

THESIS

THE STUDENT AFFAIRS BURNOUT EPIDEMIC: RELATIONSHIPS AMONG LMX,
RACIAL IDENTITY, AND BURNOUT

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

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According to the Job Demands-Resources Theory (JD-R Theory; Bakker & Demerouti, 2017; Demerouti et al., 2001), job demands predict burnout whereas job resources buffer the impact of job demands on burnout. Campus student affairs professionals are prone to burnout given their unique job demands, of which telepressure (i.e., preoccupations with and urges for responding quickly to workplace communication; Barber & Santuzzi, 2015) and workload are of particular concern. In alignment with Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory (Grain et al., 1982a), student affairs professionals' expression of burnout may differ depending on their relationship with their supervisor (i.e., a potential job resource). Specifically, a subordinate's perception of supervisor-subordinate relationship quality, or LMX relationship quality, may influence their engagement in self-interested voice (i.e., speaking up on issues relevant to one's own interest; Duan et al., 2020) and surface acting (i.e., engaging in emotional displays that are inconsistent with one's felt emotions; Grandey, 2000). Moreover, pursuant to Social Information Processing Theory (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978), racial identity may also play a role in student affairs professionals' experiences of job demands and burnout, and their engagement in self-interested voice and surface acting. This cross-sectional study examined the relationship between the aforementioned variables – job demands, LMX relationship quality, racial identity, surface acting, self-interested voice, and burnout – via the administration of online self-report surveys. Student affairs professionals were primarily recruited through student affairs professional

associations and student affairs-related Facebook pages. Using structural equation modeling to test hypotheses (SEM), results demonstrated that subordinate LMX positively related to self-interested voice and negatively related to both surface acting and work-related burnout. Additionally, surface acting positively related to burnout (i.e., personal, work-related, student-related burnout), whereas self-interested voice was positively correlated with student-related burnout. Furthermore, the relationship between job demands and burnout was not moderated by racial identity nor subordinate LMX, and there was no significant difference in surface acting nor self-interested voice between student affairs professionals of color and their White colleagues. Findings suggest the central importance of cultivating high-quality LMX relationships and optimizing job resources to mitigate personal burnout, work-related burnout, and student-related burnout.

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INTRODUCTION

Occupational burnout refers to a state of emotional exhaustion and fatigue towards work, often leading to negative health-related outcomes (Demerouti et al., 2001). Psychological problems may arise in the form of increased depressive and anxiety disorders, alcohol dependence, and/or mood disturbance (Ahola, 2007; Hillhouse et al., 2000). Physical health problems may manifest as sleep disturbances, headaches, respiratory infections, gastrointestinal infections, musculoskeletal disorders, myocardial infarctions, and cardiovascular disease (Ahola, 2007; Appels & Schouten, 1991; Armon et al., 2010; Kim et al., 2011). Thus, ramifications of burnout can be detrimental to individuals.

In addition to health consequences, negative job-related outcomes are common and encompass inhibited job performance (Maslach & Jackson, 1985), absenteeism (Schaufeli et al., 2009), and increased sickness absence days (Borritz et al., 2006). Burnout also positively predicts turnover intentions and actual turnover (Cropanzano et al., 2003). Therefore, organizations suffer when employees experience burnout. In particular, attrition leads to costs associated with recruitment and hiring. Productivity also takes a hit when new professionals come and go, resulting in other employees picking up the slack (possibly increasing burnout via workload) and greater time spent training incumbents.

Given that burnout has grave consequences for individuals and organizations alike, numerous studies have considered common antecedents. Specifically, Lee and Ashforth's (1996) meta-analysis found that job demands predict burnout, wherein job demands are defined as aspects of the job that require sustained physical or psychological effort (Demerouti et al., 2001). Examples include workload, time pressure, demanding social contacts, and an unfavorable

physical environment. Such demands are associated with physiological and psychological costs, and a prolonged exposure to high demands can lead to the depletion of energy, chronic exhaustion, and ultimately burnout (Bakker et al., 2014).

Although workers in any field may experience burnout, campus student affairs professionals are especially prone given their unique job demands such as long hours, excessive workload, role overload (i.e., too many roles expected to be fulfilled at the same time), and a change in work environment (e.g., a new supervisor or major restructuring) (Bender, 1980; Morrell, 1994). According to Marshall et al. (2016), “The field of student affairs administration tends to place extremely high and unrealistic demands on the time and energy of its constituents” (p. 157). In other words, high and unrealistic demands are simply the norm within the student affairs profession, creating the perfect storm for student affairs professionals’ burnout. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the 2022 Gallup Panel Workforce Study of 12,319 U.S. full-time workers found that 35% of college/university professionals felt burned out always or very often, second to 44% of K-12 educators who reported experiencing more burnout than any other occupation included in the study, including government (33%), retail (32%), and healthcare (31%) (Marken & Agrawal, 2022). In a March 2022 report from the National Association for Student Personnel Administration (NASPA), 84% of respondents said they believed stress was causing turnover. Thus, institutions of higher education also face the repercussions of burnout given 50-60% of student affairs professionals leave the field within the first five years (Marshall et al., 2016; Tull, 2006), leading to issues with recruiting, hiring, and training new professionals who likely encounter the same set of excessive job demands. Likewise, students experience ramifications when they establish rapport with one advisor, only to be forced to switch from academic advisor

to academic advisor, send an email to an inactive account, and/or lose a mentor or member of their support team.

Clearly, student affairs professionals are susceptible to and truly experience burnout; however, observable behavior of employees experiencing burnout is far from understood (Bakker et al., 2014), which leads to difficulty in accurately perceiving and consequently mitigating burnout. The behaviors that an individual experiencing burnout displays may also influence others' behavior. In fact, Bakker and Schaufeli (2000) found that the strongest relationship for burnout in teachers is burnout in their closest colleagues, potentially as a result of burnout contagion. With high empathy and similar support required from student affairs professionals, burnout contagion may also be of concern in the field of student affairs. This is a prime opportunity for supervisors to intervene to mitigate burnout among their team members. Unfortunately, "studies of the relationship between leadership and employee well-being have paid little attention to identifying factors that contribute to health-relevant leadership behavior, which in turn leads to enhanced employee well-being" (Gregersen et al., 2016, p. 357).

