round out' my teaching assignment. She knows that I have 4 risk factors for severe disease or death from Covid-19. In addition, I have a 23 year old adult child whose father (my former spouse) dropped dead from a Covid-related illness on May 30th. What a country! She functions like an auto-maton."

These examples of how emotional labor required for nonwork life can compete for the energy for work-life point to discussions in Chapter I and Chapter II of this study. Work and life formerly occurred in two dimensions and are now compressed into one: the home. That compression is stress-inducing and, at least for some respondents in the study, tremendously emotionally exhausting.

Summary of Hypothesis 3 Findings

In sum, the results support the third hypothesis in this study. Regression analyses on the relationships between cognitive coping and emotional exhaustion showed:

1. Perceptions that video meetings were useful negatively related to emotional exhaustion;
2. Perceptions that video meetings were more than needed to do one's job positively related to emotional exhaustion, and;
3. Perceptions that family, household, and personal responsibilities compete with the energy needed to do one's work positively related to emotional exhaustion successfully.

Qualitative data analysis supported these statistical findings and revealed additional emergent cognitive coping themes in the study, none of which were quantitatively measured nor hypothesized, but nevertheless are relevant to this study's third research question. The fifth emergent theme (in addition to those identified through the exploration of hypotheses one and two) to emerge through qualitative data analysis is: emotional exhaustion related to perceived pressure to *not multitask* while attending video meetings The sixth emergent theme, also associated with cognitive coping, is perceptions about the *uselessness* of video meetings to performing one's job, and associated feelings of emotional exhaustion. The seventh emergent theme is *small talk*. Plaintive and radically opposing participant views about its value as a coping resource or a stressor reflect this theme's significance when considering the third research question in the study. I will discuss these emergent themes and the four identified in hypotheses one and two further in Chapter V.

Final Model

Table 4.7 shows the results of the final model regressing emotional exhaustion on the variables that were significant predictors of it in this study, omitting all nonsignificant variables. This improves the model fit ($F = 42.11$, $p < .001$) and explains 40% of the variance in emotional exhaustion ($R^2 = .40$). Examining the standardized *Betas* allows us to compare the relative contribution of each variable to emotional exhaustion. It is evident that, among the variables in this study, surface acting alone contributes as much to emotional exhaustion (*Beta* = .48) as the remaining variables do collectively.

Table 4.7

Final Model: Regression of Emotional Exhaustion on Stressors (Video Meeting Load and Surface Acting) and Cognitive Coping (Perceptions of Video Meaning Usefulness, Oversufficiency for Job, and Personal Responsibilities Competing With Job)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Stressors			
Video meeting load	.10	.06	.14**
Surface acting	.60	.06	.48***
Cognitive coping			
Video meeting load more than needed to accomplish job	.30	.12	.13*
Video meetings useful to oneself	−.19	.07	−.13*
Family, household, personal demands compete for work energy	.13	.06	.11
R^2		.40	
F		42.11***	

Note. Video meeting load more than needed to accomplish job and video meetings useful to oneself $n = 345$. Family, household, and personal demands compete for work energy $n = 331$.
$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Previous discussions in this chapter pertaining to the variables included in the Final Model illustrate that qualitative data analyses further support their significance. This chapter now turns to a summary of the study's findings.

Overall Summary of Results

As shown in Table 4.7, the Final Model includes variables measured in this study that are significant predictors of emotional exhaustion. Those variables include stressors and cognitive coping. Concerning stressors, regression analyses demonstrated a higher number of video

meeting hours significantly, albeit weakly, relates to a higher level of emotional exhaustion. Qualitative data analysis supports this finding.

Regression analyses also demonstrated a higher frequency of surface acting significantly relates to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Qualitative analyses support these findings and add insight into how some study participants experience the relationships between these two variables.

Concerning cognitive coping, regression analyses demonstrated when participants perceived their video meetings to be *too many* to accomplish their overall job responsibilities (i.e., over-sufficient), emotional exhaustion was higher. Regression analyses also showed when participants perceived video meetings as *useful* to themselves, emotional exhaustion was lower. Thirdly, regression analyses demonstrated when family, household, and personal responsibilities competed for the energy needed to do one's job successfully, emotional exhaustion was higher. Qualitative analyses pertaining to the three perception variables both supported and further elucidated the quantitative findings.

Notably, qualitative analysis revealed a notable portion of respondents actively enjoyed video meetings and do not experience them as exhausting. However, the larger part of the sample experience video meetings as uniquely stressful and emotionally exhausting.

While analyzing the qualitative date pertaining to each hypothesis, seven themes emerged that were not hypothesized nor included as variables in the study and therefore not regressed quantitatively. Those emergent themes included (ordered by their presentation in this chapter's discussion):

1. The significance of the *inability to take breaks between and during meetings* when considering emotional exhaustion related to video meeting load.
2. *Impression management* as a stressor and its association with video meetings-related emotional exhaustion among participants in this study.
3. The coping resource of *social support from those not living in the home and not one's coworkers* and its negative relationship with emotional exhaustion.
4. The critical coping resource of *social support acts from coworkers* when considering the relationship between video meetings and emotional exhaustion
5. The cognitive perception that one must *not muli-task at all* during video meetings, and its positive relationship with emotional exhaustion.
6. Cognitive coping related to perceptions about the *uselessness of video meetings*, and its positive association with emotional exhaustion.
7. The coping resource of small talk, and conflicting perspectives among participants in this study about its value in either reducing or contributing to video meetings-related emotional exhaustion.

I discuss each of the emergent themes in Chapter V. There, I also present further conclusions, limitations of the study, practice implications, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This research's primary purpose was to explore the extent to which the rapid adoption of camera-enabled video work meetings relates to emotional exhaustion for those who must "show up" to them and whether coping resources and cognitive coping ease two identified stressors. Through the study of three hypotheses using mixed methods, I met this purpose. The first hypothesis explored video meeting load and surface acting as stressors related to emotional exhaustion. The second explored coping resources I surmised would negatively relate to emotional exhaustion. The third explored forms of cognitive coping and their positive and negative associations with emotional exhaustion.

Video meetings were the focus of this study because they provide opportunities for people to exchange information, build work relationships, and make plans for action-taking, all of which are essential to organizational and individual success (Tracy & Dimock, 2004). The disruptive life event of working from home due to societal response to the COVID-19 pandemic, and the relative newness of the vast number of video meetings and other associated chronic stressors arising from that disruptive event, make new scientific understanding imperative.

This study's mixed methods allowed an exploration of the relationships between emotional exhaustion, stressors that have to do with attending and leading video meetings, and resources that help manage video-meetings-related stress. In this chapter, I synthesize key findings, including those suggested by emergent qualitative themes. My discussion draws connections with previous literature. This chapter also discusses the study's limitations, suggests implications for practice, and directions for future research. I then summarize the conclusions from the study.

Key Findings

Quantitative findings showed the participants in the sample, on average, experienced emotional exhaustion once a month or less or a few times a month. Qualitative analysis revealed a notable portion (22%) of respondents actively enjoy meetings and do not experience them as exhausting—however, the larger part of the sample (78%) indicated their experiences of video meetings as uniquely stressful and emotionally exhausting.

Among the two stressor variables measured, (a) a higher number of video meeting hours significantly, though weakly, related to a higher level of emotional exhaustion, and (b) a higher frequency of surface acting significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Qualitative data analysis supported these findings and added insight into how some study participants experience relationships between these dependent and independent variables.

The two coping resources (extrovertism and social support from another adult in the home) were nonsignificant in their relationships with emotional exhaustion as demonstrated through regression analyses. Qualitative data analysis did not refute these findings. As such, I make no further mention of findings specifically related to these variables. I do, however, discuss two associated emergent themes from the qualitative analysis later in this chapter.

Among the three cognitive coping variables measured: (a) perceptions that video meetings were too many for participants to accomplish their overall job responsibilities significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level, (b) perceptions that video meetings were useful to the participant significantly related to a lower emotional exhaustion level, and (c) when family, household, and personal responsibilities competed for the energy participants

needed to do their jobs successfully, emotional exhaustion was higher. Qualitative analyses supported and further elucidated these quantitative findings.

The following discussion provides detail about each of the afore-mentioned key findings. The discussion follows the order in which each of these findings appeared in my analysis.

Emotional Exhaustion

Though $M = 3.45$ for the sample (ion the scale, falling roughly midway between emotional exhaustion once a month or less, to emotional exhaustion a few times a month), percentage spikes across the response options showed an uneven distribution of responses, with the highest frequency just over the once-a-week mark. Bearing in mind that data gathering took place in August 2020 (six months into the work-from-home orders due to the COVID-19 pandemic), the lower end of the scale option "a few times a year or less" included the six months before the onset of work-from-home orders. Therefore, responses (and the mean) did not reflect *only* pandemic-era emotional exhaustion.

Video Meeting Load

A comparison between quantitative and qualitative findings relative to video meeting load revealed dissimilar results. While regressions showed load statistically accounted for only a small portion of emotional exhaustion, qualitative data analysis suggested the relationship was much stronger. Statistical analysis of video meeting load removed the measurement of days spent in video meetings because it was collinear with hours spent in them. However, findings from qualitative data analysis suggested when video meetings were exhausting, they were so because they were "too long" *or* "too many." One respondent would reflect concern about "how long

these meetings take," another would reflect concern about having "too many in a day." Even though many respondents indicated the number of their meetings had increased since the COVID-19 work society changes, few respondents indicated concern about their number *and* the total hours in them. The share of responses relating to "too many" (frequency) and "too long" (hours) was roughly two to one. The ratio suggests (though does not prove) that the relationship between video meeting load and emotional exhaustion might have been higher if measured differently. See the discussion on the limitations of the study in this chapter.

Surface Acting

As discussed in Chapter II, surface acting is a social behavior that involves faking the emotions one perceives to be appropriate for the meeting context (Hochschild, 1983). The Final Model (see Table 4.7 in Chapter IV) shows this behavior contributed as much to emotional exhaustion (*Beta* = .48) as did all remaining variables collectively. This finding is consistent with that of Judge et al. (2009). Their study demonstrated the degree to which participants engaged in daily surface acting was associated with, among other undesirable outcomes, their emotional exhaustion. This study's finding is also consistent with that of Shanock et al. (2013), who showed when participants felt it necessary to surface act, those perceptions related to how emotionally exhausted they felt.

Cognitive Coping

As discussed in Chapter II, cognitive coping is characterized by what a person does, for their own benefit, to alter the meaning of their stressful situation (Pearlin & Aneshensel, 1986; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978) and is a strategy a person can use to manage situations they deem

taxing or beyond their ability to change (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Cognitive coping includes but is not limited to meaning-making. At the heart of
meaning-making is individual efforts to make sense of the events in their lives. Participant meaning-making about video meetings was particularly appropriate for this study because workers are experiencing losses (i.e., loss of autonomy, loss of in-person socializing with each other) and cognitive coping is a psychological strategy often recommended by psychological clinicians to help people make sense of and feel less distressed by loss (Calhoun & Tedeschi, 2006; Davis et al., 2012; Webster & Deng, 2015). In this study, cognitive coping had to do with meaning-making about personal resources, which Hobfall (1989) suggested people are motivated to acquire and protect. Among those resources: the sufficiency of video meetings to accomplish one's overall job responsibilities and video meetings' usefulness to the participant, and the extent to which domestic and personal responsibilities competed for necessary work energy.

Quantitative analysis showed a significant positive relationship between emotional exhaustion and perceptions of video meeting load being more than participants needed to accomplish their overall job responsibilities ($b = .37$, $p < .01$). Though this variable statistically explained only a little variance in emotional exhaustion, qualitative data analysis showed great significance. The data suggested that significance was due, at least in part, to respondents' perceptions that video meetings have come to replace other more efficient communication forms (i.e., email, phone calls, online chats). Other data indicating the significance of whether video meeting hours or days constricted the time participants needed to complete their other responsibilities appear in the emergent themes discussed later in this chapter.

Socio-Demographics

Age and gender were the only socio-demographic variables to appear with any significance in early regression models, and that significance disappeared with the addition of independent variables. Given the relative homogeneity of the sample discussed in Chapter IV, it is essential to workplace society and culture to discuss key findings from minority group participants. I order the following discussion by socio-demographic variables for which meaningful qualitative data emerged.

Gender and Age. Research indicates cognitive coping is gender-differentiated: Milkie and Thoits (1993) found men have a more stoic style than women in responding to stress, are more likely to control their emotions, accept the problem, or avoid thinking about it. Though I found no implied differences in stoicism based on gender in the qualitative data sample, only women respondents said what made video meetings exhausting had to do with their age. Such was the case even though statistical analysis showed the mean age for women and men to be roughly the same. Issues related to gender and age were, at least for some mid-career women in the sample, conflated. To illustrate, consider the following excerpts from three women in the qualitative data:

- From a white, married, 50-year-old vice president in the insurance industry: “I don’t like the way I look on camera as a woman who is getting older. It takes time to get camera-ready in the morning and to have the right lighting to look professional.”
- From a white, married, 44-year-old senior manager in the nonprofit industry: “I’m tired of looking at myself on camera so often. I look tired and old and don’t realize when that happened. It’s upsetting.”

- From a white, married, 53-year-old manager in the management consulting industry: "I have to be sure to make the effort to look 'put together' and plan more for that now. I am self-conscious that I look too 1) old, 2) disheveled 3) tired."
- From a white, married, 58-year-old individual contributor in the manufacturing industry: "Pressure to look young."

When I ran early regressions on surface acting (i.e., not on emotional exhaustion) and other study variables, gender appeared statistically significant ($p < .05$) *until* I introduced career stage to the model. Career stage (a proxy for age) remained statistically significant ($p < .05$) until I introduced video meeting load to the model. In those regressions, load (measured as hours) was significant at $p < .05$. But the variable most statistically significant in regressions on surface acting was the lack of camera autonomy ($p < .001$). Lack of camera autonomy defined in this study was the inability to freely choose to turn one's camera off without fear of any negative repercussions. Thus, while the camera autonomy variable was not statistically significant in emotional exhaustion regressions, it was positively associated with surface acting.

As suggested in these data, video meetings seem to carry a specific burden for women to "look young" even though they are mid-career and to mask their feelings of insecurity about their appearance. From qualitative data, it seems men (at least in this sample) do not suffer the emotional exhaustion associated with needing to have their natural appearance to be something it cannot. This suggests a higher incidence and burden of impression management for women, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Race/ethnicity. Non-whites comprised only 22% of the sample ($n = 345$), despite my dedicated attempts to recruit a non-white population. Black/African American respondents were

only 10% of the sample; this percentage is not far from the 13.4% of Black/African American people in the U.S. population in general (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019b, para. 6). However, it is disproportionate for remote workers, based on a June 2020 study published as a working paper by the Dallas Federal Reserve (Bick et al., 2020). That paper showed in May 2020 (three months before data gathering for this study), 90.2% of workers who could work from home were doing so, and 39% of those individuals were white, compared to 24.5% who were Black and 23.4% who were Hispanic (Bick et al., 2020, pp. 10–11). Due to the potential disproportionate race/ethnicity distribution in this study's sample, I combed through the entirety of the qualitative data to see if I might be able to make some differentiation based on race/ethnicity. In that exploration across all responses from all participants who were non-white, there were no remarkable disparities from the views of the whole.

Emergent Themes

As evidenced in this Key Findings section, qualitative data in the study helped explain quantitative findings. While exploring, theming, and analyzing the secondary qualitative data set, seven emergent themes appeared. These themes were not among the variables quantitatively measured in the study, and I did not include relationships between these themes and emotional exhaustion in the hypotheses. However, my analysis showed these themes to be qualitatively significant when considering this study's research questions.

I introduced each of these themes in Chapter IV in the order of the hypothesis to which they relate. Here, I provide a more thorough discussion, organized by the three research questions in the study:

1. How does emotional exhaustion relate to workers' load of camera-enabled video meetings or the surface acting they perform in those meetings?
2. How do coping resources relate to emotional exhaustion?
3. How is cognitive coping associated with emotional exhaustion?

Emergent Themes Related to Research Question 1. When considering how emotional exhaustion relates to workers' load of camera-enabled video meetings and their surface acting in those meetings, qualitative data analysis revealed two themes. Both were unmeasured quantitatively but offered vital insights into this first question. Qualitative data analysis showed a link between the first emergent theme, inability to take breaks between or during video meetings, to emotional exhaustion. The data provide evidence of a phenomenon similar to but distinctly different from surface acting. That phenomenon, impression management, is the second emergent theme that relates to emotional exhaustion. Here follows a discussion of these two themes.

Inability to Take Breaks Between and During Meetings. In short, the qualitative findings in this study show the inability (or insufficient ability) to take adequate (if any) breaks during or between video meetings relates to emotional exhaustion. When workers are taxed from a "sheer amount of focus and sitting up straight" (a quote from the data in the study), when stress is unabated by breaks (because they are absent or insufficient), the result is emotional exhaustion. Though not large in number, scientific studies substantiates the argument for the significance of breaks in managing work energy, and show them to be especially valuable when working continuously (Csiksesentmihalyi, 1975) or when tired (Henning et al., 1989).

Breaks *during* video meetings fall within what literature classifies as "planned or spontaneous recesses from work on a task that interrupt the task's flow and continuity" (Jett & George, 2003, p. 497). They are unlike other work intrusions in that they serve a "rejuvenating function for individuals who have become bored or have grown tired of their work or become fatigued" (p. 498). Breaks "reflect anticipated or self-initiated time away from performing work to accommodate personal needs and daily rhythms," and the allowance for them acknowledges that workers "cannot sustain work efforts indefinitely throughout the day" (Jett & George, 2003, p. 498). In addition to those previously cited in Chapter IV, following are excerpts from the study evidence demonstrating the need for breaks during meetings:

- "Video conferencing can be tiring if one feels like they must be proper at all times. Meaning they don't feel comfortable excluding themselves to go to the restroom or get a drink."
- "[Video meetings] just feel very taxing. I think it's all the screen time (and have read about "screen apnea" where we don't breathe deeply enough.)"

These responses appeared among 24 like-kind others to the question that asked what others can do to make video meetings less tiring:

- "Take breaks!" "Build in bio breaks," "Take scheduled breaks," "Give us breaks," and "Time to stretch."

Breaks such as these can be scheduled or otherwise deliberately incorporated into the workday; workers' preferences determine the value of their timing and their length (Jett & George, 2003, p. 498). For example, during video meetings, some may wish or need to take

breaks more frequently than others, or for longer periods than others, as illustrated by varying responses among study's qualitative data:

- "Take short breaks more often."
- "Take breaks during long meetings 75+ minutes."
- "Take stretch breaks after an hour."
- "Provide breaks if the meeting is more than 1.5 hours."
- "Take a break every 15 minutes."
- Take a break halfway through, even for a few minutes."
- "Allow for 15 min. breaks."
- "Take lots of breaks."
- "Build in 40- or 50-minute time blocks to allow time for bathroom, a short walk, etc."

Unlike brief breaks during meetings, which people generally use to meet biological needs, breaks *between* video meetings represent interval opportunities for performing less-taxing work. Elsbach (2001) found intervals of such work to be especially needed in jobs with a relentless pace and nonstop demands. According to Elsbach, when challenging activities are interspersed with breaks that give people opportunities to perform tasks requiring less concentration and attention, it produces a rhythm and pace that enhances their job satisfaction and creative thinking.

According to a BBC report (Shah, 2020, para. 15), the COVID-19 pandemic has made work "more challenging because there have been fewer outlets to unload stress or to get a break, and because there's still a constant pressure to keep systems working remotely." Shah's findings

are evidenced in the qualitative data in this study and echo the importance of workers' personal needs matching with what is provided by their work environment (Maslach et al., 2001).

Impression Management. Goffman (1959) described how interactions between people are essentially a performance that provides others with impressions aligned with the performer's goals. Those impressions comprise a mental formation of the performer, and that formation includes making judgments about the performer's traits (Srull & Wyer, 1989). Impression management actions intend to direct how others make a mental formation of oneself. Its purpose is to foster impressions in others' eyes (Schnieder, 1981; Tedeschi, 1986), and, in practice, it reveals the social dimension of power and how that power is collaboratively created through discourse by everyone on the metaphorical stage (Diamond, 1996, p. 115). Impression management can be a part of everyday work life. It can have positive results, such as making a good impression on meeting leaders, thereby helping the performer achieve their goals in the meeting (Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Goffman (1959) maintained impression management is a "fundamental point of reference" in team performance (p. 90), which unfolds while enacting and acting upon positions of power. Houston and Grandey (2013) maintain that impression management reflects the performer's attempt to make specific characteristics about themselves more salient to a group or to get others to focus on a particular characteristic. For example, impression management behaviors can include using humor to influence others' judgments about and impressions of the performer (Crowe et al., 2018).

However, the "masks of impression management" (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003, p. 377), those worn when one feels pressured to project characteristics different from those that come

naturally, take a psychological toll. As evidenced in the qualitative data of this study, that toll produces emotional exhaustion. Consider these samples from the raft of qualitative data associated with impression management.

In response to the item asking what makes video meetings exhausting:

- Twenty-seven responses were "feeling like you are always 'on'" or the like.
- Eleven responses indicated the pressure to "cover up my environment" or the like.