Because the observable behaviors associated with burnout are unknown, and studies regarding health-relevant leadership behavior are neglected, the purpose of the present study is to fill these gaps in the literature. I posit that a subordinate's expression of burnout may differ depending on their relationship with their supervisor. In this case, a supervisor may be a potential job resource. Importantly, job resources buffer the impact of job demands on burnout (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). Bakker et al. (2005), in their study of employees at a large university, found that high-quality supervisor support buffered the impact of job demands (e.g., workload) on burnout. In yet another study, Bakker et al. (2007) found that supervisor support helped teachers working in elementary, secondary, and vocational schools cope with demanding student

interactions. Demanding student interactions also represent a job demand for student affairs professional, which may facilitate burnout should supervisor support be lacking or unavailable. With this consideration in mind, the present study seeks to identify the role a subordinate's perception of supervisor-subordinate relationship quality plays in mitigating job demands facing student affairs professionals. Accordingly, the present study has the potential to advance a theoretical connection between supervisor support and burnout, and to inform health-relevant leadership interventions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Job Demands-Resources Theory

A typical framework for understanding burnout is the Job Demands-Resources (JD-R) Theory which assumes that job factors for any occupation can be categorized as either job demands or job resources that influence burnout. As previously mentioned, job demands refer to “physical, psychological, social, and organizational aspects of the job that require sustained physical and/or psychological (cognitive and emotional) effort,” whereas job resources are “physical, psychological, social, and organizational aspects of the job that are either/or: functional in achieving work goals; reduce job demands and the associated physiological and psychological costs; stimulate personal growth, learning, and development” (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007, p. 312). Another proposition of JD-R Theory is that job demands and resources evoke two separate, albeit related processes, known as the energy-driven process and the motivational-driven process. In the energy-driven process, job demands facilitate burnout through a depletion of resources, leading to negative health-related and job-related outcomes. Comparatively, in the motivational-driven process, job resources (e.g., supervisor support, coworker support, performance feedback) foster engagement through fulfillment of basic psychological needs like autonomy, relatedness, and competence (Bakker, 2011; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Nahrgang et al., 2011). As such, Bakker et al. (2003) applied JD-R Theory to predict organizational outcomes. The energy-driven process demonstrated that job demands predicted health problems, and therefore sickness absence days, whereas the motivational-driven process demonstrated that job resources facilitate organizational commitment. Thus, job resources are important in their own right, and, given issues with attrition in student affairs, adequate job

resources (e.g., high-quality supervisor support) may increase organizational commitment while simultaneously decreasing turnover intentions and actual turnover (Bakker et al., 2003).

Moreover, job demands and job resources interact with one another to predict burnout. Job demands are the main cause of burnout, and thus have a strong positive relationship with burnout; however, job resources buffer the energy depletion associated with job demands, demonstrating a less strong yet consistently negative relationship with burnout (Bakker et al., 2014). Notably, employees with numerous job resources can better cope with job demands, and as Bakker et al. (2005) demonstrated, burnout may result from an imbalance between job demands and job resources. In particular, the combination of high job demands and low job resources is predictive of burnout (Bakker et al., 2005). Accordingly, excessive job demands such as telepressure and workload may facilitate student affairs professionals' burnout.

Without doubt, telepressure can be detrimental to student affairs professionals because this job demand "encourages continued connection to work activities," prolonging stress during work and nonwork hours and leading to higher levels of burnout (Barber & Santuzzi, 2015, p. 172). Notably, Barber and Santuzzi (2015) define telepressure as preoccupations with and urges for responding quickly to workplace communication, which may show up for residence life staff when serving in an on-call capacity, for academic advisors when receiving frantic emails from advisees prior to course registration, and generally for those navigating telework in the COVID-19 pandemic. As Mazmanian et al. (2013) suggested, telepressure is more common in occupations with unclear work and non-work boundaries. Because residence life professionals are often required to live on campus, and thus live where they work, blurred work and non-work boundaries are unavoidable. As such, telepressure may be more pronounced for student affairs professionals in this functional area, and recovery processes that are essential for preventing

burnout may be more challenging to prioritize, furthering the likelihood that telepressure leads to burnout.

Critically, the job demand that contributes the most to student affairs professionals' burnout is extreme hours (i.e., a dimension of workload; Marshall et al., 2016). Other quantitative dimensions of workload include "frequency of contact, duration of contact, number of interactions, and percent of time spent with [students]" (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993). Thus, as the number of students increases, the demands on student affairs professionals' also increase, which may lead to burnout. This issue may be especially relevant for student affairs professionals who work in academic and behavioral misconduct and carry a large caseload. Moreover, in their mixed methods study, Marshall et al. (2016) found "only 52% of student affairs professionals felt they had enough time to complete their work, 51% felt the hours they worked were excessive, and 70% reported excessive weekend and evening work-related commitments" (p. 152). One of Marshall and colleagues' participants stated, "I was working every day of the week and had late work nights (midnight – 2:00am everyday)...my student affairs position required me to devote almost all of my time to events and students" (p. 154). Excessive late nights and weekend work are the norm in functional areas such as campus activities and residence life, which inhibit student affairs professionals' recovery from day-to-day job demands, likely exacerbating burnout given continued exposure to job demands without adequate relief (Barber & Santuzzi, 2015).

Building on this argument, racial identity plays a role in the experience of workload, and ultimately, levels of burnout for student affairs professionals of color. Notably, both differential exposure (i.e., discrepant rates of stressor incidence) and differential vulnerability (i.e., discrepant impact of a stressor) can explain differential outcomes across groups (Avison, 2000;

Kessler et al., 1999; Bergman et al., 2012). In terms of differential exposure, Hirshfield and Joseph (2012) refer to the systematic inequities in workload for faculty of color as “identity taxation” resulting from shouldering additional labor (e.g., physical, mental, or emotional) due to membership in a historically marginalized group (p. 214). Examples of additional labor include mentoring students of color, serving on diversity and inclusion committees, and educating members of the racial majority. Given the notion of identity taxation and evidence supporting students of color gravitating towards faculty of color for mentoring and support (Griffin & Reddick, 2011), one can assume that identity taxation and mentorship are also norms for student affairs professionals of color who likely perform “other duties as assigned” in association with their racial identity. Regarding differential vulnerability, workload encompasses greater identity-relevant expectations for student affairs professionals of color in comparison to their White counterparts, and thus, can be considered an identity-relevant stressor. Thoits (1991) indicates that “sociodemographic differences in distress may be due, at least in part, to events and demands that are more characteristic of one group’s experiences than of another’s” (p. 102). For this reason, the relationship between workload and burnout may be inherently different for student affairs professionals of color, and I argue, stronger for professionals of color than their White colleagues. Drawing upon these arguments, I offer the following hypotheses:

H1: Job demands, in the form of (a) telepressure and (b) workload, will positively relate to subordinate burnout.

H2: Student affairs professionals of color will demonstrate a stronger positive relationship with workload than their White counterparts.

H3: Racial identity will moderate the relationship between workload and burnout such that student affairs professionals of color will demonstrate a stronger relationship between workload and burnout than their White colleagues.

Leader-Member Exchange Theory

Based on the Job Demands-Resources Theory, we can view supervisor support as a job resource that may buffer the impact of job demands on burnout (Bakker et al., 2014). However, the true influence of supervisor support likely depends on the quality of the supervisor-subordinate relationship (Gerstner & Day, 1997). Thus, to investigate the effect of supervisor-subordinate quality of relationship, Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory (Graen et al., 1982a), with its unique focus on the relational aspect of leadership, is important to consider. In particular, LMX Theory posits that a high-quality relationship characterized by mutual trust, respect, and obligation is advantageous for both members of the dyad (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). LMX Theory stems from Dansereau et al.'s (1975) Vertical Dyad Linkage (VDL) Theory, which strayed away from "average leadership style" based on behavioral descriptions from the Ohio State leadership studies (Stogdill & Coons, 1957) and instead focused on differentiated relationships. Importantly, differentiated relationships were purported to occur because of the leader's resource constraints, requiring the leader to determine who would be in the in-group of "trusted assistants" versus the out-group as "hired hands."

The notion of in-group versus out-group is comparable to LMX Theory's high-quality relationships versus low-quality relationships. To better understand how a high-quality LMX relationship develops, Graen and Scandura (1987) produced a three-phase model which includes role-taking, role-making, and role-routinization. Notably, the dyad begins as strangers, and role-taking occurs when a leader tests the member's potential by assigning a task or making a request

for the sole purpose of observing the member's reaction. In this way, role-taking can be considered a trial-and-error process. Thereafter, role-making occurs as the leader delegates and member performs, cultivating an exchange relationship. At this stage, the leader and member provide one another with resources to meet their transactionally-based work needs, but otherwise stay out of each other's way (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). In this type of transactionally-based relationship, both leader and member likely perceive a low quality LMX. Should an offer for an improved relationship be made and accepted by either member of the dyad, a socio-emotional partnership develops wherein both leader and member converge on high quality LMX. Role-routinization then occurs when the exchange relationship becomes stable and predictable. Here, a consensus develops surrounding roles, expectations, behaviors, and resource exchanges. Moreover, mutual understanding, trust, and respect becomes an established norm (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995).

Numerous positive outcomes are associated with a subordinate's perception of a high quality LMX, including improved job performance, organizational commitment, overall satisfaction, and organizational citizenship behaviors (i.e., voluntary helping behaviors that are outside an employee's contractual tasks and support performance in the organization) (Gerstner & Day, 1997; Ilies et al., 2007). Comparatively, a low quality of LMX is associated with less supervisory support and greater levels of dissatisfaction (Gerstner & Day, 1997). At a high quality of LMX, a subordinate is more likely to receive supervisor support in the form of mutual understanding, trust, and respect. In this way, a supervisor serves as a job resource that may buffer the impact of job demands on subordinate burnout. In sum, these theoretical arguments lead me to predict that a subordinate's perception of LMX relationship quality will predict burnout such that a high (low) quality of LMX will negatively (positively) predict burnout.

Moreover, the relationship between job demands (i.e., workload and telepressure) and burnout will be weaker (stronger) when the subordinate's perception of LMX is high (low).

H4: Subordinate LMX will negatively relate to subordinate burnout.

H5: The relationship between (a) telepressure and (b) workload with burnout will be weaker (stronger) when subordinate LMX is high (low).

LMX and Self-Interested Voice

Should a subordinate experience burnout, the relationship they have with their supervisor may motivate their decision to speak up and express their concerns with job demands and/or advocate for additional job resources. In fact, Morrison (2014) suggests that employee voice may be motivated by high-quality LMX given the level of trust that exists between supervisor and subordinate. Although the majority of literature on employee voice has centered on proactive behavior that directly benefits organizations (e.g., offering solutions to improve work practices), self-interested voice (SIV), or “employees’ voice behaviors on issues or subjects that are relevant to their own interests” (Duan et al., 2020, p. 2) is more applicable to the current study. Duan et al. (2020) argue that self-interested voice may be more likely to occur in “contexts that pose greater threats to resource loss” (p. 5). Given that student affairs professionals are prone to experiencing burnout and must combat occupational stress in the form of workload and telepressure, SIV is particularly important to consider.

As leaders are often the target of voice behaviors, consideration of supervisor-subordinate relationship quality is warranted. Duan et al. (2019) found that the nature of a high-quality LMX relationship, characterized by care, support, and respect, plays an important role in fostering voice. Notably, subordinates who perceive high-quality LMX relationships are more likely to communicate openly and directly than those who perceive low-quality LMX relationships

(Krone, 1992). Moreover, subordinates who perceive mutual understanding surrounding roles, expectations, behaviors, and resource exchanges can better gauge how supervisors might respond to self-interested voice, potentially reducing the perceived risk associated with voice behaviors. Self-interested voice is likely to be met with supervisory support for ideas and suggestions. Comparatively, subordinates who report low LMX are more likely to perceive supervisor-targeted voice behaviors as risky given the minimal support and consideration they receive (Duan et al., 2019). Building on this argument, I hypothesize that subordinate LMX will positively predict self-interested voice behaviors such that those who perceive a high quality LMX will be more likely to engage in self-interested voice behaviors than those who perceive a low quality LMX.