In response to the items asking what comes to mind when you think about video meetings and what makes video meetings exhausting, an additional 133 participants, or roughly 39% of the sample (n = 345), indicated it was the stress of "always being aware of how I look to others." Among these 133 participants:

- Forty one respondents indicated stress from efforts to manage others' impressions of their natural appearance in general. For example, "Worrying about how I look," "The energy to look like I think I should," "Wondering if I look a mess then I start to fix myself up before entering the meeting," "I have to look physically good," and "The effort to have a 'pleasing' appearance," and "I look like hell."
- Twenty-one expressed exhaustion from negative self-consciousness about their facial appearance. For example: "Seeing myself and critiquing my facial expressions," "Watching myself in the camera and thinking negatively about my appearance," "I am not photogenic," "The bags under my eyes," "My fat neck," "I catch myself with a negative resting face," "Appearances. How bad my neck looks and how to hide it."

- Eighteen, all women, indicated the stressor was specifically managing how their hair appeared to others (e.g., “How my hair looks,” “Does my hair look good,” and “Hope the hair is cooperating.”)
- Seventeen, a mix of genders, indicated what makes video meetings exhausting is stress from managing how others saw and judged their attire (e.g., “Having to wear special clothing to appear dressed up when I’m working from home,” “What is dress code from waist up,” “Stress. What am I wearing?”)
- Fourteen, all women, indicated the stressor was specific to the pressure to wear makeup while working from home.
- Twelve indicated stress from a combination of impression concerns (e.g., “A deep concern about my appearance and background,” “A movie production—set lighting, wardrobe.”)
- Eight worried impression management concerns related to looking “not present” only because they were not staring into their cameras. Among those where these remarks: “Worrying about looking ‘not present’ or distracted even if being attentive / taking notes when not looking at the screen,” and finding it exhausting to “look at a black dot to connect to people.”
- Two indicated stress from impression concerns related to their unchangeable identity. The first, from a Hispanic woman in the study: “I’m annoyed that someone says, ‘Turn on your camera’ bc [sic] I’m like ‘if you don’t have to do your hair and makeup, then you shouldn’t be making that request.” The second from a North African man: “I never feel as though I can show up dressed too formal. As a male of

> color, [whether I am in a] virtual or physical space, there is this notion that if I show up any less than what I'm supposed to, my credibility is threatened. I must appear trustworthy, capable, committed, and highly engaged. Whereas, in some virtual meeting spaces, non-people of color have that option [to dress casually]."

The pressure to manage others' impressions in video meetings is evident. YouTube and online blog posts are full of tips from stylists, colorists, and wardrobe consultants about having a TV news-anchor appearance in regular work video meetings. Indeed, on November 21, 2020, my Google search for "pressure to look like a TV star in video meetings" yielded 78,200,000 results. Despite the abundant amount of advice online, it is most likely that remote workers (at least in this sample) find the time or energy necessary for this sort of grooming to manage others' impressions to be out of reach or nearly so.

Consider this response to the final survey item, which prompted participants to make any comment of their choosing. A white senior manager in the pharmaceuticals industry said this:

> Being required to turn on the camera is not inclusive. Some people have difficulty with that, and forcing people to do so is counterproductive and does not foster an inclusive environment. It also forces people to be 'on' and more focused on how they look, the facial expressions they are making (was that appropriate?) vs. the content of the meeting.

Her response suggests the team and organizational cost of the impression management burden that ensues when there is a lack of camera autonomy.

Emergent Themes Related to Research Question 2. The second research question in this study concerned coping resources and their relationship with emotional exhaustion. Due to COVID-19 social isolation, I hypothesized that social support as a coping resource was likely to

come from another adult in the home and nonwork video gatherings. Quantitative findings showed those variables to be nonsignificant. However, two emergent themes having to do with social support emerged from the qualitative data analysis. As with the two emergent themes previously discussed, though the study did not quantitatively measure these themes, their data provides vital insights for the research.

To provide context for the discussion of those insights, recall from the earlier discussion that among the five categories of social support that Johnston (2010) identifies are:

- Emotional support (e.g., listening, empathizing);
- Esteem support (e.g., expressing confidence in the person, giving encouragement);
- Informational support (e.g., offering advice); and
- Tangible support (taking on responsibilities).

(Note: the sixth category Johnston identifies, physical comfort—holding hands, giving hugs—is not relevant to this discussion due to physical isolation from others in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.) With this reminder in place, I present the emergent coping resources themes associated with social support. Those two themes are social support from (a) those not living in the home and not one's coworkers and (b) from coworkers.

Social Support From Those Not Living in the Home and Not One's Coworkers. Johnston's (2010) taking-on of responsibilities and providing esteem (e.g., expressing confidence) are evidenced by one participant in this study, whose comments are reflected in Chapter IV. Though only one participant provided detailed evidence of the significance of social support outside the home from people who are not coworkers, the theme bears inclusion in the

study for two reasons. First, her comments (previously presented) paint a compelling picture of how social support from friends and family outside the home informs how one experiences work situations. Second, it is valuable to consider this theme because singlism is a condition that carries unique forms of stress (Arnold & Campbell, 2013). Yet, this study's sample was mostly domestically partnered (married or otherwise).

Social Support Acts From Coworkers. The data in this study that reflected social support acts from coworkers came from three open-ended survey items. The first of those items asked, "What do other people do that helps make video meetings beneficial for you?" The second asked, "What else could people do to help make video meetings beneficial for you?" The third asked, "What might others do to make video meetings less exhausting for you?"

When considering the following discussion of responses to these items, recall that a portion (n = 73) of the entire sample (n = 331) found their video meetings, in general, to be *not* exhausting, and in general, to be "great," "fun," "very useful," and so forth. The size of that portion of respondents is, however, dwarfed by the remainder (n = 258) of the entire sample (n = 331) for whom video meetings were "exhausting," "a waste of time," "too many," and so forth. Because of the polarity of views among these two portions of the sample, I omit from the discussion that immediately follows further discussion of responses from the smaller, not-exhausted portion of the respondent sample. I also omit discussion of responses from the larger exhausted portion of the respondent sample that indicated, in answer to the question that asked what people do to help make video meetings beneficial, "Not a whole lot!" "Not much!" "Nothing," and the like. I do not marginalize these views; instead, this discussion intends to illuminate social support acts.

As an introduction to the analysis of this emergent theme, social support acts from coworkers, see Table 5.1. The table provides a list of coworker social support acts that substantively appeared among the responses to the three referenced open-ended items in the survey. A detailed discussion of the social support acts listed in the table begins on the page immediately following the table. I order that discussion following the same order in which support acts appear in the table.

Table 5.1

Social Support Acts From Coworkers in Video Meetings

Social Support Acts From Coworkers in Video Meetings	Total *n* excerpts	"What do other people do that helps make video meetings beneficial for you?" *n excerpts*	"What else could people do to help make video meetings beneficial for you?" *n excerpts*	What might others do to make video meetings less exhausting for you?" *n excerpts*
Making them short	99	6	32	61
Having small talk	31	17	8	6
Having a purpose/goal, an agenda prepared and sent in advance, and sticking to it	82	26	34	22
Displaying themselves on camera	69	48	20	1
Allowing camera autonomy (i.e., cameras off)	57	16	11	30
Coming prepared and enabling others to do so	63	26	23	14
Actively participating	53	35	12	6
Having fewer	51	3	21	27
Staying focused	41	21	18	5
Being real	40	27	7	6
Turn-taking	39	15	13	11
Taking breaks during and between	36	4	5	25
Using the screen-share function	36	28	4	4
Showing positive emotions	30	20	4	6
Showing savviness with technology, including using nonverbal technology features	27	14	7	6
Using humor	22	20	1	1
Having good equipment and internet connectivity	22	11	7	4
Being casual	21	12	3	6
Being professional	17	3	10	4
Being punctual	20	1	13	6
Muting themselves	15	7	5	3
Making eye contact with others through the camera lens	11	5	5	1

Note: The table includes only those social support acts with ten or more response excerpts among the three survey items. Support acts are ordered by descending frequency, with occasional departures from that ordering for reasons discussed in subsequent pages. The numbers of excerpts differ from the number of participants because the discussion reflects data from three survey items and because some participants provided more than one action in response to a single open-ended item.
N for the total respondent sample = 259.

Making them short as an act of social support was suggested by the following example remarks:

- "Communicate accurately" and "communicate clearly."
- "Crisp communication," "be concise" and "to the point," and "no chit chat."
- "Be faster," "not talk too much," "focus on efficiency," and "no small talk."
- "Stop asking stupid questions and going on and on about the same point(s)."
- "Get to the point—I have a toddler and my clients calling me, and I frankly don't care about the game stats."

The examples illustrate participant passion for the significance of conducting short, efficient meetings during the pandemic as an act of support. They suggest the value of empathy for the strain of their work-from-home workloads and reflect the value of Johnston's (2010) emotional support category. However, other answers discussed next provide counterpoint: other participants felt entirely differently on the relative social support value of video meetings that are "short and efficient."

Having small talk as an act of social support appears next in the discussion sequencing, even though it deviates from frequency-of-response ordering. The social support value of having small talk is directly oppositional to the immediately preceding discussion. These response examples evidenced the significance of small talk as an act of social support:

- "Don't be so obsessive about staying to a timed agenda."
- "Leave room for connection and discussion."
- "Have check-ins," and "mix business conversation with personal."
- "Take the time for 'connections' in response to a relatively risk-free prompt."

- "Make them personal and leave room for the dialog and connecting that builds trust.

Ironically, as does the "making them short" argument, this counterpoint view also suggests the value of Johnston's (2010) emotional support category, in that allowing small talk reflects empathy for others' need to connect on a human level, even while physically isolated from one another. The value of small talk in reducing exhaustion is discussed later in the chapter.

Having a purpose/goal, an agenda prepared and sent in advance, and sticking to it as acts of social support are suggested by the following remarks examples:

- "Come prepared," "have an agenda," "stay on track," and "stay organized."
- "Take strong leadership of the agenda, so the meeting doesn't wander."
- "Have a meaningful purpose or reason" and "accomplish the goal."

These responses suggest a tangible support value of others taking on responsibilities, congruent with Johnston's (2010) work. As shown in Table 5.1, these acts make video meetings more beneficial and less exhausting.

Displaying themselves on camera was viewed as an act of social support as suggested by the following remarks examples:

- "Have their cameras on," "unanimous videos," and "it's nice to see folks."
- "Allow me to see their body language" and "see their engagement."
- "Just seeing people" and "it is off-putting when some are only on the phone."
- "Being able to see if they understand something or are paying attention."

Considered within the context of other data provided by the participants who indicated the value of people having their cameras on, the act allowed those participants to see whether others "appear engaged." These responses suggest Johnston's (2010) esteem support category, in that

others showing themselves on camera provides encouragement to the person who wants to "see people." The act helps video meetings be beneficial to some of the participants in the study. However, other participants views are in direct opposition. That oppositional view is considered next in the discussion.

Allowing camera autonomy (i.e., cameras off) appears here in the sequencing, even though it deviates from frequency-of-response ordering. I discuss it here because it points to polarized views about what sorts of camera-related acts provide social support. Example remarks related to the stress-reducing benefits of camera autonomy include:

- "Turn their cameras off," "not require video," and "make cameras optional."
- "Only the speaker on video," "use audio only," and "why they need to see my face?"

Though these responses conflict with the previously discussed action of "displaying themselves on camera," they suggest the value of Johnston's (2010) emotional support category, in that allowing camera autonomy reflects empathy from others regarding the strain involved (for at least some participants) in having their cameras turned on.

Coming prepared and enabling others to do so as an act of social support was evidenced by responses that reflected what makes video meetings less exhausting and more beneficial includes:

- "Pre-meeting emails outlining what we can prep before and what we will tackle during the meeting."
- "Solicit input on the agenda beforehand."
- "Send information in advance of the meeting so that topics can be discussed instead of reviewed."

- "Provide presentations and readings before the meeting so we can spend less time on the call to review materials."

When considered among Johnston's (2010) categories, this act of coming prepared and enabling others to do so represents a tangible form of social support in that it reflects taking on responsibilities.

Actively participating as an act of social support was evidenced by response excepts, including:

- "Contribute," "ask questions," "be interactive," "respond," and "share insights."
- "Taking pauses when appropriate to allow for interaction."
- "Contribute to the decision" and "make thoughtful responses."
- "Have meaningful conversation" and "video silence is painful."
- "Being comfortable with sharing their thoughts and ideas and not always waiting for me to lead them to a conclusion."

Active participation suggests both esteem (i.e., expressing confidence in the other person) and informational (i.e., giving advice) forms of social support within Johnston's (2010) categories.

Having fewer as an act of social support was evidenced by response excerpts including:

- "Hold them less often," "have fewer," "just do audio," and "use email instead."
- "Schedule them only when necessary" and "use a phone call instead."
- "Cancel un-needed meetings" and "not over schedule meetings for the sake of them."

Emotional weight from useless meetings is an emergent theme that is discussed in Chapter IV and later in this chapter. Here, I argue having fewer meetings could represent any of Johnston's (2010) five categories of social support.

Staying focused as an act of social support was evidenced by 41 response excerpts (see Table 5.1), indicating a relatively small portion of the total sample actively want others to be "on" for the entirety of a video meeting. Response excerpts included:

- "Listen," "pay attention," "stay involved," "concentrate," "focus," and "act attentive."
- "Don't multitask," and "Don't answer emails, etc.,"
- "Give visual cues you are participating."

Such acts might be seen as evidence of Johnston's (2010) tangible form of social support, in that they reflect taking on responsibilities. However, as reflected in the impression management theme's discussion earlier in this chapter, a much larger proportion in the sample (n = 133) indicated this expectation for continuous focus is exhausting. My further discussion of the strain of not multitasking (another emergent theme in the study) appears later in this chapter.

Being real as an act of social support was evidenced by response excerpts that reflected dropping pretense (either surface acting or impression management). For many, this act made video meetings more beneficial and, for a few, helped their video meetings be less exhausting. Responses that indicated the significant value of this social support act included:

- "Acquire the capacity for empathy" and "a little transparency goes a long way."
- "The senior person on the call sets the tone and can remove barriers by being 'real' while still conducting business."
- "Continue to not expect a 'perfect' persona either physically or environment wise."
- "Speak truthfully about how they really are, in that day, that moment sets the right tone, and makes me feel more comfortable with them from the start."
- "Talk about the stress we're all feeling," "be themselves," and "be open, transparent."

- "Just be human" and "acknowledge the situation."
- "Show me how they are feeling rather than just saying the words."
- "When you can come as you are - there is no judgment (i.e., kids walking in, dogs barking, etc. - things happen)."
- "Not fuss about doing their hair ... the way they look ... allow for ambient noise from pets and family members; relaxes me."
- "We're all in the same boat, so we encourage each other, acknowledge it's a bit much but how work now gets done."
- "Recognize the limitations of understanding each other this way."

Due to the variety of responses, as illustrated by sample provided in the immediately preceding bullets, it is unclear to which of Johnston's (2010) social support categories these responses map. However, they are congruent with findings in the study conducted by Yoerger et al. (2015): authentic leadership relieves stress. Yoerger et al. also found that without a safe environment for authentic contribution, attendees' anxiety and excessive worry prevent their genuine participation in meetings.

Turn-taking as an act of social support was evidenced by responses including:

- "Ask for input," "ask more questions of each other," and "ask probing questions."
- "Develop a format to help with who talks when" and "allow others to speak."
- "Take turns sharing ideas" and "use my name, follow up on my comments."
- "Person leading the meeting is good at giving everyone a chance to share."
- "Don't interrupt each other," "don't dominate," and "listen more than you talk."
- "Include everyone in the conversation."

- "Call on others to engage in conversation rather than just talking."
- "Go around to include everyone versus just talking at the people in attendance."
- "Use hand up method—I do find it frustrating when trying to present a thought and cannot get a word in because others will just keep talking."

The value of turn-taking demonstrated in this study suggests Johnston's (2010) emotional support category, which includes listening. The sense of belonging created and the improved meeting outcomes associated with turn-taking are evident in the literature (e.g., Carnevale et al., 2018; Stohl & Cheney, 2001).

Taking breaks during and between video meetings and their significance in relieving emotional exhaustion is reflected by the number of response excerpts shown in Table 5.1. Because I thoroughly discussed the importance of allowing and taking breaks previously, no further discussion is merited other than to argue this action is a form of social support. That argument is made easy through Johnston's (2010) social support categories. Allowing breaks reflects emotional support (i.e., empathizing), and planning for them (for the benefit of others) reflects tangible support (i.e., taking on responsibilities.)

Using the screen share function as an act of social support was evidenced by response excerpts reflecting the desire for / value when others "share their screens," " "share content," and the like. When I examined these excerpts in context, it was clear that using the screen-share function was valued, at least in part, because it allowed participants to take a break from staring at their faces or staring nonstop at others' faces. As such, this action reflects emotional support (i.e., empathizing), and taking the initiative to use screen-sharing reflects tangible support (i.e., taking on responsibilities.) Concerning empathizing, the responses relating to using screen share

suggested the value of two forms of empathy. The first form is *cognitive* empathy (Segal et al., 2017); for example, coworkers intuitivelying understand some people absorb information visually and it is, therefore, socially supportive to accommodate their learning styles and thinking processes by displaying information (i.e., not just talking about it.) The second form suggested is *compassionate* empathy (Segal et al., 2017) in that the tangible support helped participant in this study not "on" for the duration of the meeting.

Showing positive emotions as an act of social support was evidenced by these response excerpts:

- "Don't be so negative" and "bring some personality."
- "Show energy," "smile," "show enthusiasm," "be upbeat," and "be friendly."
- "Assume a lighthearted attitude" and "laugh."

The value to some when others display positive emotions is made clear in the frequencies of such remarks shown in Table 5.1. However, as discussed throughout this study, expectations that others should display positive emotions can result in their performing surface acting. Surface acting is significantly related to emotional exhaustion in this study and others (e.g., Grandey, 2003; Shanock et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2018).

Showing savviness with technology, including using nonverbal technology features, is distinct from screen-sharing. It potentially represents an act of social support. An argument for such savviness as social support is suggested by responses that indicated the value of technology skills that make meetings more beneficial and less exhausting for at least some of this study's participants. For example, navigating between video meeting platform screens and other applications, using reaction buttons, using chat, and using polling to interact were among the

valuable ways to reduce emotional exhaustion and make meetings more beneficial in this sample. It is unclear which of Johnston's (2010) forms of social support such savviness represents. There is little to no supporting scientific evidence of any wide-spread value of the use of nonverbal features within a video meeting platform (as compared to other forms of interaction). Thus, this act, which appears to represent social support, will be addressed later in the chapter in the section on future research directions.

Using humor as an act of social support was suggested by the response excerpts: "make jokes," "share stories to lighten the mood," "moments of levity," and the like. However, Crowe et al. (2018) found whether humor reduces video meeting exhaustion depends on the empathy that humor represents. Not all humor is good humor. Crowe et al. found affiliative humor resulted in greater meeting satisfaction than aggressive humor. Affiliative humor was also negatively related to impression management. Also, the positive relationship between the use of humor in meetings and meeting satisfaction was significantly stronger for those who reported relatively *low levels* of impression management. Recalling this study's earlier discussion of emotionally harmful effects on those over-practicing impression management in video meetings, jokes or stories that cause other attendees to feel they must react in a forced way to manage others' impressions is *not* socially supportive. Thus, the use of humor requires caution.

Having good equipment and internet connectivity as an act of social support was suggested by these response excerpts:

- "Have good cameras," "have good lighting," and "have good sound."
- "Have a stable internet connection" and the like.

When considered among Johnston's (2010) categories, this act represents a tangible form of social support in that it reflects taking on responsibilities.

Being casual as an act of social support was suggested by these response excerpts:

- "Have a laid-back attitude," "dress casual," "make it casual," and "be casual.
- "Have a drink (nonalcoholic) with them" and "have fun backgrounds."
- "Make it personal and not have only fancy backgrounds."
- "See their kids appearing on the video" and "more personal surroundings."
- "Show grace for background distractions … noisy kids, barking dogs, doorbells ringing, etc."

When considered among Johnston's (2010) categories, this act also represents emotional support. It reflects having empathy for others who suddenly found themselves working from a remote office for the first time and are still adjusting.

Being professional as an act of social support appears here in the sequencing, even though it deviates from frequency-of-response ordering. The social support value of being professional is directly oppositional to the immediately preceding discussion relating to the value of "being casual." Being professional as an act of social support was suggested by these sample response excerpts:

- "Dress for success" and "Be professional, treat it like an office meeting."
- "Not comment on my background / house" and "limit background distractions."
- "Shadow their background" and "better manage background distractions and interactions."

When considered among Johnston's (2010) categories, this act represents a tangible form of social support in that it reflects taking on responsibilities.

Being punctual as an act of social support was suggested by these example response excerpts:

- "Show up," "be on time," "start on time," and "end on time."
- "Be respectful of hard stops."
- "Ensure they end early to prevent an uninterrupted series of videoconferences."

When considered among Johnston's (2010) categories, this act also represents a tangible form of social support in that it reflects taking on responsibilities.

Muting themselves as an act of social support was suggested by response excerpts reflecting "mute their mic when not talking," and the like. It is unclear which of Johnston's (2010) forms of social support are represented by muting oneself. There is little to no supporting scientific evidence of any wide-spread value of the mute function in a video meeting environment. Thus, this act, which might represent social support, will be discussed later in the chapter, in the section on future research directions.