H6: Subordinate LMX will positively relate to self-interested voice behaviors.

Self-interested voice is also associated with burnout. According to Sherf et al. (2021), there is a weak meta-analytic correlation between voice and burnout ($M_p = -.11$). Prior research suggests that silence, as opposed to low voice, causes symptoms of burnout, whereas voice is an energizing mechanism through which employees can improve working conditions and thereby reduce common strains associated with burnout (e.g., exhaustion, withdrawal; Sherf et al., 2021). Although voice as a broad construct has demonstrated a negative relationship with burnout, the association between self-interested voice and burnout has received less attention. Because self-interested voice targets issues relevant to the individual's interest, it follows that subordinates may engage in self-interested voice to improve their well-being. Building on this argument, I hypothesize that a subordinate's engagement in self-interested voice will negatively predict burnout such that subordinates who engage in greater amounts of self-interested voice will alleviate their experienced burnout.

H7: A subordinate's engagement in self-interested voice will negatively relate to burnout.

LMX and Surface Acting

Engagement in surface acting may also be related to a subordinate's perception of LMX relationship quality. Notably, subordinates who perceive low LMX may be more likely to surface act to effectively conceal their emotions. Surface acting, as highlighted in Emotional Labor Theory, concerns engaging in emotional displays that are inconsistent with one's felt emotions (Grandey, 2000), such as faking a smile when experiencing negative affect. For instance, when interacting with customers, employees may engage in surface acting to meet their organization's display rules, which are "often not explicitly stated by organizations but exist as unwritten norms (Diefendorff et al., 2006). Pugh et al. (2011) refer to surface acting as inauthentic, highlighting that employees who engage in surface acting consciously recognize this inauthenticity.

Compared to high-quality relationships, Waldron (1991) noted that low-quality relationships involve more impression management, or behaviors people display towards others to create and maintain desired impressions (Shlenker, 1980). Lee and Jablin (1995) also found that out-group members are more likely to exercise restrained expression than in-group members. In short, previous research has indicated that subordinates who perceive a low level of LMX are more likely to demonstrate avoidance strategies, impression management, and restrained expression, which can all be captured by surface acting. Comparatively, and as previously stated, a high level of LMX is characterized by mutual trust and open communication. Thus, I hypothesize that subordinate LMX will negatively predict engagement in surface acting such that subordinates who perceive a high quality LMX will be less likely to surface act.

H8: Subordinate LMX will negatively relate to engagement in surface acting.

When an organization's display rules require consistent emotional regulation, an employee may experience emotional exhaustion or fatigue (Grandey, 2000), which are core components of burnout. Notably, Hochschild (1983) proposed that surface acting may result in burnout given the effort it takes to display positive affect while experiencing negative emotions. This is because inhibited emotional expression has been found to increase autonomic nervous system activity, overworking both the cardiovascular and nervous systems, and weakening the immune system over time (Grandey, 2000).

The relationship between surface acting and burnout is important to consider for student affairs professionals because the display rules associated with student affairs roles coincide with situational antecedents of surface acting. Within the surface acting literature, customer interactions are an antecedent of surface acting (Grandey, 2000), which is equivalent to student interactions. Frequency and duration of student contact are situational factors that may increase the likelihood that a student affairs professional engages in surface acting. As previously mentioned, student affairs professionals are likely to experience increased workload (e.g., frequent interactions with students) during residence hall move-in or the days leading up to course registration deadlines. Moreover, emotional events predict surface acting. For student affairs professionals, emotional events may come in the form of responding to student crises in the residence halls, supporting a survivor of sexual assault as a Title IX administrator, adjudicating behavioral or academic conduct meetings, debriefing a hate crime with students in an identity center, or demanding student emails. Grandey (2000) notes that emotional events "may lead to more emotional regulation when that event results in emotions that are discrepant from the organizational display rules" (p. 103). For example, when responding to a survivor of sexual assault, display rules suggest that a Title IX administrator remain calm in tone, but this

may be challenging given the emotions that the Title IX administrator may experience. When an emotional event induces emotions discrepant from display rules, more effort will be needed to emotionally regulate (Grandey, 2000). Also important, higher frequency of emotional events may lead to more surface acting, and in turn, more emotional exhaustion and fatigue (Grandey, 2000). Given these research findings, as well as the job demands and display rules for student affairs professionals, I hypothesize that a subordinate's engagement in surface acting will positively predict subordinate burnout for my study population (i.e., student affairs professionals).

H9: A subordinate's engagement in surface acting will positively relate to burnout.

Social Information Processing Theory

According to Social Information Processing Theory, employees derive and interpret information from environmental cues to determine expectations for and consequences of their behavior. Specifically, Social Informational Processing Theory states that "individuals, as adaptive organisms, adapt attitudes, behavior, and beliefs to their social context and to the reality of their own past and present behavior and situation" (Salancik and Pfeffer, 1978, p. 226). As such, employees garner information from salient stimuli to interpret and make meaning of their work environment (Schneider & Reichers, 1983). Roberson and Ryan (2017) note, "psychologically relevant occurrences involving diversity may be used to do sensemaking" (p. 490), which if taken together with the notions of Social Information Processing Theory, may inform whether student affairs professionals of color engage in voice behaviors and/or surface acting.

Importantly, within the context of higher education and student affairs, the social environment differs for professionals of color compared to their White counterparts. Matthew

(2016) refers to the “invisible labor” performed by higher education faculty and professionals of color, wherein the expectation is “to be the racial conscience of their institutions while not ruffling too many of the wrong feathers” (para. 2). The idea of not “ruffling feathers” may inhibit professionals of color from using voice behaviors to avoid common stereotyped labels such as “the angry Black woman.” Notably, Milliken et al. (2003) identified that employees may refrain from voice behaviors out of fear of being labeled as a “troublemaker” (p. 1463). In a similar vein, Redding (1985) suggests that employees withhold information as to not “rock the boat” (p. 246). Accordingly, these fears of negative perceptions may be exacerbated for professionals of color who choose to engage in prohibitive voice (i.e., voice behaviors intended to bring awareness to problems or concerns) given that prohibitive voice may evoke defensive responses (Liang et al., 2012), which could certainly “ruffle feathers.”

Further, employees process cues in their social environment to determine the perceived risk of speaking up. In doing so, employees read the context for cues concerning context favorability. Salient features of a favorable context include a leadership team that is willing to listen and, more generally, a supportive culture (Dutton et al., 1997). Such features relate to psychological safety, an antecedent of voice (Chamberlain et al., 2017). Unfortunately, tone policing and overvoicing are contrary to context favorability, likely discouraging student affairs professionals of color from engaging in voice behaviors, let alone self-interested voice. In the case of tone policing, dominant groups (e.g., White coworkers) “place sanctions on how [individuals with minoritized identities] will or will not be heard” (Zevallos, 2017, para. 10). Thus, tone policing focuses on the emotion, neglecting to consider the content of the message. Finders and Kwame-Ross (2020) offer the following example: “A White person shuts down the talk of a person of color because it is perceived by the White person as being delivered in an

angry or emotionally charged way” (p. 27). As student affairs professionals of color make meaning of tone policing (i.e., social cues) in the work environment, such professionals may perceive the negative consequences associated with speaking up. Similarly, overvoicing may inhibit voice behaviors for student affairs professionals of color. Notably, overvoicing occurs when “A White person takes over the talk of a person of color, attempting to speak for them” (Finders & Kwame-Ross, 2020, p. 27). Here, a White colleague may overtake the conversation with little regard for their coworker of color. Morrison and Milliken (2000) further describe the social information processing involved in determining whether or not to speak up, claiming that employees develop cognitive maps of what they can and cannot discuss based on observation and communication with others in the organization (i.e., cues). In this way, student affairs professionals of color shape their perceptions on the basis of interactions with others. Given that tone policing, overvoicing, and the expectation to not “ruffle too many of the wrong feathers” is particularly nuanced for people of color, I predict:

H10: Student affairs professionals of color will use fewer self-interested voice behaviors than their White colleagues.

Furthermore, the work environment provides norms and expectations for surface acting, which arguably differ for student affairs professionals of color compared to their White coworkers. Grandey et al. (2018) suggests that “Black employees must perform more emotional labor – more intense positive emotional displays or more frequent emotional strategies – in order to reduce the racial disparity” (p. 2164). According to Grandey and colleagues, this racial disparity is based on interpersonal warmth differences wherein Black employees are held to a higher standard in their demonstration of positive emotional displays than their White counterparts. Evans and Moore (2015) discuss the disproportionate emotional labor that emerges

for professionals of color in the White institutional space of higher education. In this environment, student affairs professionals of color are required to negotiate student, coworker, and supervisor interactions while also experiencing their own responses to microaggressions and the impact of institutionalized racism. Emotional regulation is further necessary given that professionals of color must anticipate the reactions of White people to any emotional reaction expressed (Bell, 2014). As such, professionals of color fear being labeled as “problematically emotional” (Evans & Moore, 2015, p. 449). Adhering to display rules becomes even more necessary for student affairs professionals of color if wanting to avoid being labeled as “problematically emotional”; therefore, faking a smile and a positive demeanor may be a form of self-preservation. Building on these arguments, I predict the following:

H11: Student affairs professionals of color will engage in higher levels of surface acting than their White colleagues.