Making eye contact with others through the camera lens as an act of social support was suggested by responses such as "make eye contact" and "look at the camera." Once again, it is unclear which of Johnston's (2010) forms of social support this action represents. Table 5.1 shows the number of participants in this study who expressed finding benefit from this action. However, as discussed throughout this study, expectations that others pretend to be looking at a person when they are actually "staring for hours at a black dot" (as was said by one participant in the study) suggest a physically exhausting form of impression management or

emotionally-depleting surface acting. Surface acting is significantly related to emotional exhaustion in this study and others (e.g., Grandey, 2003; Shanock et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2018).

Emergent Themes Related to Research Question 3. When considering how cognitive coping relates to emotional exhaustion, qualitative data analysis revealed three more emergent themes. As with the four emergent themes previously discussed, though not quantitatively measured, the qualitative data offers compelling insights related to the third question in the study. These themes, which are forms of meaning-making, serve to exacerbate emotional exhaustion or ease it. The emergent cognitive coping themes are:

1. A belief that one must not multitask at all during video meetings;
2. A belief that one's video meetings were useless; and
3. Small talk.

As discussed in the following pages, qualitative data analysis shows meaning-making about these themes related to emotional exhaustion.

Not Muli-Task at All During Video Meetings. Response coding showed at least some participants in this study felt unable to freely multitask in ways they had formerly done in in-person meetings. That perception was due to another: everyone attending a video meeting can simultaneously watch everyone else's face. The data show participants believe those watching make inferences (i.e., negative judgments) based on others' eyes flitting away from the camera or where others cast their gazes. Perceptions reflected in the data suggest at least some participants in this study feared their eyes, if tracking away from the camera, would be interpreted as signs of distraction or disengagement. Hence, participants' responses suggested

strain from efforts to resist their inclination to multitask so they would appear "present." The following are example responses to the item that asked what comes to mind when thinking about video meetings:

- "Make sure you look attentive vs. distracted" and "Can they tell I'm multitasking?"
- "Having to be fully engaged and paying strict attention whereas on a phone call, I can be multitasking since I'm not actually seen."
- "It's harder to multitask, so I think about my to-do list."

Further evidence of the strain of not being able to multitask appeared in phrases in response to the item that asked what makes video meetings exhausting:

- "Intentional listening and engaging. No option to be distracted or go quiet."
- "I get distracted by incoming email sometimes because it is difficult to stay present for a long time."
- "Worrying about looking 'not present' or distracted even if being attentive/taking notes when not looking at the screen."
- "Being engaged—multitasking is apparent on camera."

The data thus suggest a cumulative strain of social pressure to avoid multitasking in video meetings. Further analysis of the qualitative data indicates this strain includes depletion of resources due to longer work hours necessary for participants to accomplish their overall job responsibilities (since they could not get those responsibilities accomplished by multitasking.) Illustrative responses include:

- "The Work From Home workday has evolved into a 12-hour day, plus weekend. THAT's what is draining."

- "Working from home means I'm never away from work."

One respondent summed up the resources depletion issue in their response to the question that asked what comes to mind when thinking about video meetings. The respondent replied: "Extra burden."

As mentioned in Chapter IV, the emotional labor cost due to social pressure to *not* multitask *at all* in video meetings for fear of negative judgment appears to be unaddressed in the literature. Therefore, this qualitative finding is a significant contribution to the literature.

The Uselessness of Video Meetings. Resources include the things one values, including states and conditions (Halbesleben et al., 2014) such as personal energy. In meetings, threats to these resources include others' counter-productive behaviors (Allen et al., 2015b). The qualitative data in this study offers evidence of how some respondents cognitively make meaning of others' counter-productive actions that provide rationale for at least some of their video meetings being perceived as useless. That uselessness represents a threat to their emotional resources. The following excerpts reinforce and thereby justify the inclusion of uselesness as a separate, emergent theme.

What makes video meetings exhausting? Useless, counter-productive behaviors, such as:

- "BS, lack of standards, lying."
- "Sometimes I think they drag on just to drag on."
- "When I get the 'blink, blink, stare' and no one is contributing."
- "Sometimes it feels like the manager is using video meetings for surveillance. I resent that."

- “There is a high degree of mistrust at my company. If they don’t see you, they don’t think you are working. Which is tough because I now have more early, lunch, and end of day video calls. It’s hard to eat and be on camera at the same time.”
- “People who take over the meeting and belabor their point. White males taking over a meeting to discuss diversity and BLM is a very recent example. It wears me out.”
- “Pandering” makes video meetings exhausting.
- “Sometimes people are too long-winded and do not stay on course, which extends the meetings and decreases the overall productivity.”
- “The politics are tiring. Situations where you have to self-censor due to political sensitivities in the group.”

As to uselessness in general:

- Video meetings take the place of in-place work interactions; however, they don’t give the same benefit. I find it is usually for the benefit of senior leadership.”
- “They are usually unnecessary.”
- “We talk about things we don’t need to be talking about.”
- “I have lost the possibility of quiet, confidential exchanges with coworkers—the kinds of exchanges where meaningful connections and understandings were built without the burden and risk of official documentation.”
- “Scheduling, moderating, etc., for meetings about the most superficial topics sucks.”
- “The meetings themselves are not exhausting, it’s that people are now having unnecessary meetings because perhaps they don’t have enough to do in their jobs. So they bring the rest of us in with these unnecessary meetings.”

Small Talk. Csikszentmihalyi (1975) found that chatting with others about nonwork activities (i.e., small talk) and other topics that some might consider not worthy or instrumental to task completion are essential to emotional wellbeing and creative output. Csikszentmihaly argued such small talk (among other forms of nonwork activities) provides the stimulation that satisfies needs that work otherwise does not.

The tension in this study's qualitative data about the value of small talk arises when considering whether it serves as a form of social support and, if so, how it is in conflict with meeting others' social support needs for "short," "to the point," "concise" video meetings. Here, then, small talk is re-introduced as an emergent theme that represents cognitive coping.

When participants in this study described what made video meetings beneficial for them, 25 of them indicated small talk. That number represents 10% of the sample respondents to the item (n = 259). For those participants, the loss of daily, friendly interactions with coworkers that were unrelated to work, the sort of chats that could occur when bumping into one another on an elevator, in the hallway, in the breakroom, or a casual visit across cubes, is poignant in the data. I argue making sense of this new work environment where workers are physically separated from each other day after day requires experience-sharing. Thus, the conflicting perspectives among participants in this study about its value in reducing or contributing to video meetings-related emotional exhaustion merits special attention.

The expectation from a slightly larger portion of respondents than those who value small talk shows beliefs that, in video meetings, people should "stick to the business at hand," "get straight to the work," and "stay on topic, not chit-chat." Such behavior squeezes out the opportunity to gain the cognitive, wellbeing, and creativity benefits described by

Csikszentmihalyi (1975). When working from a co-located site, coworkers could more easily engage in the friendly exchanges that solidified relationships, cultivated a network of professional support, and (sometimes) provided essential learning about the organization culture, all in a noncompetitive, mutually interested way. With the loss of the conference room meeting, workers are now physically isolated from each other. Because video meetings are often back to back (as evidenced in this study's data), the small talk during scheduled meetings may represent the only opportunity to re-establish or maintain those essential relationship bonds.

As evidenced by the following excerpts from the response data in this study, small talk is especially *useful* in cognitively coping with the shift from co-located to virtual, isolated, singular workplaces. In addition to previously cited responses to the items that asked what others do or can do to "make video meetings useful to you" were these remarks:

- "Feel free to make more small talk and connection, not just be task focused."
- "Share something about themselves" and "connect with personal anecdotes."
- "Make them personal and leave room for the dialog and connecting that builds trust."
- "Take time to chat and see what others have been up to personally."
- "Leave time for general conversation" and "engage each other personally."
- "Have some small talk. Say hello before launching in."

The abundance of remarks thematically coded to small talk (see Table 5.1) and suggesting its usefulness clarifies that meetings beneficial "to me" (as queried in the survey item) are not, from participants' perspectives, just about getting work done. Usefulness includes building relationships.

Summary of Key Findings

The mean score (M = 3.45) on the 9-point emotional exhaustion scale indicated participants in this study, on average, experienced emotional exhaustion once a month or less, to emotional exhaustion a few times a month. As a partial explanation for this mean, 22% of respondents (n = 331) to the qualitative items in this study indicated that they actively enjoyed their meetings and did not experience them as exhausting. However, the larger part (78%) of the qualitative data sample (n = 331) indicated that they experienced video meetings as uniquely stressful and emotionally exhausting.

Among the two stressor variables quantitatively measured, a higher number of video meeting hours significantly, though weakly, related to a higher level of emotional exhaustion. Qualitative data analysis bore this finding and revealed a more significant relationship than that demonstrated in quantitative results.

Participants frequently and plaintively expressed an intense yearning for “shorter” video meetings. Indeed, among the acts of social support from coworkers, having shorter meetings was, by far, the most frequently expressed in the qualitative data (see Table 5.1). Also, through qualitative data analysis, the absence of breaks between and during video meetings emerged as a significant contributor to emotional exhaustion. These findings are consient with arguments in popular and professional literature. Since the onset of pandemic-related work-from-home policies, reports attribute the particularly draining experience of video meetings to added strains to focus on and absorb information, stare directly at a screen attentively, and do so for long periods of time often without mental or physical breaks (e.g., Ames, 2020; Fosslien & Duffy, 2020).

Surface acting was the second stressor variable quantitatively measured. Regression analyses showed a higher frequency of surface acting significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Qualitative data analysis supported these findings and revealed a similar yet different significant emergent theme: impression management.

Among this study's respondents, impression management was an exhausting form of labor explicitly applicable to video meetings. It included, though was not limited to striving (and often failing) to appear in specific ways to other attendees and was clearly shown, through qualitative data, to be related to anxiety, worry, and emotional exhaustion.

The two coping resources quantitatively measured in the study were extrovertism and social support from another adult in the home. Regression analyses showed both were nonsignificant in their relation to emotional exhaustion. While qualitative data analysis did not refute these findings, it revealed two emergent social support themes.The first is mentionable in the study given the partnered marital status composition of the convenience sample. That theme, social support from those outside the home and not one's coworkers, bears future research. The second emergent theme related to social support had to do with that provided by one's coworkers. Qualitative data coded to that theme included a plethora of support actions coworkers take or could take to help make video meetings more beneficial and relieve the strain and exhaustion that might otherwise result. Table 5.1 lists these actions.

The study quantitatively measured three cognitive coping variables and their relationships with emotional exhaustion. The first, perceptions that video meetings were too many for participants to accomplish their overall job responsibilities, was significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. The second, perceptions that video meetings were useful to the

participant, was significantly related to a lower emotional exhaustion level. The third, perceptions that family, household, and personal responsibilities competed for the energy participants needed to do their jobs successfully, was also significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Qualitative analyses supported and further elucidated the quantitative findings and revealed three emergent themes.

The first was the perception that one must not multitask at all during video meetings. Data suggested that perception created stress and resultant exhaustion due to continuous efforts at self-control, including eye movement control. Participant responses indicated that in-person meetings allowed greater freedom to multitask. Thus, they provided the opportunity to complete other job responsibilities while in a meeting. However, their perceptions that they must not multitask during video meetings led to further exhaustion due to the long work hours newly required to accomplish the job.

The second of the cognitive meaning-making emergent themes was the perception of the uselessness of video meetings. Unlike the quantitative measure, open-ended items in the survey produced evidence of use*less*sness versus usefulness, and others' counter-productive behaviors contributed to a sense of uselessness that drained emotional resources.

The third of the cognitive meaning-making emergent themes was the perception of the value of small talk. Qualitative data analysis showed participants' needs for small talk to conflict with other participants need to have short, efficient meetings. Some participants in the study found small talk especially useful in coping with the stress of the disruptive life event of pandemic-related work from home orders.

Making Meaning of the Findings: Dramaturgy Applied

In the play, As *You Like It,* Shakespeare (1598/1600) wrote, "All the world's a stage." Consistent with Park and Folkman's (1997) arguments, readers might construe, understand, or make sense of this study by thinking such, and by returning to the meaning and order provided by Goffman's (1959) approach to studying social interaction that he called dramaturgy.

In-Person Meetings: Actors on Stage

Goffman (1959) argued that we can understand social interaction by taking the perspective of observing social actors on the stage of social situations, as if interactions were taking place in a theatre, where the people interacting perform and their actions parallel a drama. Goffman maintains that the dramas of everyday life, if recorded in writing, would read much like a playscript. In this play, the "actors" engage with and respond to cues from other actors.

Before COVID-19 work-from-home mandates, one of the unwritten but well-known playscripts of workplace culture in U.S. society was called a "team meeting." When enacting this playscript, those actors in attendence performed together according to the cultural norms for their roles in ways that support the story line of the agenda. The actors, together the "cast," knew the way in which the action was meant to occur. Social cues suggested the beginning, the end, and the transitions within the "story." That story line, and normative expectations about roles and the scripts that supported it, were well-known because of many repetitions (Geimer et al., 2015).

In staging their social performances, people, as social actors, establish themselves through normative behaviors so they appear as credible in their roles (Van Praet, 2009). Actors' behaviors might include being "the centre of the show and the dramatically dominant participant in it" (Goffman, 1959, p. 105), or acting as "the star, lead or centre of attention" (Goffman, 1959,

p. 103). The “meticulous detail” of a performance, “the painstaking portrayal of policial and social encounters” that marks how a person “fulfils the role requirements and expectations of a central position in a network of social and political relationships” serves to establish the actor as a credible performer (Van Praet, 2008, p. 94).

On the pre-COVID stage, people in meetings performed their roles within the boundaries of scripts that reflected the cultural norms for that type of social interaction. There were unwritten rules about how to facilitate workplace meetings, a social construct, as Schwartzman (1986, 1989) defined it. Norms for meetings might have included participants engaging in interpersonal interactions aimed to create a positive, nonthreatening environment (Romero & Cruthirds, 2006), and unwritten directions based on what the collective (or the dominant) members of the group believed was permissible to say. Norms for workplace meetings also existed about when and how to speak up and when to remain quiet. An actor’s adhereance to those unwritten norms could help the actor create an impression of themselves that was consistent with the actor’s goals, and helped to solidify their personal identification (Ashforth et al., 2016) as a competent social actor in their role in that setting.

Video Meetings: Actors on Screen

Now, as a result of COVID-19 mitigation and the resulting work from home, often via video meetings, people find themselves in a virtual theatre. Congruent with Goffman’s (1959) dramaturgy theory, attendees in video meetings face social situations in which roles and norms for interaction are less clear, the setting has changed, and so, in many ways, each week workplace “actors” spend many hours essentially performing improv. With video meetings now “the lynchpin of business communication” (Kretchmer, 2020, para. 1), previously

well-established scripts no longer fully apply, and new ones reflecting new norms have not yet fully emerged. Though there are many repetitions of the screenplay "video meeting," social actors may not yet be sure of the story itself, much less their lines within it, and how the plot flows and arcs. Rapid social change, like the wholesale movement of work-related meetings to video meetings from home, is different and unsettling, as evident in the data of this study. Among some of the lost norms, according to participants in this study, are multitasking as accepted and appropriate and the occurrence of much-needed (at least by some) small talk. The lost relevance of some guiding norms for in-person work-meetings, the resulting uncertainty that exists while awaiting new norms for video meetings to emerge, and increased video meeting load together create increased opportunity for failed performances, and therefore presents social actors with an ongoing distressing social situation.

In video meetings, social actors must expend new and additional efforts to create an impression of the self as a competent social actor. That level of effort was an investment of energy that many participants in this study found to be emotionally exhausting. Participants described video meetings as sites of uncertainty; not sure what the script is meant to be or how to align their performance with it. To explore this notion, I use Burke's (1969) argument that people's actions and intentions can be understood by examining a social context according to five elements of drama: act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose.

Act. What takes place in thought and deed (Burke, 1969) in meetings has changed with the rapid and widespread adoption of video meetings in place of meetings that previously would have been held on-site and in-person. In video meetings, attendees are trying to manage a credible performance but, as demonstrated in this study, they sometimes unwillingly and

unhappily show parts of themselves that are not consistent with the work selves they need to present.

Scene. When and where the "drama" unfolds (Burke, 1969) has been entirely up-ended. Comparing the scene of video meetings against the scene of pre-COVID in-person meetings is (metaphorically) like comparing Netflix to a Greek odeon. Previously, meeting attendees performed on a common stage—the backdrop was a quiet conference room or another co-located site. There, the props (conference table and other office furniture, coffee and snacks, projector) were consistent with and supported the story line, and ensured few if any distractions to enactment of the "story" of accomplishing the agenda while remaining "in character." Now, workplaces are home places. There is no shared stage; even if everyone uses the same company-provided virtual background, in reality each attendee's stage is different, and has different distractions (e.g., children playing, a neighbor's leafblower roaring). In short, attendees' professional roles do not match the scenes of their home settings.

Agent. The person, or kind of person, who serves as actor (Burke, 1969) also has changed. Before work-from-home mandates due to the pandemic, meeting attendees knew how to play their roles—their scripts reflected culturally constructed norms about when to talk, when to listen, how to multitask without being disruptive or seeming disengaged, and how to show up early to make social connections that are significant to work satisfaction (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975).

Now, the upending of the scripts and norms for in-person, on-site meetings by the new ubiquity of work-from-home video meetings for which norms are just developing is a source of uncertainty as social actors must perform improvisationally, and do so for long periods of time

and with great frequency (e.g., three-hour meetings; meetings every day). These demands exceed those even of professional improv actors who have developed the skills and experience to do performances without a script. Similar to professional improv artists, video meeting "actors" need feecback from the other actors in the play, feedback such as verbal or body language cues that indicate effectiveness of performance and provide the actor with encouragement about, "Am I credible? Am I sticking to the role for my script?" But actors in video meetings do not get this feedback due to limited picture size, the abundant use of mute, and some other attendees' cameras being off altogether. The actors, therefore, do not know how they are being received or what the other actors in the meeting are thinking because they cannot hear "listening noises" or "see heads nodding so I know they understand and are tracking" (as explained by examples from two participants in this study).

Operating in uncertainty, without a normative script and feedback from other social actors, presents a challenge to presenting oneself with a context-specific identity. When that happens, personal identification becomes threatened and people feel ungrounded (Ashforth et al., 2016). When people feel the resulting anxiety, their reflex is to quickly reduce it by defensively adopting *superficial* trappings to appear as a credible actor (Goffman, 1963/2009) However, participants in this study reflected that, during video meetings, they judge their own superficial self-presentations as less than the impression they intend to make. For instance, many participants commented on heightened awareness of aspects of their physical appearance as imperfect (e.g., "old," "tired," or "fat"). That negative self-judgment does not account for the reality that they are not trained video performers with a crew of people supporting their successful video self-presentation, thus they unfairly observe themselves as less than the

"perfect" video personas with which they may be familiar through television, such as on-camera professionals like news anchors.

Agency. The methods and technologies used (Burke, 1969) for video meetings are new and chainging, and therefore remain unfamiliar or uncomfortable to many video meeting attendees even months into pandemic-related work-from-home mandates. Norms have not yet solidified for how participants in a video meeting are to perform their roles *together*, in concert, even when the meeting agenda (only part of the story line) is clear. Without established norms, people who are generally disadvantaged (e.g., those with less power, representing a nondominant group) in a meeting context typically have to work harder to perform their parts (Ashforth et al., 2016).

Purpose. Why certain things happen, and the motives behind the behavior of actors in happenings (Burke, 1969) might have been easier to parse when meetings were conducted in person. There, scripts and roles were clear and body language provided clues as to people's intentions and the meanings they derived from the interactions. When improvising a joint performance in-person, actors are dependent on such cues to understand how others intend the action to unfold (Metallinou et al., 2011). However, in video meetings, nonverbal cues are easy to miss, if not entirely missing, from the context.

Attitude. The preparation before performing the act (Burke, 1969) of attending a work-related meeting formerly happened at least during, if not long before, walking to a co-located site. That preparation was primarily about role performance (e.g., according to what the meeting was about and one's role in it). However, in today's video meeting climate, attitude

and other self-presentation preparation is occurring in the home. Previously, home served as people's sanctuary, the place where a worker could "let their hair down" and not be self-conscious of their role performace. Home was "backstage," to use Goffman's (1959) term from dramaturgy, where we relax or get ready for a performance, but we are not "on stage." Now, however, home is a place where, for work-related video meetings, impression management dictates that we be "frontstage" with hair perfectly coiffed and, since it serves as the setting for our performance of our professional role, our home environment must be ready presentation on camera to other actors.

Embarassment and Role Performance Failure

Dramaturgy (Goffman, 1959) illuminates how everyday interactions are patterned by roles and scripts. Embarrassment occurs in interactions when a person's intended impression is incompatible with how they have projected themselves to others (Goffman, 1956). In the case of a work-related meeting, if a social actor fails to present self in a way that is consistent with organizational norms for their role and the situation, this would result in embarrassment. Goffman (1963/2009) explains that when, in social interaction, if people fail to meet other people's standards (expectations based on cultural norms), they may be discredited as a competent social actor. That is a fear-inducing situation because there are consequences of being discredited such as loss of face, social exclusion, and diminished social status within the group, for example. In this study, participants noted worry about a variety of stigmatizing perceptions of them by others that might result from failed performances in video meetings.