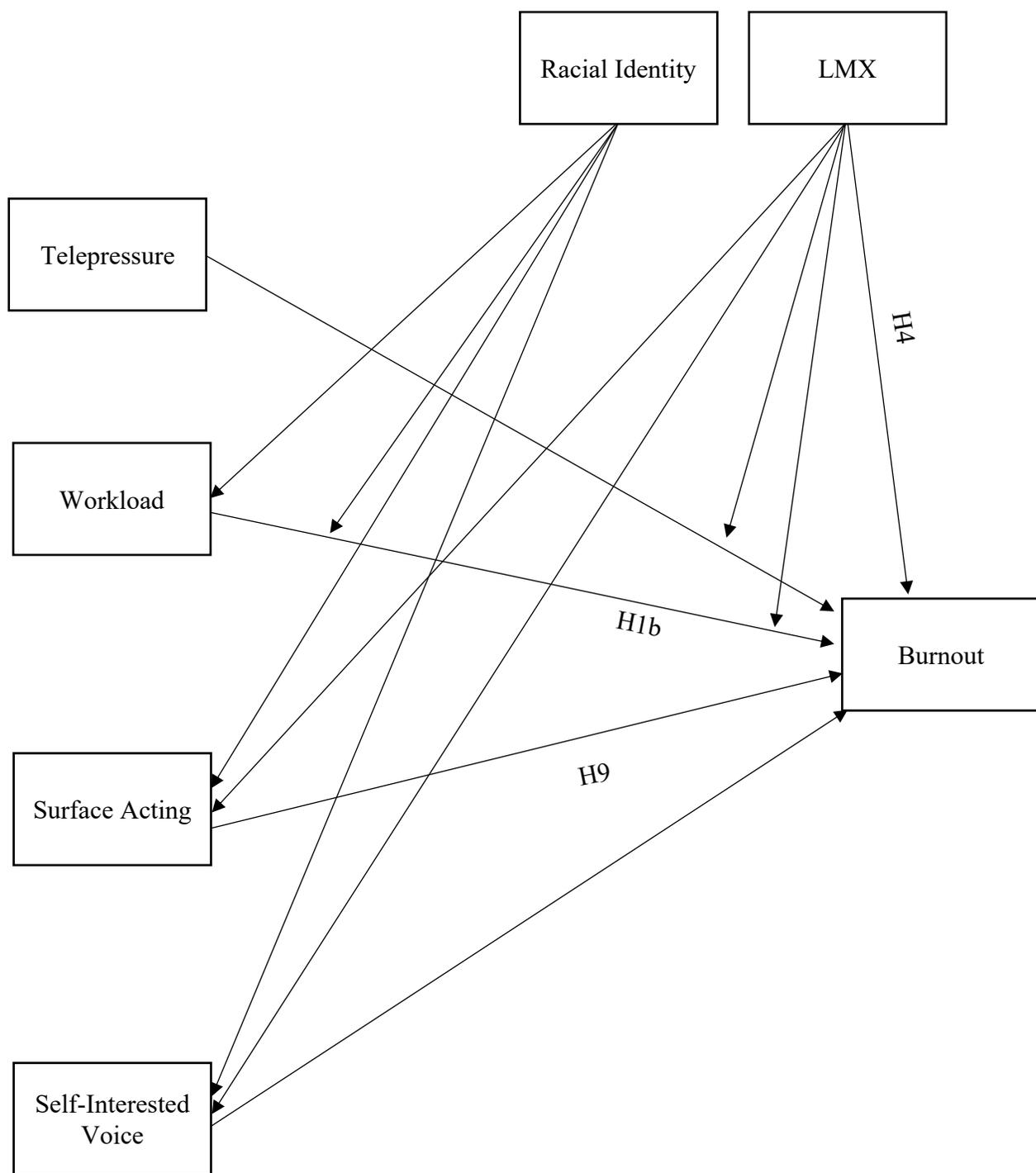


Figure 1

Path Model of Hypotheses

METHOD

Participants

The original sample included 410 participants who completed an online self-report survey via Qualtrics. To be eligible, participants were required to be at least 18 years of age, work at least 20 hours in a student affairs functional area as defined by the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) Research and Policy Institute, hold a student-facing position (i.e., regularly and directly interact with students), and currently have a direct supervisor. At the beginning of the study, eligibility requirements stated participants must work full-time; however, given difficulties achieving an adequate sample size for intended analyses, this stipulation was adjusted to later include participants who worked at least 20 hours per week. Of the original sample, 176 participants were removed based on evidence they were bots, 14 participants were removed for failing to pass two out of three attention checks, and 1 participant was removed for not completing four scales within the survey. The final sample consisted of 219 participants.

Notably, participant demographics of my sample trend with workforce demographics. According to 2018 data, 71% of student affairs professionals identified as women (Pritchard & McChesney). My sample was comprised of 68.3% women. The American Council on Education reported the following racial/ethnic statistics for student affairs professionals in 2017: 66.2% White (compared to 68.1% in my sample), 13.4% Black or African American (9.7% Black, African, or African American in my sample), 9.3% Hispanic or Latino (11.1% Hispanic, Chicanx, or Latinx in my sample), 4.2% Asian (1.9% Asian, Desi, or Asian American in my sample), 0.9% American Indian or Alaska Native (compared to 1.4% Native American, Alaskan

Native, or Indigenous in my sample) (American Council on Education). Participant information is presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Participants were recruited through several avenues: professional associations, social media, university email directories, and my personal network. I incentivized participation with funding provided by the Mountain and Plains Education Research Center (MAP ERC) Pilot Project Grant. Each participant received \$2.50 for survey completion.

Six student affairs professional associations either provided me with a portion of their membership list for me to recruit directly or sent recruitment emails on my behalf. These student affairs professional associations included (1) American College Personnel Association (ACPA), (2) Association for Graduate Enrollment Management (NAGAP), (3) Association on Higher Education and Disability (AHEAD), (4) Association for Orientation, Transition, & Retention in Higher Education (NODA), (5) National Association for Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), and (6) National Intramural-Recreational Sports Association (NIRSA).

Beyond professional associations, I recruited by posting in 17 student affairs-related Facebook groups and pages, which included (1) Student Affairs and Higher Education Professionals (37.6K members), (2) Expatriates of Student Affairs (23.1K members), (3) Future Student Affairs Grad Students (13K members), (4) Residence Life Professionals (7.2K members), (5) Student Affairs Graduate Students (6.9K followers), (6) Student Activities Professionals in Higher Education (5.9K members), (7) Student Affairs Professionals involved with Leadership & Diversity Programs (5.8K followers), (8) Student Affairs Professional Development (3.3K members), (9) Student Affairs Training and Development (3.3K members), (10) Student Affairs Mid-Level Professionals (3.1K members), (11) The Admin: A Place for Student Affairs Professionals (3K followers), (12) ASHE Graduate Student Network (2.2K

followers), (13) Community College Student Affairs Professionals (1.8K members), (14) MACUHO (806 followers), (15) ACUHO-I STARS College (765 followers), (16) Student Affairs Doc Students (374 followers), and (17) Ohio State HESA (270 members).

Further, I searched university email directories to identify student affairs graduate program coordinators and student affairs professionals. Thereafter, I distributed the survey link to individuals identified via email directories as well as to student affairs professionals within my personal network for whom I had email contact information.