Social Change and Challenges to Social Integration

Periods of large scale and/or rapid social change, such as those surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic, impact people's ways of life and challenge their connections to one another. Massive change alters typical patterns of relations mong people and creates undertainty. Durkheim maintained (1895/1982) that through what he called "collective consciousness," the social integration of a moral order (what is right and wrong), societies maintain solidarty and coherence. Collective consciousness guides how people relate to one another and the broader society in which they perform (Durkheim, 1902/1961). It includes shared beliefs, ideas, and attitudes that serve as a unifying, integrating force in a given social context. In contrast to such a unified and integreated state, Durkheim (1897/2005) described anomie, or normlessness, as a social condition that is produced by the uprooting or breaking down of shared beliefs, ideas, and attitudes. For example, Durkeim maintains anomie can evolve from a conflict between what different people believe to be true. For example, in this study, different people believed "have small talk" made video meetings less exhausting, while others believed "no chit chat" makes meetings less tiring. Anome can ensue in times of upheavel, wherein people feel untethered, have a sense of not being connected with others, not knowing what they are supposed to do, and lack of feeling of societal solidarity. In such times, people feel distressed. Indeed, Durkheim (1897/2005) found suicide rates to be higher. In the context of COVID-19, we see tremendous change in work patterns, communications, high levels of uncertainty, and the rapid and wide-scale adoption of work-from-home video meetings. The violation of previously established norms, even such basic ones like punctuality, can give rise to negative emotions about people's behavioral intentions (Mroz & Allen, 2017). It is no wonder,

then, that in this study, participants'uncertainty about norms was widely evident in the data. One can imagine the high stakes in the minds of social actors during times of such uncertainty: one false move, one video meeting faux pas that produced the sort of embarrassment Goffman (1963) discusses, can put the actor's economonic security and social standing at risk. There are things video meeting planners and leaders can do, that organizations can do, that we all as video meting participants can do to reduce the uncertainty and make video meetings less distressing. As it turned out, it was not the meetings themselves that were distressing, but features of them that participants in this study provide clear guidance about addressing in practice. Before presenting these strategies, it is important to recognize some of the limitations of this study.

Limitations of the Study

As an exploratory study, this research has many limitations, some known and others possible. Together, they include a limited period of study, use of a convenience sample, response attrition, retrospective bias, self-report bias, emotional exhaustion measures, measures of meeting load (including definition of a meeting), absence of control for hierarchical status, use of English language, and potential researcher interpretation error. A discussion of each limitation, whether possible or real, follows.

Limited Period of Study

The survey asked participants to consider their video meetings over the last full workweek. Participants' experiences of the variables in this study (see Table 3.1) might not have been consistent from one workweek to the next. A research study with greater longevity might, therefore, produce different data. Also, data was gathered over a limited period: two weeks, in mid-August 2020. Data collected at other times (such as later in the pandemic) or over a longer

duration may have produced different results. The question remains as to whether participant views might change as people become habituated to the stressors and coping variables measured and the concepts that emerged in the qualitative data.

Use of a Convenience Sample

A convenience sample allowed rapid implementation of the measurement. While the sample size was substantial (n = 345 for the quantitative data after data cleaning), all study results should be interpreted with care since they likely do not represent the entire U.S. work population's experiences associated with work-related video meetings. Due to the sample composition, some variables (e.g., first languages other than English) had frequencies too low among some of the response options for this study to make a robust examination of statistically significant relationships between them and the dependent and other variables in the study. Perhaps a larger sample that included individuals beyond those in my personal, scholarly, and professional network (and, in turn, those individuals' networks) would have yielded different results. In addition. a larger sample is more likely to generate a population distribution for whom the study pertains (Babbie, 1990).

Another potential limitation of the convenience sample is whether the emotional exhaustion findings represent the general population for whom the study is relevant. Participant recruitment efforts might not have adequately captured exhausted participants because they might not have chosen to participate in the study. After all, doing so might have represented one more burden on their energy and was therefore not worth the personal cost. Conversely, due to the heightened worker awareness of "Zoom fatigue" as described in the popular press, the

participant sample may over-reflect people who have stronger feelings about video meetings than those whose sentiments are indifferent.

Further limitations with the sample have to do with socio-economics. Response distributions in income show the vast majority of respondents had a 2019 annual household income of $200,000 and up. It is possible, indeed likely, that response options for the item measuring household income were inadequate. Those who selected the "$200,000 and up" response could have had household incomes in the range of $300,000 to $1,000,000 or more. That possibility is likely, considering that 16.8% of the sample were in C-suite / executive-level jobs. Given the ambiguity of incomes embedded in that highest response option of $200,000 and up, it is essential to consider the distribution skew in the study's income data to understand the convenience sample's socio-demographics (see the response distribution, Figure 3.18.) In short, this convenience sample may be wealthier than suggested by the mean. Such is highly likely considering that:

1. The median annual wage for managers in 2019 was $105,660 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020a, para. 2).
2. The median annual salary for chief executives in 2019 was $184,460 (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020b, para. 4).
3. This item measured *total* household income, not just the salary of the participant.

Another limitation of the convenience sample is it may reflect a concentration in some occupations, employers, or geographic locations. Because occupation, employer, and geographic location were not among the control variables in this study, such a concentration cannot be determined nor accounted for in the data.

Response Attrition

Open-ended items that appear midway in the survey required participants to expend more thinking effort and more response time than did the close-ended items at the beginning and end of the survey. Response attrition may have occurred due to the effort required to respond to these items. Indeed, the sample of qualitative respondents (n = 331) numbered fewer than the qualified quantitative respondent sample (n = 345). As such, there was less than optimum robustness of qualitative data compared to quantitative data.

Retrospective Bias

Retrospective bias is caused by difficulty or inability to accurately recall past specific events (Robinson & Clore, 2002). Respondents might have thought the trends and patterns of their recent experiences reflected their less recent experiences. For example, when responding to the surface acting scale, they may have thought they did something "always / constantly" because that is their recent experience, while not being aware that they did that same thing only "sometimes" a couple of months ago. Another example of potential retrospective bias relates to meeting load, one of two stressor variables measured in the study. During this time of national emotional overwhelm related to the pandemic, accurately remembering the number of hours spent in video meetings the previous week might be challenging. I could not determine whether any of the data reflected retrospective bias; thus, I was unable to account for it in my analyses.

Self-Report Bias

The efficacy of the use of an online survey is subject to some debate. That debate concerns whether participants, despite their anonymity, will under-report their thoughts, feelings, or behaviors if they perceive them to be incongruent with their self-image—researchers Monette

et al. (2011) term such bias the social desirability effect. Participants could have been subject to the social desirability effect when, for example, responding to the surface acting scale items. If so, that desire to project a positive image could have negatively influenced surface acting scores. The respondent phrase from one of the open-ended items in the survey, "I don't really feel that they are all THAT exhausting," hints at such a possibility.

Responses to survey items might reflect a positivity bias if participants were immersed in deep-level acting, wherein they were acting "positive." As described by Brotheridge and Lee (2003) and discussed in Chapter II, deep-level acting is related to but distinct from surface acting. Conversely, responses might reflect negativity bias since negative experiences significantly affect one's psychological state and mental processes more than neutral or positive experiences (Kanouse & Hanson, 1972).

Self-report bias might also have resulted from anxiety related to the series of scale items measuring emotional exhaustion or other scale items having to do with negative emotions. When a study's participants experience this sort of anxiety, they may alter their responses to compensate for the anxiety (Monette et al., 2011).

The Measure of Emotional Exhaustion

The emotional exhaustion subscale from the Maslach Burnout Inventory – General Survey (Schaufeli et al., 1996) used in this study measures routine emotional exhaustion. The current pandemic is an extraordinary situation, and the scale may not have been adequate to capture the overnight and rampant exhaustion that this study intended to explore. For example, because the scale measured frequency across a year (e.g., one of the response options was "a few times a year or less") but the 12 months previous to measurement included six pandemic months

and six months prior to the pandemic. Also, the scale did not measure to what extent, as time passed and video meetings became more routine between March and August 2020, did the level of exhaustion related to those meetings change.

Measures of Video Meeting Load

There are five limitations to how I measured video meeting load in the study. Those limitations are: (a) representative data; (b) variables measured; (c) definition; (d) recall accuracy, and; (e) scale design. Following is a discussion of each.

Representational data. The study measured meeting load the previous week. It is impossible to ascertain whether that week was representative of an average week or all weeks.

Variables measured. I measured frequency as the number of days the previous week in which the participant had at least one video meeting and time as the number of hours spent in those meetings. These measurements are consistent with those used by Yoerger et al. (2015) in their study. However, these measures did not capture the total number of meetings in that one week, the number of meetings each day of that week, or the number of hours each day. I believed an attempt to collect such granular data would have been difficult, arduous, or impossible for participants' recollection capabilities. However, had this study's measurement of load been more detailed, findings from the analysis of the relationship between load and emotional exhaustion might have been different.

Definition of a meeting. According to Schwartzman (1989, p. 61), a meeting is a "coming together of three or more people who agree to assemble for a purpose ostensibly related to the functioning of an organization or group." Though elegantly describing what a meeting is and, by implication, what it is not, that definition would have been cognitively overwhelming to

participants, especially considering my need to add the modifiers “synchronous,” “video,” and “where you display yourself on camera for most or all of the meeting.” I, therefore, provided a more simple definition in the online survey questionnaire. In return for giving that simple definitioin to aid participant ease, there was likely some variation in participants’ understanding of the meaning of “meeting.” For example, an educator may have considered a video classroom a “meeting,” or a physician may have deemed an appointment with a patient a “meeting.” I was not able to determine what participants considered in terms of content or size of a meeting. Thus I was unable to account for whether participants held the same notion as Schwartzman, nor was I able to account for it in my analyses.

Recall accuracy. It is doubtful that, while completing the online survey questionnaire, participants would have also referred to their calendars and accurately counted the precise number of meetings the previous week and the exact number of hours those meetings comprised. Instead, participants would likely have estimated based on memory. Whether or not their recall was accurate was unknown. Thus I could not account for any recall inaccuracy in my analyses.

Scale design. The mean number of video meeting hours for this sample (n = 345) might have been higher if I had extended the 3-hour intervals of response options beyond 15+ hours. This possibility is supported by a published estimate that executives can be in video meetings for up to 23 hours per week *on average* (Finkel, 2020, para. 4). It is also possible that varying the forms of measurement for the two variables that comprised meeting load, rather than measuring them in parallel structure, would have produced different results. Perhaps the data would have shown that video meeting load in hours *and* frequency each uniquely related to emotional

exhaustion, instead of being collinear. However, it is impossible to know whether that would have been the case.

Absence of Hierarchical Status as a Control Factor

Other studies have demonstrated strong relationships between hierarchical status and emotional labor (Erks et al., 2017; Scott & Barnes, 2011; Thomas et al., 2018). This study did not seek to do so because such a pursuit would have presented potential risks for stress. For example, the had survey asked participants to identify the percentage of days and hours of video meetings in which they fulfilled the role of the leader versus some other role, and to bifurcate their experiences of fatigue and the extent to which they engaged in surface acting depending on their meeting-related role, such a design would have been impractical for analysis. It would also have caused the survey to be unduly vexing if not impossible for participants' memory capacity, thereby producing a stressful respondent experience. The need to avoid that risk of participant stress far outweighed the potential additive value of seeking hierarchical status data.

English Language

Given the significant lack of English language proficiency in the U.S., as discussed in Chapter II, there may have been variations in how respondents understood each item in the survey or how they interpreted the labels for scale items. For example, the English word "sometimes" may connote different meanings among different languages. Such variations in understanding, should they have occurred, could not be prevented beyond what was possible through pilot testing, nor could they be accounted for in the data analyses.

Potential Researcher Interpretation Error

The words used by a participant in response to open-ended items might have a different meaning for me than that intended by the respondent. I mitigated this potential limitation by working in two instances with a coding tutor/partner to test my meaning-making. However, the risk of the limitation remains.

Practice Implications

Table 5.1 provides an overview of the implications of findings for practitioners. Beyond what the table reflects and the discussion that follows it are specific considerations based on my synthesis of responses across the qualitative data.

Four Considerations

As a practitioner, I believe other practitioners will benefit from considering the merits of participant views embedded in these four suggestions. Though not a cure-all for exhaustion related to video meetings, they might serve as a starting place for application of this study's findings because they are relatively easy to follow and subsequently test in a given organization context for their impact on employee stress related to video meetings. See Table 5.2.

Table 5.2

Four Practitioner Considerations for Reducing Video Meeting Exhaustion

	Considerations
1	Consider establishing camera norms and communicating them when sending the agenda in advance (far enough in advance that people have time to prepare.) If it is essential to see faces to accomplish the stated purpose of the meeting, say so. If seeing faces is not necessary to achieve the goal, consider a conference call instead. Participants in this study considered conference calls generally less exhausting for many reasons.[8]
2	Try limiting the weekly dose of video meetings. In this study, video meeting load began to correlate with emotional exhaustion at seven hours; the correlation grew stronger as the meeting load grew heavier, with 12 hours being the maximum number tolerable before emotional exhaustion set in.[9]
3	When creating the agenda, consider carving out a specific time at the beginning for everyone who wants to engage in small talk. By limiting the amount of time for small talk, those who experience it as a waste of time will not be anxious that the meeting will "become a social hour" (as said by one participant in this study). As demonstrated in this study and other research[10], those who find small talk useful for building relationships, creating trust, and getting much-needed social support while working from home will be less frustrated, less exhausted, and more engaged.
4	Useless video meetings relate to emotional exhaustion, at least in this study' sample. Ensure everyone on the invitation list will find the time they spend in a video meeting to be useful. This guidance may sound like common sense. However, if it was common practice, there would not be so many respondents in this study and other studies[11] who find at least some of their workplace meetings a waste of time.

[8] This consideration is supported in the popular media (e.g., Fosslien & Duffy, 2020, para. 11).
[9] Meeting load also moderates the relationship between participatory decision-making and employee engagement (Yoerger et al., 2015).
[10] E.g., Allen et al., 2014; Axelrod and Axelrod, 2014; Csiksesentmihalyi, 1975; McCarthy, 2003; Mirivel and Tracy, 2005.
[11] E.g., Allen et al., 2012; Elsayed-Elkhouly, 1997; O'Neill and Allen, 2012; Romano and Nunamaker, 2001.

Questions for the Practitioner

As an exploratory study, this research unearthed more than it could address. Some of those unearthings suggest directions for future research. Others require the in-the-field expertise only a practitioner can wield. As such, here are four questions for the practitioner, synthesized from this study's findings. The use of quotation marks in this discussion denotes verbatim remarks from participants in the study.

- Participants in this study wanted other people to talk, contribute vocally, and "make listening noises," showing their engagement in the conversation. How is this possible if the video-meeting norm is to be on mute when you are not talking? What are the timing barriers for someone getting their voice in the mix if they must first remember to unmute, then take those two seconds to do it? How do those seconds in delay compromise voice, agency, and inclusion in a video meeting where (according to many of this study's participants), others tend to dominate the conversation, and there are no quiet pauses for reflection or to consider an idea? The business case for considering these questions: taking turns in the conversation (represented in this study by remarks such as "no talking heads" and "ask me questions" is consistent Halvorsen and Sarangi's (2015) report that shifts in conversational roles allows participants to cumulatively add to decision-making based on their role, responsibility, and expertise.

- This study's participants indicated they experienced others having the right equipment and a stable, fast internet connection to be acts of social support. Participants said, for example, "have good cameras," "have good lighting," "have good sound," "have a stable internet connection," and the like. Does the duty of performing acts of social support that make meetings more beneficial or reduce their exhaustion extend to the employer? Does a socially responsible employer provide or otherwise absorb the cost of good cameras, good lighting, good sound, and a strong internet connection? Why, or why not?
- The tension between what people say they need for meetings to be less tiring, for them to be able to get visual feedback from others, creates the conditions for other people to feel compelled to surface act, i.e., "why do they need to see my face??" Approximately one-third of the sample in this study say their video meetings are less tiring when they can turn their cameras off for most (or all) of the meeting, without fear of negative judgment. For these participants, camera use "feels like an intrusion." How, then, might video meetings be structured so that those who feel "surveilled" might feel less compulsion to fake their feelings while also meeting the larger portion (at least among this study's participants) to have all cameras turned on? The merit of this question is demonstrated by the requirements argued by Yoerger et al. (2015) for authentic meeting participation: attendees must perceive the meeting environment as a place where they can voice their relatively unfiltered thoughts and ideas without fear of negative consequences such as displays of annoyance. Without such an

environment, attendees' anxiety and excessive worry prevent their genuine participation.

- How might ground rules or other sorts of established group norms alleviate the unproductive stress and exhaustion from impression management striving? In this study, there is a clear tension between those who say people in video meetings should "be professional" and those who wish everyone in video meetings would "be casual." How can both interests be met, or is there some compromise that would satisfy both? Participants in this study said other people expect them to "act as if in person" or "treat this like a meeting in the office," but there is a "concern that work associates are being visually brought into my home environment." Add to that cognitive dissonance the effort required to have a "pleasing appearance," to have hair, makeup, and attire be "perfect," "to be seen as confident and excited," plus the mental effort of of "being 'on' and staring at the warm glow of a screen hour after hour." Altogether, as this study demonstrates, these efforts at impression management are exhausting.

Directions for Future Research

In addition to the questions presented for practitioners, this exploratory study suggests four potential directions for future research. Beginning with the broadest of those opportunities is using action research to examine the efficacy of specific practices identified by participants in this study within a specific organizational context. Also, there are potential directions for applying alternative scales to explore emotional exhaustion as it relates to video meetings. Third, there are opportunities for studies that quantitatively examine the significance of the emergent themes revealed in this study's qualitative data analysis. Fourth, research efforts might be

directed at more deeply examining any of the social support acts that appear in Table 5.1 and their positive or negative relationship with emotional exhaustion. I discuss each of these opportunities in the pages that follow.

Use of Action Research

The findings of this study would likely differ from those produced through the process of action research. In an action research study, the participants are employees who work together. They, along with the formal researcher, test specific interventions, make meaning of their results, adjust their interventions, then re-test them and make further meaning of the impact (Susman & Evered, 1978). An action research study on video meeting stressors, coping resources, cognitive coping, and emotional exhaustion could establish, at least for the participant group, prescriptive practices that work to reduce emotional exhaustion.

Studying Emotional Exhaustion

The emotional exhaustion subset from the Maslach Burnout Inventory General Survey (Schaufeli et al., 1996) measured self-reported emotional exhaustion over the past year. As workers continue to be subject to an ever-evolving pandemic crisis, a measure with a tighter timespan might yield different findings, and those findings might be illuminative. Also, the use of, or development of, a scale that measures social support and emotional exhaustion could produce quantitative results that demonstrate the significance of social support at work on emotional exhaustion levels. The Maslach Burnout Inventory General Survey emotional exhaustion subset did not measure social support, yet the findings in this study show social support actions are essential to easing video-meetings related stress.

Quantitative Studies of Emergent Themes

Emergent themes from this study's qualitative data set included relationships between emotional exhaustion, video meetings, and:

- Inability to take breaks.
- Impression management.
- Social support from those outside the home and not one's coworkers.
- Social support provided by one's coworkers.
- The perception that one cannot multitask at all during video meetings.
- The perception of the uselessness of video meetings.
- Differing perceptions about the value of small talk in a video meeting environment.

Each of these appears to be unaddressed in the literature. For example, the unique experience of impression management efforts across a large load of video meetings while, in effect, staring at oneself in a "mirror" is a novel question because U.S. society is in a novel pandemic predicament.

Examination of the Significance of Social Support Acts

Three items appear in Table 5.1, among other social support acts that, at least for some participants in this study, helped to make meetings more beneficial and alleviated emotional exhaustion. These acts seem to represent social support because they were coded (in part) from responses to questions asking what others do and could do to help video meetings be more beneficial to the participant. However, it is unclear at least from Johnston's (2010) categories, Thoits' (1984) discussions, and Aneshensel's (1992) theory how they fit into the social support literature. Those social support acts are:

- Showing savviness with technology, including using nonverbal technology features.
- Muting themselves.
- Meeting others' camera preferences (i.e., cameras on vs. cameras off).

Each of these acts merits study on its own. For example, does reliance on nonverbal technology features such as polling disable authentic communication? Does a workplace norm of using mute when not talking harm inclusivity and create stress, since data show it is often hard for a woman to get a word in when men are talking (Heath et al., 2014)? What forms of compromise, adaptation, or alteration allow all parties to get the social support they need regarding camera use? (The third example may represent an action research opportunity.)

Conclusions

I designed this study, implemented it, measured the results, and critically reviewed the findings to generate knowledge about the relationships between emotional exhaustion, video meeting stressors, coping resources, and cognitive coping. The intended outcome is for practitioners to use that knowledge to create new workplace norms. Workplace society and culture require adaptive practices that ameliorate the fatigue widely associated with video meetings (i.e., "Zoom fatigue"). Meeting that requirement will elevate the positive advantages of video meetings.

This study is significant to the practitioner and the researcher because of workplace and societal upheavals in the United States (U.S.) beginning Q1 2020. As a result of organizational responses to the pandemic (i.e., work from home mandates), video meetings rapidly became the de-facto method for workers to connect.

This study used mixed methods to explore three hypotheses related to emotional exhaustion and the almost-overnight adoption of video-enabled virtual work meetings. Data were collected using an anonymous online survey questionnaire. Emotional exhaustion was measured using the emotional exhaustion subset of items from the Maslach Burnout Inventory General Survey (Schaufeli et al., 1996). Two variables represented stressors in the study: video meeting load and surface acting. Surface acting was measured using items adapted from Grandey et al. (2005). Other independent variables included two coping resources (social support from another adult in the home and extrovertism) and four cognitive coping resources (perception and meaning-making about sufficiency, usefulness, and personal life competitions for time and energy required for work-life). Nineteen socio-demographic characteristics served as control variables. In addition to quantitatively measuring the afore-mentioned variables, the online survey questionnaire included six open-ended items. Those items posed questions to participants to provide illumination in mixed methods data analysis.

In the sample (n = 345), participants, on average, experienced emotional exhaustion once a month or less to a few times a month. 22% of respondents to open-ended items (n = 331) indicated they did not experience video meetings as exhausting. The larger part (78%) of the qualitative data sample indicated that they experience video meetings as uniquely stressful and emotionally exhausting. Among the quantitative findings: video meeting hours significantly, though weakly related to a higher level of emotional exhaustion. Regression analyses also showed a higher frequency of surface acting significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Extrovertism and social support from another adult in the home were nonsignificant in their relationships with emotional exhaustion. Perceptions that video meetings

were too many for particpants to accomplish their overall job responsibilities was significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Perceptions that video meetings were useful to the participant significantly related to a lower emotional exhaustion level. Perceptions that family, household, and personal responsibilities competed for the energy participants needed to do their jobs successfully was also significantly related to a higher emotional exhaustion level. Qualitative analyses supported and further elucidated these quantitative findings and revealed emergent themes that provide future research direction.

Malslach et al. (2001) and Taris et al. (2005) maintain emotional exhaustion is the foundation upon which employee burnout sequentially occurs and cynicism ensues (Malslach et al., 2001; Taris et al., 2005). Organizations have a vested interest in creating structures and processes and developing employee behaviors that prevent burnout and cynicism (Levenson, 2017). Individuals do too. Attendees' desire for interventions that reduce emotional exhaustion (and thereby potential burnout and cynicism) associated with video meetings is summed up in this comment from the participant sample: "I really like that I don't have to commute, but I also really hate video meetings. I'm not sure which is worse: a 2 to 3 hour commute each way or 2 hours of video meetings every day."

The wellbeing that can manifest when video meetings do not produce cynicism and burnout is reflected in this comment from another member of the participant sample:

> Work-related video meetings have been an extremely valuable tool for my business. I am very grateful for the technology and the willingness of my entire staff and clients to have gone 'virtual' during these difficult times. I've even begun to virtually connect with people I didn't know previously in order to expand my network. I truly love these video

meetings and will not be going back to the in-person networking and meetings I've previously done.

Let that voice be the inspiration.

References

987TheBull. (2020, March 25). Awkward team meeting. [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=48KjeTeWe7Y

Aguirre, A. (2012). Linguistic diversity in the workforce: Understanding social relations in the workplace. *Sociological Focus, 36*, 65–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2003.10570716

Allen, J. A., Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., & Rogelberg, S. G. (Eds.) (2015a). *The Cambridge handbook of meeting science.* Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107589735

Allen, J. A., Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., & Landowski, N. (2014). Linking pre-meeting communication to meeting effectiveness. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 29*, 1064–1081. https://doi.org/10.1108/JMP-09-2012-0265

Allen, J. A., Sands, S. J., Mueller, S. L., Frear, K. A., Mudd, M., & Rogelberg, S. G. (2012). Employees' feelings about more meetings: An overt analysis and recommendations for improving meetings. *Management Research Review, 35*(5), 405–418. https://doi.org/10.1108/01409171211222331

Allen, J. A., Yoerger, M. A., Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., & Jones, J. (2015b). Would you please stop that?: The relationship between counterproductive meeting behaviors, employee voice, and trust. *Journal of Management Development, 34*, 1272–1287. https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JMD-02-2015-0032/full/html

Ames, H. (2020, December 12). What is video call fatigue? *Medical News Today*. https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/video-call-fatigue#causes

An incalculable loss. (2020, May 27). *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/05/24/us/us-coronavirus-deaths-100000.html

Anderson, A. H., McEwan, R., Bal, J., & Carletta, J. (2007). Virtual team meetings: An analysis of communication and context. *Computers in Human Behavior, 23*(5), 2558–2580. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2007.01.001

Aneshensel, C. S. (1985). The natural history of depressive symptoms: Implications for psychiatric epidemiology. *Research in Community & Mental Health, 5*, 45–75. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00415-017-8638-1

Aneshensel, C. S. (1992). Social stress: Theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology, 18*, 15–38. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.18.080192.000311

Aneshensel, C. S., & Mitchell U. A. (2014). The stress process: Its origins, evolution, and future. In R. Johnson, R. Turner, and B. Link (Eds.) *Sociology of Mental Health* (pp. 53–74). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-07797-0_3

Arnold, L., & Campbell, C. (2013, January 14). The high price of being single in America. *The Atlantic.* https://www.theatlantic.com/sexes/archive/2013/01/the-high-price-of-being-single-in-america/267043/

Ashforth, B. E., & Humphrey, R. H. (2012). Emotional labor: Looking back nearly 20 years. In A. Grandey, J. Diefendorff, & D. E. Rupp (Eds.), *Emotional labor in the 21st century: Diverse perspectives on emotion regulation at work* (pp. 276–281). Routledge.

Ashforth, B. E., Schinoff, B. S., & Rogers, K. M. (2016). "I identify with her," "I identify with him": Unpacking the dynamics of personal identification in organizations. *Academy of Management Review, 41*(1), 28–61. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amr.2014.0033

Avison, W. R., & Turner, R. J. (1988). Stressful life events and depressive symptoms: Disaggregating the effects of acute stressors and chronic strains. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior,* 29(3), 253–264. https://doi.org/10.2307/2137036

Axelrod, E. M., Axelrod, R. H., Beedon, J., & Jacobs, R. W. (2005). Creating dynamic, energy-producing meetings. *Leader to Leader, 36,* 53–58. https://doi.org/10.1002/ltl.128

Axelrod, R. H., & Axelrod, E. M. (2014). *Let's stop meeting like this: Tools to save time and get more done.* Barret-Koehler.

Babbie. E. (1990). *Survey research methods.* Wadsworth/Thompson.

Bailenson, J. (2020, April 3). Why Zoom meetings can exhaust us. *The Wall Street Journal.* https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-zoom-meetings-can-exhaust-us-11585953336

Bailenson, J. N., Blascovich, J., Beall, A. C., & Loomis, J. M. (2003). Interpersonal distance in immersive virtual environments. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*(7), 819–833. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203029007002

Bang, H., Fuglesang, S. L., Ovesen, M. R., & Eilertsen, D. E. (2010). Effectiveness in top management group meetings: The role of goal clarity, focused communication, and learning behavior. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 51*, 253–261. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9450.2009.00769.x

Barrick, M. R., Stewart, G. L., & Piotrowski, M. (2002). Personality and job performance: Test of the mediating effects of motivation among sales representatives. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*, 43–51. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.1.43

Bartel, C., & Saavedra, R. (2000). The collective construction of work group moods. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 45(*2), 197–231. https://doi.org/10.2307/2667070

Basseches, M. (1997). A developmental perspective on psychotherapy process, psychotherapists' expertise, and "meaning-making conflict" within therapeutic relationships: A two-part series". *Journal of Adult Development, 4*, 17–33. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02511846

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin, 117*, 497–529. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497

Baxter, J., & Tai, T. (2016). Inequalities in unpaid work: A cross-national comparison. In M. Connerley and J. Wu (Eds.), *Handbook on Well-Being of Working Women.* Springer.

Bazarova, N. N., & Walther, J. B. (2009). Attributions in virtual groups: Distances and behavioral variations in computer-mediated discussions. *Small Group Research, 40*, 138–162. https://doi.org/10.1177/1046496408328490

Bedard, P. (2020, July 24). 22% of US population does not speak English at home. *Washington Examiner*. https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/washington-secrets/22-of-us-population-does-not-speak-english-at-home

Bhanoo, S. (2020, March 23). Pandemic forces family members into new role: Caregivers for elderly loved ones. *The Washington Post.* https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/wellness/family-caregivers-seniors-coronavirus/2020/03/23/f7b3f9f4-6c99-11ea-a3ec-70d7479d83f0_story.html

Bick, A., Blandin, A., & Mertens, K. (2020, June). *Work from home after the COVID-19 outbreak.* Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. https://doi.org/10.24149/wp2017

Blaikie, N. (2003). *Analyzing quantitative data: From description to explanation.* Sage.

Blais, C., Jack, R. E., Scheepers, C., Fiset, D., & Caldara, R. (2008). Culture shapes how we look at faces. *PLoS ONE, 3*(8), e3022. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0003022

Blake, J. J., Kim, E. S., & Lease, A. M. (2011). Exploring the incremental validity of nonverbal social aggression: The utility of peer nominations. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 57*(3), 293–318. https://doi.org/10.1353/mpq.2011.0015

Blaskovich, J. L. (2008). Exploring the effect of distance: An experimental investigation of virtual collaboration, social loafing, and group decisions. *Journal of Information Systems, 22*(1), 27–46. https://doi.org/10.2308/jis.2008.22.1.27

Boland, R. (2020, March 19). COVID-19, virtual meetings, and anticipating the future's new normal. *Psychiatric Times*. https://www.psychiatrictimes.com/coronavirus/covid-19-virtual-meetings-and-anticipating-futures-new-normal

Brawner, B. (2020, May). #SendHelpNow: Mental wellness and virtual connection in the age of coronavirus. *Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*. https://doi.org/10.1111/jpm.12651

Brenan, B. (2020, January 29). Women still handle main household tasks in the U.S. *Gallup*. https://news.gallup.com/poll/283979/women-handle-main-household-tasks.aspx

Brescoll, V. L. (2012). Who takes the floor and why: Gender, power, and volubility in organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 56*(4), 622–641. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839212439994

Brief, A. P., Burke, M. J., George, G. M., Robinson, B. S., & Webster, J. (1988). Should negative affectivity remain an unmeasured variable in the study of job stress? *Journal of Applied Psychology, 73*, 193–198. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.73.2.193

Brotheridge, C. M., & Grandey, A. A. (2002). Emotional labor and burnout: Comparing two perspectives of "people work." *Journal of Vocational Behavior 60*, 17–39. https://doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.2001.1815

Brotheridge, C. M., & Lee, R. T. (2003). Development and validation of the Emotional Labour Scale. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 76*(3), 365–379. https://doi.org/10.1348/096317903769647229

Browning, L. D., Saetre, A. S., Stephens, K., & Sornes, J. (2010). *Information and communication technologies in action: Linking theories and narratives of practice*. Routledge.

Burke, K. (1969). *A grammar of motives*. University of California Press.

Bursztynsky, J. (2020, April 23). Zoom shares pop after users grow from 200 million to 300 million in a matter of days. *CNBC.* https://www.cnbc.com/2020/04/23/zoom-shares-pop-after-users-grow-from-to-300-million.html

Bryman, A. (2006). *Mixed methods: A four-volume set*. Sage.

Calhoun, L. G., & Tedeschi, Ri. G. (2006). *Handbook of posttraumatic growth: Research and practice*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Carlsen, M. B. (1988). *Meaning-making: Therapeutic processes in adult development*. W.W. Norton & Co.

Carletta, J., Garrod, S., & Fraser-Krauss, H. (1998). Placement of authority and communication patterns in workplace groups: The consequences for innovation. *Small Group Research, 29*, 531–559. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1046496498295001

Carnevale, J., Huang, L., & Harms, P. (2018). Speaking up to the "emotional vampire": A conservation of resources perspective. *Journal of Business Research 91*, 48–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2018.05.041

Castle, B. (2020, April 19). Letting your kid(s) be on your video calls during quarantine will help the workplace later. *Fast Company.* https://www.fastcompany.com/90492495/letting-your-kids-be-on-your-video-calls-during-quarantine-will-help-the-workplace-later

Chen, B. X. (2020, March 18). The tech headaches of working from home and how to remedy them. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/18/technology/personaltech/working-from-home-problems-solutions.html

Chen, T. (2020, June 3). For black professionals, unrest lays bare a balancing act at work. *The Wall Street Journal*. https://www.wsj.com/articles/for-black-professionals-unrest-lays-bare-a-balancing-act-at-work-11591202955

Cogin, J. (2012). Are generational differences in work values fact or fiction? Multi-country evidence and implications. *International Journal of Human Resources Management, 23*, 2268–2294. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2011.610967

Cohen, M. A., Rogelberg, S. G., Allen, J. A., & Luong, A. (2011). Meeting design characteristics and attendee perceptions of staff/team meeting quality. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice, 15*(1), 90–104. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021549

Cramton, C. (2001). The mutual knowledge problem and its consequences for dispersed collaboration. *Organization Science, 12*, 346–371. https://doi.org//10.1287/orsc.12.3.346.10098

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Sage.

Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Crowe, J., Yoerger, M., Harms, M., Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., & Allen, J. A. (2018). Meeting mirth: The critical role of impression management and humor style in meetings. *Humor*, *32*(1), 23–48. https://doi.org/10.1515/humor-2017-0103

Csikszentmihalyi, J. (1975). *Beyond boredom and anxiety.* Jossey Bass.

Daniels, K. (2000). Measures of five aspects of affective well-being at work. *Human Relations, 53,* 275–294. https://doi.org/0.1177/a010564

Datta, L. (1997). A pragmatic basis for mixed-methods designs. *New Directions for Evaluation*, *74*, 33–46. https://doi.org/10.1002/ev.1070

Davis, C. G., Harasymchuk, C., & Wohl, M. J. A. (2012). Finding meaning in a traumatic loss: a families approach. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 25*(2), 142–149. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.21675

Deslandes, A. C., Moraes, H., Ferreira-Vorkapic, C., & Alves, H. V. (2009). Exercise and mental health: Many reasons to move. *Neuropsychobiology, 59*(4), 191–198. https://doi.org/0.1159/000223730

Diamond, J. (1996). *Status and power in verbal interaction: A study of discourse in a close-knit social network.* J. Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.40

Diefendorff, J. M., Croyle, M. H., & Gosserand, R. H. (2005). The dimensionality and antecedents of emotional labor strategies. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 66,* 339–357. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2004.02.001

Diefendorff, J. M., Erikson, R. J., Grandey, A. A., & Dahling, J. J. (2011). Emotional display rules as work unit norms: A multilevel analysis of emotional labor among nurses. *Journal of Occupational health Psychology, 16*(2), 170–196. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021725

Diestel, S., & Schmidt, K. H. (2012). Lagged mediator effects of self-control demands on psychological strain and absenteeism. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 85,* 556–578. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8325.2012.02058.x

Dimberg, U., Thunberg, M., & Elmehed, K. (2000). Unconscious facial reactions to emotional facial expressions. *Psychological Sci*ence *11*(1), 86–89. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9280.00221

Dimock, M. (2019, January 17). Defining generations: Where Millennials end and Generation Z begins. *Pew Research Center*. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/

Dohrenwend, B. S. (1978). Social status and responsibility for stressful life events. In C. D. Spielberger & I. G. Sarason (Eds.) *Stress and Anxiety* (5th ed., pp. 25–42). Hemisphere.

Dohrenwend, B. S., Krasnaff, L., Askenasy, A. R., & Dohrenwend, B. P. (1978). Exemplification of a method for scaling life events: The PERI Life Events Scale. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 19*(2), 205–229. https://doi.org/10.2307/2136536

Döring, N. (1999). Sozialpsychologie des Internet: Die Bedeutung des Internet für Kommunikationsprozesse, Identitäten, soziale Beziehungen un d Gruppen. Goettingen u. a.. 2003. *Medien & Kommunikationsswissenschaft, 52*(1), 114–115. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11612-001-0022-y

Dorpat, T. L., & Miller, M. L. (1992). *Clinical interaction and the analysis of meaning: A new psychoanalytic theory*. Analytic Press.

Doyle, M. (1976). *How to make meetings work.* Berkley.

Doyle, M. (2007). Forward to the first edition. In S. Kaner (Ed.), *Facilitator's guide to participatory decision-making* (2nd rev. and expanded ed.; pp. xi–xvi). Wiley.

Drath, W. H., & Palus, C.J. (1994). *Making common sense: Leadership as meaning-making in a community of practice*. Center for Creative Leadership.

Dudley, J. R. (2000). Confronting stigma within the services system. *Social Work, 45*, 449–455. https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/45.5.449

Duffy, M. F., & O'Rourke, B. K. (2015). A systemic view of meetings: Windows on organization collective minding. In J. A. Allen, N. Lehmann-Willenbrock, & S. G. Rogelberg (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of meeting science* (pp. 223–243). Cambridge University Press.

Durkheim, E. (1982). *The rules of sociological method and selected texts on sociology and its method.* (S. Lukes, Ed., 2nd ed.; W. D. Halls, Trans.). The Free Press. (Original work published 1895)

Durkheim, E. (2005). *Suicide: A study in sociology.* (J. A. Spaulding and G. Simpson, Trans.). Routledge. (Original work published 1897)

Durkheim, E. (1961). *Moral education: A study in the theory and application of the sociology of education*. (E. K. Wilson and H. Schnurer, Trans.). Free Press. (Original work published 1902–1903)

Dwyer, J. (2020, March 29). What Sept. 11 taught us about confronting catastrophe. *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/29/nyregion/coronavirus-nyc-sept-11.html

Edmondson, A. (1999). Psychological safety and learning behavior in work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 44*, 350–383. https://doi.org/10.2307/2666999

EdSource. (2020, October 13). Education and the coronavirus crisis: What's the latest? https://edsource.org/2020/latest-updates-on-education-and-the-coronavirus-crisis/635717

Elsayed-Elkhouly, S. M., Lazarus, H., & Forsythe, V. (1997). Why is a third of your time wasted in meetings? *Journal of Management Development, 16*(9), 672–676. https://doi.org/10.1108/02621719710190185

Elsbach, K. D. (2001). *In search of mindless work: Thoughts on job design and the rhythm of managerial thinking.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Management, Washington, DC.

Erks, R., Nyquist, E., Allen, J., & Rogelberg, S. G. (2017). Regulating emotions in response to power distance in meetings. *Journal of Management Development, 36*, 1247–1259. https://doi.org/10.1108/JMD-10-2016-0213

Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2015). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics, 5*(1), 1-4. https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ajtas.20160501.11

Evans, J. R., & Anil, M. (2018). The value of online surveys: A look back and a look ahead. *Internet Research, 28*(4), 854–887. https://doi.org/10.1108/IntR-03-2018-0089

Eysenck, S. B. G., & Eysenck, H. J. (1963). On the dual nature of extraversion. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 2*, 46–55. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8260.1963.tb00375.x

Fallan, N. (2020, March 19). Managing from home? Here's how to keep your team engaged during coronavirus. *US Chamber of Commerce.* https://www.uschamber.com/co/run/human-resources/keeping-remote-employees-engaged

Feder, S. (2020, May 2). A cyberpsychologist explains why you can't stop staring at yourself on Zoom calls (and everyone else is probably doing the same). *Business Insider.* https://www.insider.com/why-you-stare-at-yourself-zoom-calls-psychologist-2020-4

Feder-Stanford, S. (2020, May 4). Pandemic work/life balance burden falls more on women. https://www.futurity.org/work-life-balance-covid-19-pandemic-2354782/

Field, A. (2018). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS Statistics*. Sage.

Fies, A. (2020, April 17). Surge in divorces anticipated in wake of COVID-19 quarantine. *ABC News*. https://abcnews.go.com/US/surge-divorces-anticipated-wake-covid-19-quarantine/story?id=70170902

Finkel, D. (2020, September 2). We are not meant to sit in Zoom meetigns for hours at a time. *Inc.* https://www.inc.com/david-finkel/we-are-not-meant-to-sit-in-zoom-meetings-for-hours-at-a-time.html

Fiske, S. T., & Lee, T. L. (2008). Stereotypes and prejudice create workplace discrimination. In A. P. Brief (Ed.), *Diversity at work* (pp. 13–52). Cambridge University Press.

Fosslien, L., & Duffy, M. W. (2020, April 29). How to combat Zoom fatigue. *Harvard Business Review*. https://hbr.org/2020/04/how-to-combat-zoom-fatigue

Freyd, M. (1924). Introverts and extroverts. *Psychological Review, 31*(1), 74–87. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0075875

Frone, M. R. (2000). Interpersonal conflict at work and psychological outcomes: Testing a model among young workers. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 5*, 246–255. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.5.2.246 .

Frone, M. R. (2004). National survey of workplace health and safety. Unpublished raw data, State University of New York, Buffalo, NY. Gettman,

Fry, R., Passel, J. S., & Cohn, D. (2020, September 4). A majority of young adults in the U.S. live with their parents for the first time since the Great Depression. Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/09/04/a-majority-of-young-adults-in-the-u-s-live-with-their-parents-for-the-first-time-since-the-great-depression/#:~:text=The%20coronavirus%20outbreak%20has%20pushed,during%20the%20Great%20Depression%20era.