Table 1

<i>Participant Information</i>		
Age in years		N
	21-24	29
	25-29	51
	30-39	89
	40-49	30
	50-59	14
	60-69	6
Gender [218]		N
	Man	62
	Woman	149
	Non-binary	7
Racial / ethnic identity [216]		N
	Asian, Desi, or Asian American	4
	Black, African, or African American	21
	Hispanic, Chicanx, or Latinx	24
	Native American, Alaskan Native, or Indigenous	3
	Biracial or Multiracial	17
	White	147
Highest level of education		N
	High School Diploma or GED	1
	Associate Degree	2
	Bachelor's Degree	44
	Master's Degree	146
	Doctoral Degree	21
	Professional Degree	3
	Other	2
Institution type [218]		N
	Asian American Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution	7

	Hispanic-Serving Institution	38
	Historically Black College and University	1
	Native American-Serving Non-Tribal Institution	3
	Native Hawaiian-Serving Institution	1
	Predominantly Black Institution	2
	Predominantly White Institution	159
	Tribal College and University	1
	Did not identify with above designations	26
<hr/>		
Position level		N
	Graduate assistant	71
	Entry-level	96
	Mid-level	44
	Senior-level	8
<hr/>		
Student affairs functional area		N
	Academic Advising	20
	Admissions	6
	Campus Activities	25
	Career Services	11
	Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement	1
	Clinical Health Programs	1
	College Union	2
	Community Service/Service Learning	3
	Counseling Services	2
	Disability Support Services	2
	Enrollment Management	2
	Financial Aid	1
	Graduate and Professional Student Services	6
	Greek Affairs	5
	International Student Services	2
	Learning Assistance/Academic Support Services	9
	Multicultural Services	9
	Nontraditional-student Services	7
	Orientation	13
	Recreational Sports	6
	Residence Life/On-Campus Housing	51
	Student Affairs Assessment	2
	Student Conduct	7
	TRIO/Educational Opportunity	2
	Wellness Programs	7
	Other or could not select just one functional area	17
<hr/>		
Gross annual salary [218]		N
	Graduate student stipend	21
	Less than \$20,000	3
	\$20-29,000	14
	\$30-39,000	46
	\$40-49,000	51

	\$50-59,000	30
	\$60-69,000	22
	\$70-79,000	16
	\$80-89,000	7
	\$90-99,000	4
	\$100-109,000	2
	\$110-119,000	2
<hr/>		
Degree program		N
	Not currently pursuing degree	147
	Associate	1
	Bachelor's	2
	Master's	36
	Doctoral	30
	Professional	1
	Joint Degree	1
	Other	1

Note. Some participants did not answer all questions. Thus, N = 219 unless indicated within brackets [N]. Note that participants could indicate multiple designations for institution type, explaining why the total number of designations exceeds N = 218. A response option was provided for participants to indicate a gross annual salary of \$120,000 or above but this option was not selected.

Table 2

<i>Tenure</i>		
Time spent working professionally in student affairs	N	
<hr/>		
Graduate assistant without professional experience	35	
0-1 year	59	
2-5 years	56	
6-10 years	29	
11-15 years	37	
More than 15 years	3	
<hr/>		
Years in position [216]	M	SD
	3.04	3.78
<hr/>		
Years supervised by current supervisor [215]	M	SD
	2.12	2.66

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Some participants did not answer all questions. Thus, N = 219 unless indicated within brackets [N].

Data Collection

Data were collected between January 2022 and November 2022. Participants were asked to complete a self-report online survey via Qualtrics. The survey included demographic questions as well as the following measures: (1) leader-member relationship quality, (2) workload, (3) telepressure, (4) self-interested voice, (5) surface acting, (6) burnout, and (7) negative affect as a likely covariate. Additionally, the survey featured supplementary items intended to measure long and/or excessive hours and caseload, as well as one open-ended question that asked, “What do you find most demanding about your work?” to assess qualitative workload. I conducted pilot testing and cognitive interviews prior to finalizing and fielding the surveys. To ensure quality of data, I incorporated three attention checks in the survey and added “response requested” to all Qualtrics items to encourage participants to submit their responses. Please refer to Appendix A for the full survey.

Measures

Demographics

Participants were asked to report various demographic information, including their age, gender, and race. Additionally, participants were asked to provide their education level and current degree program (if applicable). The survey also asked participants to indicate job-relevant information, such as annual salary, the student affairs functional area in which they work (e.g., residence life, academic advising), the number of years and months supervised by their current supervisor, position level (i.e., graduate assistant, entry-level, mid-level, senior-level, executive-level), position tenure, and tenure working in the field of student affairs. Lastly, participants were asked to report any institutional designations (e.g., Hispanic-Serving

Institution, Historically Black College and University) associated with their university and/or college.

Leader-member relationship quality

To assess leader-member relationship quality (i.e., LMX), I administered the seven-item LMX-7 scale, which has been deemed the most appropriate and recommended measure of LMX (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995) and for which the construct validity has been repeatedly confirmed (Graen, 2003). Participants rated items on five-point Likert-type scales with varying response options (1 = “Rarely” to 5 = “Very often”; 1 = “Not a bit” to 5 = “A great deal”; 1 = “Not at all” to 5 = “Fully”; 1 = “None” to 5 = “Very high”; 1 = “Strongly disagree” to 5 = “Strongly agree”; 1 = “Extremely ineffective” to 5 = “Extremely effective”). Sample items include, “How well does your supervisor [subordinate] understand your job problems and needs?” and the centroid item of “How would you characterize your working relationship with your supervisor [subordinate]?” The construct validity of LMX-7 has been repeatedly confirmed (Graen, 2003, p. 163) and Matta et al. (2015) indicated coefficient α for the subordinate rating as .89.

Workload

I measured both quantitative and qualitative workload in the present study. Spector and Jex’s (1998) five-item Quantitative Workload Inventory assessed subordinate workload in a reasonably objective manner. Sample items for this construct are “How often does your job require you to work very hard?” and “How often does your job leave you with little time to get things done?” Frequency of these experiences were indicated on a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = “Less than once per month or never” to 5 = “Several times per day). In developing the scale, Spector and Jex (1998) conducted a meta-analysis of 18 studies to demonstrate its nomological validity and reported a coefficient α of .82. Additionally, to assess long and/or excessive work

hours and caseload, I included items such as “In an average month, how many hours do you work outside of your standard working hours?” and “On an average working day, how many students do you interact with face-to-face (virtually or in-person) for more than 10 minutes at a time?” Finally, I incorporated an open-ended question that asks, “What do you find most demanding about your work?” to assess qualitative workload.