Galinsky, A., Magee, J. C., Gruenfeld, D. H., Whitson, J. A., & Liljenquist, K. A. (2008). Power reduces the press of the situation: Implications for creativity, conformity, and dissonance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*(6), 1450–1466. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012633

Geimer, J. L., Leach, D. J., & DeSimone, J. A., Rogelbert, S. G., & Warr, P. B. (2015). Meetings at work: Perceived effectiveness and recommended improvements. *Journal of Business Research, 68*(9), 2015–2026. https:// doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.02.015

Gerpott, F., & Lehmann-Willenbrock, N. (2015). How differences make a difference: The role of team diversity in meeting processes and outcomes. In J. Allen, N. Lehman-Willenbrock, & S. G. Rogelberg (Eds.), *The Cambridge book of meeting science* (pp. 155–203). Cambridge University Press.

Glass, A. (2007). Understanding generational differences for competitive success. *Industrial & Commercial Training, 38*, 98–103. https://doi.org/10.1108/00197850710732424

Goffman, E. (1956). Embarrassment and social organization. *American Journal of Sociology, 62*(3), 264–271. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2772920

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everydaylLife.* (1959). Doubleday and Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma; Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Prentice-Hall.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual; essays on face-to-face behavior*. Doubleday.

Goffman, E. (2009). *Stigma: Notes on the management of poiled identity.* Simon & Schuster. (Original work published 1963)

Gosling, S. D., Rentfrow, P. J., & Swann, Jr., W. B. (2003). A very brief measure of the Big-Five personality domains. *Journal of Research in Personality, 37*, 504–528. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0092-6566(03)00046-1

Gottlieb, L. (2020, March 30). The COVID-19 pandemic and emotional wellbeing: Tips for healthy routines and rhythms during unprecedented times. *Psychiatric Times.* https://www.psychiatrictimes.com/coronavirus/covid-19-pandemic-and-emotional-wellbeing-tips-healthy-routines-and-rhythms-during-unpredictable

Graham, J. (2020, May 18). For video meetings, they eyes have it. Use these tips to make a better impression online. *USA Today.* https://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2020/05/18/videoconferencing-tips-great-virtual-meetings/3119138001/

Grandey, A. A. (2003). When "the show must go on": Surface acting and deep acting as determinants of emotional exhaustion and peer-rated service delivery. *Academy of Management Journal, 46*, 86–96. https://doi.org/10.5465/30040678

Grandey, A., & Copranzano, (1999). The Conservation of Resources model applied to work-family conflict and strain. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 54(*2), 350–370. https://doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.1998.1666.

Grandey, A., Fisk, G., & Steiner, D. (2005). Must "service with a smile" be stressful? The moderating role of personal control for American and French employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.5.893

Grant, A. (2020, March 19). Burnout isn't just in your head. It's in your circumstances. *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/19/smarter-living/coronavirus-emotional-support.html

Gross, J. J., & Levenson, R. W. (1997). Hiding feelings: The acute effects of inhibiting negative and positive emotion. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 106,* 95–10. https://doi.org/10.1037//0021-843x.106.1.95

Halbesleben, J. B., Neveu, J., Paustian-Underdal, S. C., & Westman, M (2014). Getting to the "COR": Understanding the role of resources in conservation of resources theory. *Journal of Management. 40*(5), 1334–1364. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206314527130

Halvorsen, K., & Sarangi, S. (2015). Team decision-making in workplace meetings: The interplay of activity roles and discourse roles. *Journal of Pragmatics, 76*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.11.002

Handy, C. (1995, May-June). Trust and the virtual organization. *Harvard Business Review*. https://hbr.org/1995/05/trust-and-the-virtual-organization

Hansen, J., & Allen, J. A. (2015). An organizational meeting orientation. In J. A. Allen, N. Lehmann-Willenbrock, & S. G. Rogelberg (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of meeting science* (pp. 203–222). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107589735.010

Hardison, D. M. (2005). Second-language spoken word identification: Effects of perceptual training, visual cues, and phonetic environment. *Applied Psycholinguistics, 26,* 579–596. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716405050319

Hareli, S., & Rafaeli, A. (2008). Emotion cycles: On the social influence of emotion in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 28*, 35–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.riob.2008.04.007

Hayes, J., Hell, C., & Ahmed, T. (2020, January 20). Job quality and income security. Institue for Women's Policy Research. https://iwpr.org/iwpr-publications/report/providing-unpaid-household-and-care-work-in-the-united-states-uncovering-inequality/

Heath, K., Flynn, J., & Holt, M. D. (2014, June). Women, find your voice. *Harvard Business Review*. https://hbr.org/2014/06/women-find-your-voice

Hegarty, S. (2019, July 30). The double standards women face at work every day. *ABC Life.* https://www.abc.net.au/life/double-standards-for-womens-appearance-at-work/11365492

Henning, R. A., Sauter, S. L., Salvendy, G., & Krieg, E. F. (1989). Microbreak length, performance, and stress in a data entry task. *Ergonomics, 32*, 855–8645. https://doi.org/10.1080/00140138908966848

Hershcovis, S. (2011). Incivility, social undermining, bullying…oh my!": A call to reconcile constructs within workplace aggression research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior. 32*, 499–519. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.689

Hess, C., Ahmed, T., Phil, M., & Hayes, J. (2020, January). *Providing unpaid household and care work in the United States: Uncovering inequality.* Institute for Women's Policy Research. https://iwpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/IWPR-Providing-Unpaid-Household-and-Care-Work-in-the-United-States-Uncovering-Inequality.pdf

Hill, A., & Jacobs, E. (2020, March 29). How is the world's mass homeworking experiment going? *Financial Times.* https://www.ft.com/content/75639ffa-6f95-11ea-89df-41bea055720b

Hobfall, S. (1989). Conservation of resources. A new attempt at conceptualizing stress. *The American Psychologist, 44*(3), 513–524. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.44.3.513

Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The managed heart: Communication of human feeling*. University of California Press.

Holmes, J., & Stubbe, M. (2003). *Power and politeness in the workplace.* Longman. Housley.

Holmes, T. H., & Rahe, R. H. (1967). The social readjustment rating scale. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research, 11*, 213–218. https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-3999(67)90010-4

Homans, G. C. (1961). *Social behavior: Its elementary forms.* Harcourt, Brace, and World.

Hoogeboom, M., & Wilderom, C. (2015). Effective leader behaviors in regularly held staff meetings. In J. A. Allen, N. Lehmann-Willenbrock, & S. G. Rogelberg (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of meeting science* (pp. 381–412). Cambridge University Press.

Houston, L., & Grandey, A. (2013). What we don't know can hurt us: A call for stereotype-congruent impression management tactics. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 6*(4), 433–437. https://doi.org/10.1111/iops.12080

Hsu, M., Bhatt, M., Adophs, R. Tranel, D, & Camerer, C. F. (2005). Neural systems responding to degrees of uncertainty in human decision-making. *Science*, *310*(5754), 1680–1683. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1115327

Hugenberg K., Young, S. G., Bernstein, M. J., & Sacco, D.F. (2010). The categorization-individuation model: An integrative account of the other-race recognition deficit. *Psychological Rev*iew, *117*(4), 1168–1187. https://doi.apa.org/doiLanding?doi=10.1037%2Fa0020463

Ignelzi, M. (2000). Meaning-making in the learning and teaching process. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, *82*, 5–14. https://doi.org/10.1002/tl.8201

Iqbal, J. (2020, May 13). Zoom revenue and usage statistics. *Business of Apps.* https://www.businessofapps.com/data/zoom-statistics/

Iwanicki, E. F., & Schwab, R. L. (1981). A cross-validational study of the Maslach Burnout Inventory. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 41***,** 1167–1174. https://doi.org/10.1177/001316448104100425

Jett, Q. R., & George, J. M. (2003). Work interrupted: A closer look at the role of interruptions in organizational life. *Academy of Management Review*, *28*(3), 494–507. https://doi.org/10.2307/30040736

Jiang, M. (2020, April 22). The reason Zoom drains your energy. *BBC Remote Control*. https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20200421-why-zoom-video-chats-are-so-exhausting

John, O. P., & Gross, J. J. (2004). Healthy and unhealthy emotion regulation: Personality processes, individual differences, and life span development. *Journal of Personality, 72*, 1301–1333. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2004.00298.x

Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher, 33*(7), 14–26. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X033007014

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L.A., (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *1*(2), 112–133. https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689806298224

Johnston, J. E. (2010, February 8). The supportive spouse: How to get the right kind of emotional support. *Psychology Today.* https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/the-human-equation/201002/the-supportive-spouse-how-get-the-right-kind-emotional-support

Judge, T. A., Woolf, E. F., & Hurst, C. (2009). Is emotional labor more difficult for some than for others?: A multilevel, experience-sampling study. *Personnel Psychology, 62*, 57–88. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2008.01129.x

Kale, S. (2020, March 14). Working from home? Video conference call tips for the self-isolating. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/money/2020/mar/14/video-conference-call-tips-self-isolating-coronavirus-working-from-home

Kammeyer-Mueller, J. D., Simon, L. S., & Judge, T. A. (2013). A head start or a step behind? Understanding how dispositional and motivational resources influence emotional exhaustion. *Journal of Management 42*(3), 561–581. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206313484518

Kanouse, D. E., & Hanson, L. (1972). Negativity in evaluations. In E. E. Jones, D. E. Kanouse, S. Valins, H. H. Kelley, R. E. Nisbett, & B. Weiner (Eds.), *Attribution: Perceiving the causes of behavior.* General Learning Press.

Kasai, T. (2020, August 18). Virtual press conference on COVID-19 in the Western Pacific. *World Health Organization.* https://www.who.int/westernpacific/news/speeches/detail/virtual-press-conference-on-covid-19-in-the-western-pacific

Kauffeld, S., & Meyers, R. S. (2009). Complaint and solution-oriented circles: Interaction patterns in work group discussions. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 18*, 267–294. https://doi.org/10.1080/13594320701693209

Kayser, T. A. (1990). *Mining group gold: How to cash in on the collaborative brain power of a team for innovation and results*. Serif.

Kegan, R. (1980). Making meaning: The constructive-developmental approach to persons and practice. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*. *58*(5), 373–380. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2164-4918.1980.tb00416.x

Kegan, R. (1982). *The evolving self: Problem and process in human development*. Harvard University Press.

Keith, E. (2015, December 4). 55 million: A fresh look at the number, effectiveness, and cost of meetings in the U.S. [Web log post]. https://blog.lucidmeetings.com/blog/fresh-look-number-effectiveness-cost-meetings-in-us

Klöneg, F. E., Paulsen, H., & Kauffeld, S. (2015). They meet, they talk . . . but nothing changes. In J. A. Allen, N. Lehmann-Willenbrock, & S. G. Rogelberg (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of meeting science* (pp. 413–439). Cambridge University Press.

Kossek, E., Pichler, S., Bodner, T., & Hammer, L. (2011). Workplace social support and work-family conflict: A meta-analysis clarifying the influence of general and work-family specific supervisor and organizational support. *Personnel Psychology, 64,* 289–313. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2011.01211.x

Kretchmer, H. (2020, May). Why "video call fatigue" might be making you tired during Lockdown—and how to beat it. *World Economic Forum/* https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/05/zoom-fatigue-video-conferencing-coronavirus/

Lagasse, (2020, April 23). 3 Reasons we've got Zoom fatigue and what to do about it. *ROI Talent Management.*https://www.roitalentdev.com/post/zoom-fatigue

Laurencin, C. T., & McClinton, A. (2020). The COVID-19 pandemic: A call to action to identify and address racial and ethnic disparities. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities, 7,* 398–402. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-020-00756-0

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping.* Springer.

Lee, R. T., & Ashforth, B. E. (1996). A meta-analytic examination of the correlates of the three dimensions of job burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 81,* 123–133. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.81.2.123

Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., Allen, J. A., & Kauffeld, S. (2013). A sequential analysis of procedural meeting communication: How teams facilitate their meetings, *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 41,* 365–388. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2013.844847

Lehmann-Willenbrock, N., Meinecke, A., Rowold, J., & Kauffeld, S. (2015). How transformational leadership works during team interactions: A behavioral process analysis. *The Leadership Quarterly, 26,* 1017–1033. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2015.07.003

Leiter, M. P., & Schaufeli, W. B. (1996). Consistency of the burnout construct across occupations. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping, 9,* 229–243. https://doi.org/10.1080/10615809608249404

Levenson, A. (2017). Workplace fatigue is a systems problem. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research, 69*(2), 130–142. https://doi.org/10.1037/cpb0000091

Lin, N., & Ensel, W. M. (1984). Depression mobility and its social etiology: The role of life events and social support. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior 25*(2), 176–188. https://doi.org/10.2307/2136667

Lucas, R.E., & Diener, E. (2001). Understanding extraverts' enjoyment of social situations: The importance of pleasantness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(2), 343–356. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.81.2.343

Luong, A., & Rogelberg, S. G. (2005). Meetings and more meetings: The relationship between meeting load and daily well-being of employees. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice, 9*(1), 58–67. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2699.9.1.58

Mackay, N. (2003). Psychotherapy and the idea of meaning. *Theory & Psychology*. *13*(3), 359–386. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354303013003004

Makela, K., Kalla, H. K., & Piekkari, R. (2007). Interpersonal similarity as a driver of knowledge sharing within multinational corporations. *International Business Review, 16*(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ibusrev.2006.11.002

Manning, G., & Reece, B. L. (2004). *Selling today: Creating customer value*. Prentice Hall.

Maslach, C., & Leiter, M. P. (1997). *The truth about burnout.* Jossey-Bass.

Maslach, C., Schaufeli, W. B., & Leiter, M. P. (2001). Job burnout. *Annual Review of Psychology, 52,* 397–422. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.52.1.397

Maynard, M., & Gilson, L. L. (2014). The role of shared mental model development in understanding virtual team effectiveness. *Group & Organization Management, 39,* 3–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601113475361

McCarthy, M. (2003). Talking back: "Small" interactional response tokens in everyday conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *36*, 33–63. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327973RLSI3601_3

McCarthy, E., Gibson, C., Andrews-Dyer, H., & Joyce, A. (2020, May 6). A working mom's quarantine life. *The Washington Post.* https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/2020/05/06/coronavirus-pandemic-working-moms-quarantine-life/?arc404=true

McCroskey, J. C. (1977). Oral communication apprehension: A summary of recent theory and research. *Human Communication Research 4*(1), 78–96. https://doi.org/0.1111/j.1468-2958.1977.tb00599.x

McKinsey & Company. (2019). *Women in the workplace.* https://wiw-report.s3.amazonaws.com/Women_in_the_Workplace_2019.pdf

Mehrabian, A., & Ferris, S. R. (1967). Inference of attitudes from nonverbal communication in two channels. *Journal of Consulting Psychology, 31*(3), 248–252. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0024648

Meissner, C. A., & Brigham, J. C. (2001). Thirty years of investigating the own-race bias in memory for faces: A meta-analytic review. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 7*(1), 3–35. https://doi.org/10.1037//1076-8971.7.1.3

Metallinou, A., Katsamanis, A., Wang, Y., & Narayanan, S. (2011). Tracking changes in continuous emotion states using body language and prosodic cues. *2011 IEEE International Conference on Acoustics, Speech and Signal Processing* (ICASSP*)*, Prague, pp. 2288–2291. https://doi.org//10.1109/ICASSP.2011.5946939

Milkie, M. A., & Thoits, P. A. (1993). Gender differences in coping with positive and negative experiences. Unpublished manuscript, Indiana University.

Mirivel, J. C., & Tracy, K. (2005). Premeeting talk: An organizationally crucial form of talk. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 38*(1), 1–34. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3801_1

Mirowsky, J., & Ross, C. E. (1990). The consolation-prize theory of alienation. *American Journal of Sociology, 9*5(6), 505–535. https://doi.org/10.1086/229462

Monette, D. R., Sullivan, T. J., & DeJung, C.R. (2011). *Applied social research: A tool for the human services.* Brook/Cole.

Morris, B. (2020, May 27). Why does Zoom exhaust you? Science has an answer. *The Wall Street Journal.* https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-does-zoom-exhaust-you-science-has-an-answer-11590600269

Morris, J. A., & Feldman, D. C. (1996). The dimensions, antecedents, and consequences of emotional labor. *The Academy of Management Review, 21*(4), 986–1010. https://doi.org/10.2307/259161

Moyer, M. W. (2016, June). Eye contact: How long is too long? *Scientific American Mind.* https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/eye-contact-how-long-is-too-long/

Mroz, J., & Allen, J. (2017). An experimental investigation of the interpersonal ramifications of *lateness to workplace meetings. Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *90*(4), 503–534. https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12183

Mroz, J. E., Yoerger, M., & Allen, J. A. (2018). Leadership in workplace meetings: The intersection of leadership styles and follower gender. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, *25*, 309–322. https://doi.org/10.1177/1548051817750542

Murphy, K. (2020, April 29). Why Zoom is terrible: There's a reason video apps make you feel awkward and unfulfilled. *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/29/sunday-review/zoom-video-conference.html

Murthy, V. (2020, April 21). The future of interaction. *Wall Street Journal.* [Video]. https://www.wsj.com/video/events/the-future-of-interaction/F59DEB25-C9F6-4AE4-8F77-0B6C7FE779C0.html

Myrsiades, L. (2000). Meeting sabotage: Met and conquered. *Journal of Management Development, 9*, 870–885. https://doi.org/10.1108/02621710010379182

Nam, C. S., Lyons, J. B., Hwang, H., & Kim, S. (2009). The process of team communication in multi-cultural contexts: An empirical study using Bales' interaction process analysis (IPA). *International Journal of Industrial Ergonomics, 39*(5), 771–782. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ergon.2009.03.004

National Institutes of Health/National Institute of General Medical Sciences (2020, July 13). Circadian rhythms. https://www.nigms.nih.gov/education/fact-sheets/Pages/circadian-rhythms.aspx#:~:text=What%20are%20biological%20clocks%3F,nearly%20every%20tissue%20and%20organ.

Neimeyer, R. A. (2009). *Constructivist psychotherapy: distinctive features*. The CBT distinctive features series. Routledge.

Neimeyer, R. A., & Raskin, J. D., eds. (2000). *Constructions of disorder: Meaning-making frameworks for psychotherapy*. American Psychological Association.

Nixon, C. T., & Littlepage, G. E. (1992). Impact of meeting procedures on meeting effectiveness. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 6*, 361–369. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01126771

Noah, T. (2020, May 29). *George Floyd, Minneapolis protests, Ahmaud Arberry & Amy Cooper*. [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v4amCfVbA_c

Norris, F. H., & Murrell, S. A. (1987). Transitory impact of life-event stress on psychological symptoms in older adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 28*(2), 197–211. https://doi.org/10.2307/2137132

Nummenmaa, L., Glerean, E., Viinikainen, M., Jääskeläinen, P., Hari, R, & Sams, M. (2012). Emotions promote social interaction by synchronizing brain activity across individuals. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, 109*(24), 9599–9604. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1206095109

O'Neill, T. A., & Allen, N. J. (2012). Team meeting attitudes: Conceptualization and investigation of a new construct. *Small Group Research, 43,* 186–210. https://doi.org/10.1177/1046496411426485

Park. C. L., & Folkman, S. (1997). Meaning in the context of stress and coping. *Review of General Psychology, 30,* 115–144. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.1.2.115

Paul, D. L., & McDaniel, R. R. (2004). A field study of the effect of interpersonal trust on virtual collaborative relationship performance. *MIS Quarterly, 28,* 183–227. https://doi.org/10.2307/25148633

Pearlin, L. I., & Aneshensel, C. S. (1986). Coping and social supports: Their functions and applications. In L. H. Aiken & D. Mechanic (Eds.), *Applications of Social Science* to Clinical Medicine and Health Policy (pp. 417–437). Rutgers University Press.

Pearlin, L. I., & Schooler, C. (1978). The structure of coping. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *19*(1), 2–21. https://doi.org/10.2307/2136319

Peters, A., McEwen, B. S., & Friston, K. (2017). Uncertainty and stress: Why it causes diseases and how it is mastered in the brain. *Progress in Neurobiology, 156,* 164–188. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pneurobio.2017.05.004

Polzer, J. T., Milton, L. P., & Swarm, W. B. (2002). Capitalizing on diversity: Interpersonal congruence in small work groups. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *47*(2), 296–324. https://doi.org/10.2307/3094807

Poncini, G. (2002). Investigating discourse at business meetings with multicultural participation. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 40*, 345–373. https://doi.org/10.1515/iral.2002.017

Posthuma, R. A., & Campion, M. (2007). Age stereotypes in the workplace: Common stereotypes, moderators and future research directions. J*ournal of Management, 35,* 158–188. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206308318617

Poterba, J. M., Venti, S. F., & Wise, D. A. (2013). The composition and draw-down of wealth in retirement. National Bureau of Economic Research. https://www.nber.org/papers/w17536

Prokopeak, M. (2020, September 25). *Companies grapple with the return to office decision.* https://www.reworked.co/leadership/companies-grapple-with-the-return-to-office-decision/

Ramirez, J. C. (2020, March 11). Coronavirus driving work-from-home mandates: How can employers remain proactive without causing panic? *Human Resources Executive*. https://hrexecutive.com/coronavirus-driving-work-from-home-mandates/

Regan, T. (2020, April 1). Covid-19 changes 'all protocols' for senior living admissions, creates legal gray areas. *Senior Housing News.* https://seniorhousingnews.com/2020/04/01/covid-19-changes-all-protocols-for-senior-living-admissions-creates-legal-gray-areas/

Reiter-Palmon, R., & Sands, S. (2015). Creativity and meetings: Do team meetings facilitate or hide creative team performance?. In J. A. Allen, N. Lehmann-Willenbrock, & S. G. Rogelberg (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of meeting science* (pp. 585–614). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107589735.025

Reitman, M. (2006). Uncovering the white place: whitewashing at work. *Social & Cultural Geography, 7*(2), 267–282. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360600600692

Ren, S. Y., Gao, R. D., & Chen, Y. L. (2020). Fear can be more harmful than the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus in controlling the corona virus disease 2019 epidemic. *World Journal of Clinical Cases 8,* 652–657. https://doi.org/10.12998/wjcc.v8.i4.652

Richards, J. M., & Gross, J. J. (2006). Personality and emotional memory: How regulating emotion impairs memory for emotional events. *Journal of Research in Personality, 40,* 631– 651. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2005.07.002

Richardsen, A. M., & Martinussen, M. (2005). Factorial validity and consistency of the MBI-GS across occupational groups in Norway. *International Journal of Stress Management, 12*(3), 289–297. https://doi.org/10.1037/1072-5245.12.3.289

Robinson, J. L., & Demaree, H. A. (2007). Physiological and cognitive effects of expressive dissonance. *Brain and Cognition, 63*, 70–78. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bandc.2006.08.003

Robinson, M. D., & Clore, G. L. (2002). Belief and feeling: Evidence for an accessibility model of emotional self-report. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*(6), 934–960. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.128.6.934

Rogelberg, S. G., Leach, D. J., Warr, P. B., & Burnfield, J. L. (2006). "Not another meeting!": Are meeting time demands related to employee well-being? *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91,* 86–96. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.91.1.83

Romano, N. C., Jr., & Nunamaker, J. F., Jr. (2001). Meeting analysis: Findings from research and practice. *Proceedings of the 34th annual Hawaii international conference on system sciences.* https://doi.org/10.1109/HICSS.2001.926253

Romero, E. J., & Cruthirds, K. W. (2006). The Use of Humor in the Workplace. *The Academy of Management Perspectives, 20*(2), 58–69. https://doi.org/10.5465/AMP.2006.20591005

Rosen, H., Kuehlwein, K. T. (1996). Constructing realities: Meaning-making perspectives for psychotherapists. Jossey-Bass social and behavioral science series. Jossey-Bass.

RW3 Culture Wizard. (2018). Virtual teams survey (Executive Brief). https://www.culturewizard.com

Saavedra J. (2020, March 30). Educational challenges and opportunities of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. *World Bank Blogs*. https://blogs.worldbank.org/education/educational-challenges-and-opportunities-covid-19-pandemic

Scamman, K. (2018, March 12). Limited-English proficiency: LEP populations by U.S. State. *Telelanguage.* https://telelanguage.com/limited-english-proficiency-lep-populations-by-u-s-state/

Schaufeli, W. B., & Buunk, B. P. (1996). Professional burnout. In M. J. Schabracq, J. A. M. Winnubst & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Handbook of work and health psychology* (pp. 311–346). John Wiley.

Schaufeli, W. B., Leiter, M. P., Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1996). *MBI – General Survey – MBI-GS*. Mind Garden, Inc. www.mindgarden.com

Schaufeli, W. B., Salanova, M., Gonzalez-Roma, V., & Bakker, A. B. (2002). The measurement of engagement and burnout: A two sample confirmatory factor analytic approach. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 3***,** 71–92. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1015630930326

Scherer, K. R., Shuman, V., Fontaine, J. R. J., & Soriano, C. (2013). The GRID meets the wheel: Assessing emotional feeling via self-report. In J. R. J. Fontaine, K. R. Scherer, & C. Soriano (Eds.), *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook.* Oxford University Press.

Schneider, D. J. (1981). Tactical self-presentations: Toward a broader conception. In J. T. Tedeschi (Ed.), *Impression management theory and social psychological research* (pp. 23–40). Academic Press.

Schoenenberg, K., Raake, A., & Koeppe, J. (2014). Why are you so slow? Misattribution of transmission delay to attributes of the conversation partner at the far-end. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies, 72*(5), 477–487. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhcs.2014.02.004

Schutte, N., Toppinen, S., Kalimo, R. & Schaufeli, W. B. (2000). The factorial validity of the Maslach Burnout Inventory - General Survey (MBI-GS) across occupational groups and nations. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 73*, 53–66. https://doi.org/10.1348/096317900166877

Schwartzman, H. B. (1986). The meeting as a neglected social form in organizational studies. In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (pp. 233–258). Greenwich, CT: JAI.

Schwartzman, H. B. (1989). *The meeting: Gatherings in organizations and communities.* Plenary.

Schwarz, R. M. (2013). *Smart leaders smarter teams: How you and your team get unstuck to get results.* Jossey-Bass.

Scott, B. A., & Barnes, C. M. (2011). A multilevel field investigation of emotional labor, affect, work withdrawal, and gender. *Academy of Management Journal, 24*(1), 116-136. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2011.59215086

Scott, C., Allen, J. A., Rogelberg, S. G., & Kello, A. (2015). Five theoretical lenses for conceptualizing the role of meetings in organizational life. In J. A. Allen, N. Lehmann-Willenbrock, & S. G. Rogelberg (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of meeting science* (pp. 20–46). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107589735.003

Scott, C., & Myers, K. (2010). Toward an integrative theoretical perspective on organizational membership negotiations; Socialization, assimilation, and the duality of structure. *Communication Theory, 20*(1), 79–105. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2009.01355.x

Seale, C. (2020, March 17). Distance learning during the coronavirus pandemic: Equity and access questions for school leaders. *Forbes.* https://www.forbes.com/sites/colinseale/2020/03/17/distance-learning-during-the-coronavirus-pandemic-equity-and-access-questions-for-school-leaders/#4c95ae241d4d

Segal, E. A., Gerdes, K. E., Lietz, C. A., Wagaman, M. A., & Geiger, J. M. (2017). *Assessing empathy*. Columbia University Press.

Semmer, N. K., Messerli, L., & Tschan, F. (2015). Disentangling the components of surface acting in emotion work: Experiencing emotions may be as important as regulating them. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 46*(1), 46–64. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12364

Shah, A. (2020, May 8). Working remotely requires cultural change, executives say. *The Wall Street Journal.* https://www.wsj.com/articles/working-remotely-requires-cultural-change-executives-say-11584053615

Shakespeare, W. (1963). (H. H. Furness, Jr., Ed.). *As you like it*. (Original work, *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedie*s, published 1598–1623.)

Shanock, L. R., Allen, J. A., Dunn, A. M., Baran, B. E., Scott, C. W., & Rogelberg, S. G. (2013). Less acting, more doing: How surface acting relates to perceived meeting effectiveness and other employee outcomes. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 86*, 457–476. https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12037.

Shaughnessy, J., Zechmeister, E., & Jeanne, Z. (2011). *Research methods in psychology* (9th ed.). McGraw Hill. pp. 161–175.

Shepherd, M. (2020, April 3). 4 downsides of online meetings in the COVID-19 coronavirus era. *Forbes.* https://www.forbes.com/sites/marshallshepherd/2020/04/03/4-downsides-of-online-meetings-in-the-covid-19-coronavirus-era/#4bfa646f6c90

Sivasubramaniam, N., Liebowitz, S., & Lackman, C. L. (2012). Determinants of new product development team performance: A metanalytic review. *Journal of Product Innovation Management, 29*, 803–820. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5885.2012.00940.x

Skylar, J. (2020, April 24). 'Zoom fatigue' is taxing the brain. Here's why that happens. *National Geographic*. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/2020/04/coronavirus-zoom-fatigue-is-taxing-the-brain-here-is-why-that-happens/

Smartsheet. (2020, April 22). Over 90% of young workers having difficulty working from home, survey finds. [Press release] https://www.smartsheet.com/content-center/news/over-90-young-workers-having-difficulty-working-home-survey-finds

Spector, P. E., & Jex, S. M. (1998). Development of four self-report measures of job stressors and strain: Interpersonal Conflict at Work Scale, Organizational Constraints Scale, Quantitative Workload Inventory, and Physical Symptoms Inventory. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 3*(4), 356–367. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.3.4.356

Srull, T. K., & Wyer, R. S. (1989). Person memory and judgment. *Psychological Review, 96*(1), 58–83. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.96.1.58

Staples, D., & Zhao, L. (2006). The effects of cultural diversity in virtual teams versus face-to-face teams. *Group Decision and Negotiation, 15*, 389–406. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10726-006-9042-x

Stohl, C., & Cheney, G. (2001). Participatory processes/paradoxical practices. Management *Communication Quarterly, 14*, 349–407. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0893318901143001

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M. B., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist, 62*(4), 271–286. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271

Susman, G. I., & Evered, R. D. (1978). An assessment of the scientific merits of action research. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 23*, 582–603. https://doi.org/10.2307/2392581

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identify theory of intergoup behavior. In J. T. Jost & J. Sidanius (Eds.) *Political psychology: Key readings,* (pp. 276–293). Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505984-16

Tannen, D. (1995). The power of talk: Who gets heard and why. *Harvard Business Review*, September-October. https://hbr.org/1995/09/the-power-of-talk-who-gets-heard-and-why

Taris, T. W., LeBlanc, P., Schaufeli, W. B., & Schreurs, P. J. G. (2005). Are there causal relationships between the dimensions of the Maslach Burnout Inventory? A review and two longitudinal tests. *Work and Stress, 19*, 238–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/02678370500270453

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology.* Sage.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (2010). *SAGE handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Tedeschi, J. T. (1986). Private and public experiences and the self. In R. F. Baumeister (Ed.), *Public self and private self* (pp. 1–20). Springer-Verlag.

Thoits, P. A. (1984). Explaining distributions of psychological vulnerability: Lack of social support in the face of life stress. *Social Forces 63*(2), 453–481. https://doi.org/10.2307/2579057

Thoits, P. A. (1987). Gender and marital status differences in control and distress: Common stress versus unique stress explanations. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 28*(1), 7–22. https://doi.org/10.2307/2137137

Thoits, P. A. (1995). Stress, coping, and social support processes: Where are we? What next? *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 35,* 53–79. https://doi.org/10.2307/2626957

Thomas, J. S., Olien, J. L., Allen, J. A., Rogelberg, S. G., & Kello, J. E. (2018). Faking it for the higher-ups: Status and surface acting in workplace meetings. *Group and Organization Management 43*(1), 72–100. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601116687703

Thompson, D. (2020, March 13). The coronavirus is creating a huge, stressful experiment in working from home. *The Atlantic.* https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/03/coronavirus-creating-huge-stressful-experiment-working-home/607945/

Topi the Corgi (2020, May 3). *Working under quarantine.* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=na-CylyaJb0&feature=youtu.be

Tost, I. P., Gino, F., & Larrick, R. P. (2013). When power makes others speechless: The negative impact of leader power on team performance. *Academy of Management Journal, 56*(5), 1063–1070. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2011.0180

Tracy, K., & Dimock, A. (2004). Meetings: Discursive sites for building and fragmenting community. In P. Kalbfleish's (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook 28* (pp. 127–165). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2004.11679034.

Tsaousides, T. (2020, April 8). Reducing the risk of emotional fatigue during the pandemic. *Psychology Today*. https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/smashing-the-brainblocks/202004/reducing-the-risk-emotional-fatigue-during-the-pandemic

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2020a, September 1). Management occupations. *Occupational outlook handbook.* https://www.bls.gov/ooh/management/home.htm

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2020b, September 1). Top executives. *Occupational outlook handbook.* https://www.bls.gov/ooh/management/top-executives.htm

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2019a). *Economic news release: Employment projections 2018-2028 summary*.https://www.bls.gov/news.release/ecopro.nr0.htm

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2019b, October). *Labor force characteristics by race and ethnicity, 2018.* https://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/race-and-ethnicity/2018/home.htm

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2019c). *Unpaid eldercare in the United States—2017-18: Data from the American time use survey.* https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/elcare.pdf

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020a, July 1). *Coping with stress.* https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/daily-life-coping/managing-stress-anxiety.html

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020b, May 20). *Keep children healthy during the COVID-19 outbreak.* https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/daily-life-coping/children.html

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020c, March 27). *Morbidity and mortality report.* https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/69/wr/pdfs/mm6912e2-H.pdf

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020d, July 15). *Social distancing.* https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/prevent-getting-sick/social-distancing.html#:~:text=Since%20people%20can%20spread%20the,severe%20illness%20from%20COVID%2D19.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020e, May 19). *What workers and employers can do to manage workplace fatigue during COVID-19*. https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/hcp/managing-workplace-fatigue.html

Van Katwyk, P. T., Fox, S., Spector, P. E., & Kelloway, E. K. (2000). Using the job-related affective well-being scale (JAWS) to investigate affective responses to work stressors. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 5*, 219–230. https://doi.org/10.1037//1076-8998.5.2.219

Van Praet, E. (2009). Staging a team performance: A linguistic ethnographic analysis of weekly meetings at a British embassy. *Journal of Business Communication 46*(1), 80–99. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021943608325754

Video meetings: The default setting for business communications. (2020, January 8). *Forbes* https://www.forbes.com/sites/insights-zoom/2020/01/08/video-meetings-the-default-setting-for-business-communications/?sh=349de5da53eb

Vine, B. (2004). *Getting things done at work. Pragmatics & Beyond New Series.* https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.124

Vitez, O. (2020, November 26). What is impression mangement. *Wisegeek*. https://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-impression-management.htm

Waksvik, V. (2020). Working at home becomes the new normal: Putting the “human” into virtual meetings. *Chief Strategy Officer,* March 16. https://channels.theinnovationenterprise.com/articles/will-home-working-become-the-new-normal-putting-the-human-into-virtual-meetings

Warner, J., Ellmann, N., & Boesch, D. (2018, November 20). The women's leadership gap. Center for American Progress. https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/women/reports/2018/11/20/461273/womens-leadership-gap-2/

Warr, P. (1990). The measurement of well-being and other aspects of mental health. *Journal of Occupational Psychology, 63,* 193–210. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8325.1990.tb00521.x

Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54*(6), 1063–1070. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.6.1063

Webster, J. (2017). *Your complete survival guide to conference calls in English.* https://blog.tjtaylor.net/conference-calls/

Webster, J. D., & Deng, X. C. (2015). Paths from trauma to intrapersonal strength: Worldview, posttraumatic growth, and wisdom. *Journal of Loss and Trauma, 20*(3), 253–266. https://doi.org/10.1080/15325024.2014.932207

West, C., & Garcia, A. (1988). Conversational shift work: A study of topical transitions between men and women. *Social Problems, 35*(5), 551-575. https://doi.org/10.2307/800615

Wheeler, D. L, Vassar, M., Worley, J. A., & Barnes, L. B. (2011). A reliability generalization meta-analysis of coefficient alpha for the Maslach Burnout Inventory. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 71,* 231–244. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013164410391579

Wodak, R., Kwon, W., & Clarke, I. (32011). 'Getting people on board': Discursive leadership for consensus building in team meetings. *Discourse & Society, 22*(5), 592–644. https://doi.org/ 10.1177/0957926511405410

World Health Organization. (2020, March 18). *Mental health and psychosocial considerations during the COVID-19 outbreak.* https://www.who.int/publications-detail/WHO-2019-nCoV-MentalHealth-2020.1

Wright, T. A., & Cropanzano, R. (1998). Emotional exhaustion as a predictor of job performance and voluntary turnover. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 83*(3), 486–493. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.83.3.486

Wylde, K. (2020, April 8). Zoom social pressure is rising as the novelty wears off. *Bustle.* https://www.bustle.com/p/zoom-social-pressure-is-rising-as-the-novelty-wears-off-22764411

Yoerger, M., Crowe, J., & Allen, J. A. (2015). Participate or else!: The effect of participation in decision-making in meetings on employee engagement. *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research, 67*(1), 65–80. https://doi.org/10.1037/cpb0000029

Zaman, M. (2020, June). Is COVID-19 going to change our lives forever? *Daily Times.* https://www.msn.com/en-xl/news/other/is-covid-19-going-to-change-our-lives-forever/ar-BB13Lchz

Zohar, D. (1997). Predicting burnout with a hassle-based measure of role demands. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 18*(2), 101–115. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-1379(199703)18:2<101::AID-JOB788>3.0.CO;2-Y

Appendix

Appendix A: Survey Content

Survey Content. Following is the content of the survey questionaire. Following the consent information and items, quantitative items are logically sequenced. Open-ended (qualitative) items are nested between two series of close-ended (quantitative) items. A final open-ended item allowed participants to submit any additional thoughts they wished to share. and are presented in this appendix in the order in which they.appeared to participants on separate survey pages as shown. Survey content presented in multiple pages of this Appendix A, depicts the order in which items appeared to participants on separate survey pages as shown. Pages in which a single item appear indicate the use of skip logic.

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your consent.

This is a survey about work-related video meetings in which you show yourself on camera most or all of the time. Your responses will inform research about how those meetings relate to people's thoughts, feelings, and actions. The survey will take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

There are minimal, if any risks to you from participating. Your identity will be anonymous. You will not be asked for your name, and all demographic data collected will be reported as aggregated information. No personally identifiable information will be associated with your responses in any reports of the data.

The survey is part of my dissertation research at Antioch University in the Ph.D. in Leadership and Change Program. The data collected may be used for future research without additional consent. Your participation is voluntary, and you may discontinue your participation at any time. If you have any questions about the survey or the research study, please contact me, Betty Johnson, at bjohnson10@antioch.edu.

This project has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at Antioch University. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Dr. Lisa Kreeger, Chair, Institutional Review Board, at lkreeger@antioch.edu.

By clicking "Yes" below, you are indicating you have read and understood the above information and agree to participate in this research study.

Please screen-print a copy of this page for your records. Thank you for your participation!

* 1. Do you consent to participate in this survey questionnaire?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

* 2. Are you 18 years of age or older?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

A little about you.

* 3. What is your age?

* 4. What is your gender?

- Woman
- Man
- Genderqueer or non-binary
- Agender
- Other, please specify.

* 5. What is your race or ethnicity?

- Asian
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Middle Eastern or North African
- Multiracial or Multiethnic
- Native American or Alaska Native
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- White

Other, please specify.

* 6. Which of the following best describes your current relationship status?

- ◯ Married
- ◯ Widowed
- ◯ Divorced
- ◯ Separated
- ◯ In a domestic partnership or civil union
- ◯ Single, but cohabiting with a significant other
- ◯ Single, never married

* 7. What is your first language?

- ◯ English
- ◯ Other, please specify.

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your work.

* 8. Over the last week, did you work at least 20 hours for a U.S.-based organization?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

* 9. What percent of that work did you perform from home or another remote location (where you were physically distant from your co-workers)?

* 10. Over the last week, did you lead or attend a video meeting as defined below?

Definition: a video meeting is a same-time gathering **for work** where you are not physically co-located with the other people attending and use the video-streaming function of a virtual meeting platform such as Zoom or Skype to **display yourself on camera for most or all of the meeting.**

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

* 11. Which of the following best describes the principal industry of your organization?

* 12. What is your job role?

- ◯ Individual Contributor
- ◯ Manager
- ◯ Senior Manager
- ◯ Vice President
- ◯ Executive / C-Level
- ◯ Owner/Partner
- ◯ Consultant/Freelancer
- ◯ Intern
- ◯ Other (please specify)

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your video meetings.

* 13. How many days over the last week did you have at least one work-related meeting where you displayed yourself on camera most or all of the meeting time?

1 day ◯ 2 days ◯ 3 days ◯ 4 days ◯ 5 days ◯ 6 days ◯ 7 days

* 14. How many total hours would you say you spent in those meetings where you displayed yourself on camera most or all of the time?

* 15. Consider those work meetings last week where you displayed yourself on camera most or all of the meeting. To accomplish your overall job responsibilities that week, what would you say about ...

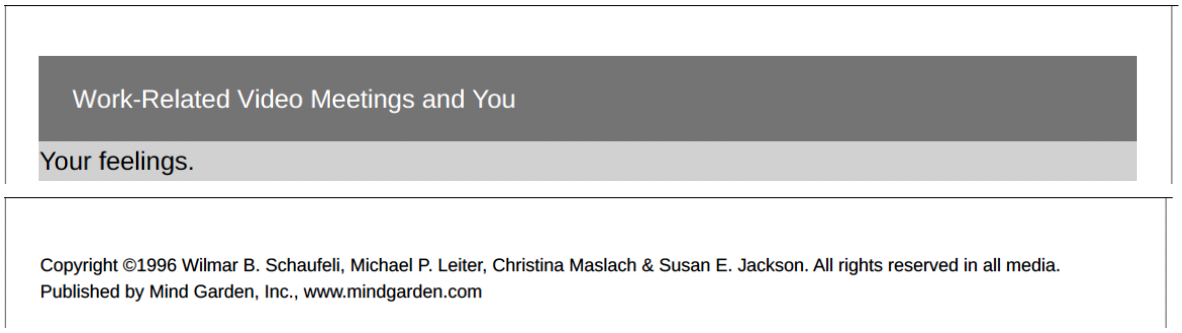
	Not nearly enough	Almost enough	Enough	More than enough	Too many	Way too many
the number of those meetings?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
the total hours of those meetings?	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

* 16. On average, to what degree did you find those meetings last week (where you displayed yourself on camera most or all of the meeting) to be useful to you?

◯ Extremely useful to me ◯ Very useful to me ◯ Somewhat useful to me ◯ Not so useful to me ◯ Not at all useful to me

* 17. In how many of those meetings last week (where you displayed your camera most or all of the meeting) did you feel you could freely choose to, without any negative repercussions, *not* display yourself on video most or all of the time?

◯ All of them ◯ Most of them ◯ Some of them ◯ A few of them ◯ None of them



Items 18 through 29 were licensed for electronic use from the Maslach Burnout Inventory - General Survey (MBI-GS) but were not explicitly licensed for reproduction in this document. The prompt asked to what extent participants experienced the feelings described. Scale responses options included: never, a few times a year or less, once a month or less, a few times a month, once a week, a few times a week, and every day.

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your video meeting actions.

* 22. When in work-related **video meetings** where you show yourself **on camera most or all of the time,** how often do you typically do the following?

	never / not at all	rarely / once in a while	sometimes	often or most of the time	always / constantly
I fake a good mood.	○	○	○	○	○
I put on a "show" or a "performance."	○	○	○	○	○

* 23. When in work-related **video meetings** where you show yourself **on camera most or all of the time,** how often do you typically do the following?

	never / not at all	rarely / once in a while	sometimes	often or most of the time	always / constantly
I just pretend to have the emotions I need to display for my job.	○	○	○	○	○
I hide my true feelings about situations.	○	○	○	○	○

* 24. When in work-related **video meetings** where you show yourself **on camera most or all of the time,** how often do you typically do the following?

	never / not at all	rarely / once in a while	sometimes	often or most of the time	always / constantly
I put on an act in order to deal with people in an appropriate way.	○	○	○	○	○
I resist expressing my true feelings.	○	○	○	○	○
I put on a “mask” in order to display the emotions I need to for my job.	○	○	○	○	○

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

A little about your personality.

* 25. To what extent do you agree with these statements?

	disagree strongly	disagree moderately	disagree a little	neither agree nor disagree	agree a little	agree moderately	agree strongly
I see myself as extraverted, enthusiastic.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I see myself as reserved, quiet.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your thoughts about video meetings.

* 26. When you think about your work-related video meetings (where you show yourself on camera most or all of the time), what comes to mind?

* 27. What do other people do that helps make video meetings beneficial for you?

* 28. What else could people do to help make video meetings be beneficial to you?

* 29. If video meetings (where you show yourself on camera most or all of the time) are exhausting for you, what is it about them that makes them so tiring?

* 30. What might others do to make video meetings less exhausting for you?

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your non-work video gatherings.

31. Over the last week, how many days did you have at least one **non-work** video gathering (for example, to see your doctor, socialize with friends/family) where you showed yourself on camera most or all of the time?

◯ 0 days ◯ 1 day ◯ 2 days ◯ 3 days ◯ 4 days ◯ 5 days ◯ 6 days ◯ 7 days

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your non-work video gatherings.

* 32. How many total hours would you say you spent last week in those **non-work** video gatherings?

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your home life.

Sometimes what is going on in our lives apart from work relates to how we think and feel about work.

* 33. To what extent is this statement true for you? "In my household there is another adult who gives me affection, encouragement, or approval, or acts in ways that help me feel secure."

◯ very untrue ◯ somewhat untrue ◯ neither untrue nor true ◯ somewhat true ◯ very true

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your home life.

Sometimes what is going on in our lives apart from work relates to how we think and feel about work.

* 34. How many children under age 18 live in your home?

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your home life.

35. What percent of the work to care for these children do you perform?

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your home life.

Sometimes what is going on in our lives apart from work relates to how we think and feel about work.

* 36. Other than you, how many adults who are not your spouse, partner, or significant other (for example, adult children, roommates, adult parents) live in your home?

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your home life.

* 37. How many of these persons are your adult children (aged 18 or older)?

* 38. How many of these persons are your or your spouse's parents aged 65 or older?

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your home life.

* 39. What percent of unpaid elder care do you perform for these parents in your home?

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your home life.

Sometimes what is going on in our lives apart from work relates to how we think and feel about work.

* 40. What percent of the household work do you perform? This work includes things such as housecleaning, shopping for household items, cooking, doing laundry, taking out the trash, and general maintenance of the home.

* 41. Since March 2020, to what extent do your family, household, and personal responsibilities ...

	Not at all	To a minor extent	To a moderate extent	To a major extent
compete for the energy you need to do your work successfully?	○	○	○	○
compete for the time you need to do your work successfully?	○	○	○	○

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Your home life.

Sometimes what is going on in our lives apart from work relates to how we think and feel about work.

42. What was your approximate average household income in 2019?

- $0-$24,999
- $25,000-$49,999
- $50,000-$74,999
- $75,000-$99,999
- $100,000-$124,999
- $125,000-$149,999
- $150,000-$174,999
- $175,000-$199,999
- $200,000 and up

* 43. Compared to last year, what do you expect your household income will be this year, in 2020?

much less ◯ somewhat less ◯ about the same ◯ somewhat more ◯ much more

Work-Related Video Meetings and You

Anything you'd like to add?

44. This survey is to get your thoughts, feelings, and actions related to your work video meetings (where you display yourself on camera most or all of the meeting) while working remotely (not in a co-located space). Do you have additional thoughts you'd like to share with us?

Appendix B: Bivariate Correlations in Regressions on Emotional Exhaustion

Table B1

Bivariate Correlations in Regressions on Emotional Exhaustion

		Women	Non-white	Not English	Chdrn < 18	Partnered	2019 HH income	Career stage	Role rank	% HH labor	% Childcare labor	2020 < 2019 Income	VMTG hrs.	NoCamAutonomy	Surface acting	Extrovertism	Social suppt. home	Vid. gathering hrs.	VMTG hrs. too many	VMTGs not useful	PersCompWrkTime	PersCompWrkTime	Emotional Exhaustion
Women a	Pearson Correlation	--																					
	N	345																					
Non-white	Pearson Correlation	-.079	--																				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.145																					
	N	345	345																				
Not English	Pearson Correlation	-.013	.333**	--																			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.814	.000																				
	N	345	345	345																			
Chdrn < 18	Pearson Correlation	-.094	.093	.062	--																		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.087	.091	.261																			
	N	332	332	332	332																		
Partnered	Pearson Correlation	-.081	-.123*	.011	.258**	--																	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.134	.022	.833	.000																		
	N	345	345	345	332	345																	
2019 HH income	Pearson Correlation	.016	-.196**	-.056	.138*	.277**	--																
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.773	.000	.323	.013	.000																	
	N	319	319	319	319	319	319																
Career stage	Pearson Correlation	.009	-.194**	-.104	-.334**	-.099	.205**	--															
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.873	.000	.053	.000	.066	.000																
	N	345	345	345	332	345	319	345															
Role rank	Pearson Correlation	.077	-.052	-.097	-.036	.024	.371**	.265**	--														
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.152	.338	.071	.517	.653	.000	.000															
	N	345	345	345	332	345	319	345	345														
% HH labor	Pearson Correlation	.241**	.075	.055	-.147**	-.604**	-.208**	.020	-.109*	--													
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.175	.321	.007	.000	.000	.720	.048														
	N	329	329	329	329	329	317	329	329	329													
% Childcare labor	Pearson Correlation	.056	.127*	.095	.907**	.177**	.089	-.319**	-.048	.015	--												
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.309	.021	.086	.000	.001	.111	.000	.386	.785													
	N	332	332	332	332	332	319	332	332	329	332												
2020 < 2019 Income	Pearson Correlation	.016	-.088	-.114*	-.063	.038	.082	.099	.029	.004	-.061	--											
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.776	.111	.039	.252	.492	.142	.072	.606	.946	.273												
	N	329	329	329	329	329	318	329	329	327	329	329											
VMTG hrs.	Pearson Correlation	-.042	-.099	-.094	-.018	.016	.249**	.107*	.329**	-.097	-.080	.042	--										
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.433	.066	.081	.749	.770	.000	.047	.000	.080	.146	.452											
	N	345	345	345	332	345	319	345	345	329	332	329	345										
NoCamAutonomy	Pearson Correlation	.069	-.083	-.089	-.011	.121*	-.019	-.028	.078	-.056	-.040	.145**	.226**	--									
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.203	.123	.098	.845	.024	.729	.601	.148	.313	.464	.008	.000										
	N	345	345	345	332	345	319	345	345	329	332	329	345	345									
Surface acting	Pearson Correlation	.135*	-.014	.055	-.043	-.006	-.048	-.152**	-.100	.075	-.009	.061	-.094	.192**	--								
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.796	.309	.430	.909	.398	.005	.066	.174	.867	.268	.084	.000									
	N	341	341	341	331	341	318	341	341	328	331	328	341	341	341								
Extrovertism	Pearson Correlation	.054	-.044	-.133*	.081	-.015	.100	.080	.118*	.068	.077	-.027	.144**	.102	-.134*	--							
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.319	.418	.014	.141	.782	.074	.138	.030	.215	.163	.624	.008	.059	.013								
	N	342	342	342	332	342	319	342	342	329	332	329	342	342	341	342							
Social suppt. home	Pearson Correlation	-.071	-.105	.038	.207**	.600**	.197**	-.033	-.001	-.539**	.146**	-.013	-.011	.054	-.046	.069	--						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.198	.055	.492	.000	.000	.000	.545	.989	.000	.008	.818	.835	.329	.406	.211							
	N	333	333	333	332	333	319	333	333	329	332	329	333	333	332	333	333						
Vid. gathering hrs.	Pearson Correlation	-.005	.176**	.067	.004	-.153*	.026	.045	.144*	.072	-.033	-.011	.043	-.032	-.086	.019	-.111	--					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.946	.009	.318	.955	.022	.706	.504	.031	.286	.628	.866	.520	.633	.200	.772	.098						
	N	223	223	223	223	223	212	223	223	221	223	220	223	223	222	223	223	223					
VMTG hrs. too many	Pearson Correlation	.007	-.002	-.071	.003	-.037	.082	-.081	.073	.021	-.008	-.028	.312**	.222**	.282**	.015	-.061	.014	--				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.900	.966	.189	.953	.499	.144	.135	.173	.700	.880	.611	.000	.000	.000	.784	.271	.834					
	N	345	345	345	332	345	319	345	345	329	332	329	345	345	341	342	333	223	345				
VMTGs not useful	Pearson Correlation	.009	-.056	-.039	-.097	-.009	.036	.166**	.147**	-.022	-.078	.052	.112*	-.037	-.294**	.047	.092	.066	-.295**	--			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.868	.302	.475	.076	.862	.524	.002	.006	.687	.157	.347	.038	.491	.000	.388	.095	.330	.000				
	N	345	345	345	332	345	319	345	345	329	332	329	345	345	341	342	333	223	345	345			
PersCompWrkTime	Pearson Correlation	.136*	.128*	.159**	.282**	.055	.016	-.236**	-.019	.123*	.369**	.037	.029	.078	.210**	-.023	.079	-.089	.091	-.112*	--		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.020	.004	.000	.321	.781	.000	.724	.025	.000	.502	.596	.155	.000	.674	.152	.189	.097	.041			
	N	331	331	331	331	331	319	331	331	329	331	329	331	331	330	331	331	222	331	331	331		
PersCompWrkEnergy	Pearson Correlation	.164**	.120*	.189**	.242**	-.007	.021	-.206**	-.034	.150**	.334**	.007	.042	.053	.234**	.028	.036	-.100	.087	-.108	.831**	--	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.029	.001	.000	.906	.703	.000	.532	.006	.000	.903	.442	.332	.000	.614	.517	.139	.115	.051	.000		
	N	331	331	331	331	331	319	331	331	329	331	329	331	331	330	331	331	222	331	331	331	331	
Emotional Exhaustion	Pearson Correlation	.104	-.017	.008	-.054	.024	.021	-.135*	-.031	.028	-.038	.036	.135*	.089	.567**	-.087	-.071	-.151*	.346**	-.287**	.222**	.251**	--
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.054	.756	.876	.325	.659	.705	.013	.562	.616	.489	.521	.012	.100	.000	.110	.197	.024	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	343	343	343	330	343	317	343	343	327	330	327	343	343	339	340	331	221	343	343	329	329	343

Note: "Women" represents gender. "Non-white" represents race/ethnicity other than white/Caucasian. "Not English" represents first language other than English. "Chrdn < 18" is the number of participants' children under age 18 living in the home. "Partnered" represents marital status. "Career stage" represents age data categories. "Role rank" represents job role categories. "% HH labor" and "% Childcare labor" are the proportions of each performed by the participant. "VMTG hours" represents video meeting load. "NoCamAutonomy" is perceptions participants could not freely choose to

turn off their video camera without fear of negative repercussions. “Social suppt. home” is perceptions that another adult in the home provides social support. “Vid. gathering hrs.” are hours the previous week spent in nonwork video gatherings. “VMTG hrs. too” many represents perceptions that video meeting hours the previous week were too many to accomplish one’s regular job responsibilities. “VMTGS not useful” represents perceptions that video meetings were not useful to the participant. “PersCompWorkTime” and “PersCompWorkEnergy” relate to perceptions that personal, family, and household responsibilities compete for necessary work time or energy. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix C: Permissions

Image used in Sample Participant Recruitment Social Media Posting, Figure 3.3. used with licensed permission from storyblocks.com.

Royalty-Free License Agreement

A. Your Rights. We, Footage Firm, Inc., the owner of storyblocks.com, videoblocks.com, audioblocks.com, and graphicstock.com grant you a perpetual, worldwide right to incorporate the Stock Files you obtain from us into any work you create.

This is a Standard License (the "License"). Our Standard License is written for and indemnifies you, the individual person who signed up for the account on one of our websites, not the entity or company you work for. If you need an Enterprise License written for and indemnifies you and your entity or company, please contact our Enterprise team at enterprise@storyblocks.com.

For any Stock Files you obtain from us, you may incorporate them into any project, commercial or otherwise, including feature films, broadcast, educational, print, multimedia, games, merchandise, and the internet. This also includes projects created using video editing and modification software tools available on our websites.

Once you incorporate a Stock File into your project, you can share your finished project freely, but you may not share the underlying individual Stock File as a standalone file with anyone who does not also have a Storyblocks license. (That said, if you are working on a project and need to show someone else, such as a client, one of our files for the sole purpose of getting their input on whether or not to incorporate the file into your project, that is perfectly fine. But they cannot use the stock file themselves for any other purpose unless they obtain their own license.) You also agree to use your best efforts to avoid letting the Stock File be accessible to others as a standalone file, but since that's not always possible, your inability to prevent copying will not be considered a breach of this License.

Our Stock Files may include videos, photos, graphics, audio, fonts, templates, and more. This License covers all Stock Files obtained from our platform. Keep in mind that this License is limited in certain ways, as explained below, and it is neither exclusive to you nor transferrable to others.

We offer both "Standard" and "Enterprise" licenses, and this agreement covers both types of licenses, as you'll see below. Additional details about the features of our licenses can be found on our website.

B. Our Guarantee. We promise that if you use our Stock Files as described in this License, your use will not infringe on the rights (such as copyrights) of a third party.

We also put our money where our mouth is. In fact, we will provide you up to $20,000 in indemnification with our Standard License and up to $1,000,000 in indemnification with our Enterprise License if you incur any direct damages due to our breach of this promise. This is known as our Limited Warranty. Because these are big numbers, we need to make a few things clear. **In no event, including negligence, will we be liable to you or any third party for incidental, indirect, or consequential damages of any kind. Our maximum aggregate liability for all breaches of the Limited Warranty will be limited to the lesser of $20,000 for our Standard License (or $1,000,000 for our Enterprise License) and the actual, direct damages you incur directly arising from the breach. We make no other warranties of any kind about our files or services beyond the Limited Warranty.**

Note that trademarks, logos, or copyrights depicted *within* our Stock Files are *not* covered by this guarantee. For example, if one of our videos depicts someone holding a brand-name beverage, the beverage label may be protected by copyright and trademark law and should be used at your own risk. (We wouldn't want you to think that this License lets you reprint Coca-Cola cans.)

C. Basic Limitations. Ensuring fairness for all of our artists and other customers is a top priority. Here is how we protect them.

1. You cannot sell, license, or redistribute our Stock Files, nor can you build your own stock media site with our files. You cannot create a trademark or logo based on our Stock Files, since that could block other customers from using the Stock Files. Finally, you cannot use Stock Files to harm minors, to encourage violence, or for an unlawful purpose, such as defamation.
2. We want to make sure people are not abusing our artists' content to stockpile large numbers of clips without intending to actually use them in upcoming projects. For this reason, you cannot use automation, such as computer scripts, to download or "scrape" high volumes of Stock Files, nor can you do so manually if your intent is simply to stockpile content. (People often ask what we mean by "high volumes" of clips. Although this is a case-by-case determination, as a rule of thumb, it is perfectly fine to download a few dozen of our most beautiful clips that you think might be useful in the future. By contrast, downloading 500 files at once without intending to use them anytime soon would qualify as abuse.)

Online survey questionnaire items measuring surface acting Grandey et al. (2005) used with permission granted on June 22, 2020.

From: Alicia Grandey [redacted]
Date: Monday, June 22, 2020 at 1:37 PM
To: Antioch [redacted]
Subject: Re: Permission to Use Items

Ok so this is just the surface acting scale. Yes, you may use the scale.

Please be sure to cite both this source AND Brotheridge & Lee (2003) as indicated in my handout, since some of the items come from that original scale.

On Mon, Jun 22, 2020 at 1:02 PM Betty Johnson [redacted]

> May I clarify my request? The following is the scale I would like to use, adapted as shown.
>
> This is a beautiful scale, Dr. Grandey. It captures exactly what I am looking to capture.
>
> If you say "yes", I will only bother you again (with a note of thanks) when the study is published..
>
> **Response-Focused Emotion Regulation Scale from**
> Grandey, A., Fisk, G., & Steiner, D. (in press). Must "Service with a Smile" Be Stressful? The Moderating Role of Personal Control for U.S. and French Employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology*.

1	2	3	4	5
Never / Not at all	Rarely / Once in a while	Sometimes	Often or Most of the time	Always/ Constantly

When attending video meetings where you show yourself on camera, how often do you typically <u>do</u> the following behaviors?

1. _____I fake a good mood.
2. _____I put on a "show" or "performance."
3. _____I just pretend to have the emotions I need to display for my job.
4. _____I hide my true feelings about situations.
5. _____I put on an act in order to deal with people in an appropriate way.
6. _____I resist expressing my true feelings.
7. _____I put on a "mask" in order to display the emotions I needed to for my job.

Online survey questionnaire emotional exhaustion subscale items (Schaufeli et al., 1996) for 345 participants (n = 345) used with permission granted on July 30 and September 7, 2020, from Mind Garden Inc.

Maslach Burnout Inventory™

Instruments and Scoring Keys

Includes MBI Forms:

Human Services - MBI-HSS
Medical Personnel - MBI-HSS (MP)
Educators - MBI-ES
General - MBI-GS
Students - MBI-GS (S)

Christina Maslach
Susan E. Jackson
Michael P. Leiter
Wilmar B. Schaufeli
Richard L. Schwab

Published by Mind Garden, Inc.

info@mindgarden.com
www.mindgarden.com

For use by Betty Johnson only. Received from Mind Garden, Inc. on July 30, 2020
Permission for Betty Johnson to reproduce 150 copies within three years of July 30, 2020

Maslach Burnout Inventory™
Instruments and Scoring Keys
Includes MBI Forms:
Human Services - MBI-HSS
Medical Personnel - MBI-HSS (MP)
Educators - MBI-ES
General - MBI-GS
Students - MBI-GS (S)

Christina Maslach
Susan E. Jackson
Michael P. Leiter
Wilmar B. Schaufeli
Richard L. Schwab

Published by Mind Garden, Inc.

info@mindgarden.com
www.mindgarden.com

Important Note to Licensee

If you have purchased a license to reproduce or administer a fixed number of copies of an existing Mind Garden instrument, manual, or workbook, you agree that it is your legal responsibility to compensate the copyright holder of this work — via payment to Mind Garden — for reproduction or administration in any medium. **Reproduction includes all forms of physical or electronic administration including online survey, handheld survey devices, etc.**

The copyright holder has agreed to grant a license to reproduce the specified number of copies of this document or instrument **within one year from the date of purchase.**

You agree that you or a person in your organization will be assigned to track the number of reproductions or administrations and will be responsible for compensating Mind Garden for any reproductions or administrations in excess of the number purchased.

This instrument is covered by U.S. and international copyright laws. Any use of this instrument, in whole or in part, is subject to such laws and is expressly prohibited by the copyright holder. If you would like to request permission to use or reproduce the instrument, in whole or in part, contact Mind Garden, Inc.

Online survey questionnaire items measuring introvertism/extrovertism using items from the Ten Item Personality Measure (Gosling et al., 2003) used with permission via web posting on https://gosling.psy.utexas.edu.