Telepressure

To measure telepressure, I utilized Barber and Santuzzi’s six-item (2015) Workplace Telepressure scale which asked participants to consider how they use technology to communicate with others in their workplace. Specifically, participants were asked to rate items such as “It’s hard for me to focus on other things when I receive a message from someone” and “I feel a strong need to respond to others immediately” on a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = “Strongly disagree” to 5 = “Strongly agree”). In conducting both an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), Barber and Santuzzi (2015) found evidence for construct validity and criterion-related validity, as well as a coefficient α of .86. More recently, Van Laethem et al. (2018) found a coefficient α of .92 in their study of workplace telepressure with measures that included daily fluctuations of Smartphone use, psychological detachment, and work engagement.

Self-interested voice

Self-interested voice behaviors were assessed via Duan et al.’s (2020) eight-item measure of self-interested voice. Items asked participants to evaluate their agreement on a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = “Strongly disagree” to 5 = “Strongly agree”) with statements such as “I speak up and influence the leader regarding issues that affect my interests” and “I often speak up about how to solve work-related problems from my end.” In Duan et al.’s (2020) scale validation

study, authors adapted item stems from two voice measures: constructive voice from Maynes and Podsakoff (2014) and speaking up from Liu et al. (2010). Results demonstrated discriminant validity of self-interested voice with other voice constructs (e.g., supportive voice, constructive voice, defensive voice, destructive voice), indicating that self-interested voice is a distinct construct. Duan and colleagues (2020) provided evidence for criterion-related validity by demonstrating that self-interested voice is negatively related to outcomes such as supervisors' liking. Results yielded a coefficient α of .89.

Surface acting

I evaluated surface acting with a subset of Brotheridge and Lee's (2003) emotional labor measure. This scale consists of two dimensions of emotional labor: surface acting and deep acting. Because my study does not consider deep acting, the subset of the scale focused solely on surface acting was sufficient for my purposes. The surface acting subset consists of three items asking how often participants engage in the following behaviors: (1) "Resist expressing my true feelings", (2) "Pretend to have emotions that I don't really have", and (3) "Hide my true feelings about a situation." Participants were asked to evaluate these statements on a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = "Never" to 5 = "Always"). In their scale validation study, Brotheridge and Lee (2003) found evidence for convergent and discriminant validity and a coefficient α of .85.

Burnout

Subordinate burnout was assessed via the 19-item Copenhagen Burnout Inventory (CBI; Kristensen et al., 2005) which is comprised of three dimensions designed to be measured as three independent scales: personal burnout (i.e., a state of prolonged physical and psychological exhaustion), work-related burnout (i.e., a state of prolonged physical and psychological exhaustion perceived as related to the person's work), and client-related burnout (i.e., a state of

prolonged physical and psychological exhaustion perceived as related to the person's work with clients). Given student affairs professionals' potentially demanding social contacts with students, this scale is the most appropriate among the various burnout measures as it is the only scale to explicitly consider client-related burnout. In the present study, student-related burnout parallels client-related burnout. Subordinates rated their burnout on five-point Likert-type scales with varying response options (1 = "Never/almost never" to 5 = "Always"; 1 = "To a very low degree" to 5 = "To a very high degree"). Sample items include "How often are you emotionally exhausted?" (personal dimension), "Do you feel burnt out because of your work?" (work-related dimension), and "Does it drain you to work with [students]?" (client-related dimension). All three scales were found to have high internal reliability with coefficient α of .87 (personal), .87 (work-related), and .85 (client-related) (Kristensen et al., 2005). In a study looking at experiences of burnout for nurses in university hospitals, Shimizutani et al. (2008) found coefficient α of .91 (personal), .75 (work-related), and .85 (client-related). Further, Kristensen et al.'s (2005) scale validation study provided evidence for face validity, convergent validity, divergent validity, predictive validity, and concurrent validity. Compellingly, Kristensen and colleagues found correlations between the three scales with other measures of fatigue and psychological well-being. Moreover, "the three scales predicted future sickness absence, sleep problems, use of pain-killers, and intention to quit" (p. 192).

Negative Affect

I measured negative affectivity using the 10 negative items from the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson et al., 1998). Negative affectivity is "a general measure of subjective distress and unpleasurable engagement that subsumes a variety of aversive mood states" (Watson et al., 1988, p. 1063). Arnold et al. (2015) indicated that negative

affectivity is “often used as a control variable in stress research due to its tendency to inflate stressor/strain relationships (p. 485). Because negative affectivity may inflate burnout ratings and/or influence how the supervisor-subordinate dyad evaluate one another, I saw the importance of controlling for negative affectivity as a likely covariate. Participants were asked to “Indicate the extent you have felt this way over the past week” (e.g., distressed, irritable, nervous) on a five-point Likert-type scale (1 = “Very slightly or not at all” to “Extremely”). Notably, in their scale validation study, Watson et al. (1988) found evidence that the PANAS is internally consistent, demonstrates both convergent and discriminant validity, and yields coefficient α from .84 to .87 for negative affect.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Data Cleaning

I first began by exporting the data directly from Qualtrics into R statistical software. Unfortunately, because I recruited participants via Facebook groups, bots infiltrated my study. For this reason, I followed Qualtrics bot detection procedures to remove bots from analyses (e.g., removing participants who scored less than 0.5 on the Q_RecaptchaScore). Additionally, although I asked participants to provide their institutional (.edu) email addresses, I noticed strands of fake gmail accounts. For this reason, I also removed participants (i.e., likely bots) who provided gmail addresses from analyses. After removing bots from my dataset, I was left with 235 participants out of my initial sample of 410. Thereafter, I removed participants who failed two out of three attention checks, which left me with a final sample size of $N = 219$.

I then reviewed my dataset to identify data missingness. Across all scales, missing data on scale items only occurred for one participant. Specifically, one participant neglected to respond to the last item on the self-interested voice scale. For this participant, I decided to use the Mplus default, Full Information Maximum-Likelihood (FIML), which is “a direct estimation technique and operates by directly analyzing the incomplete data set to yield unbiased parameter estimates and accurate *SEs*” (Newman, 2014, p. 90).

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Following data cleaning, I conducted confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) for all measures to assess the factor structure of each latent variable. Adequacy of model fit was evaluated using multiple fit indices. Because a given fit index might not meet acceptable cutoff criteria for idiosyncratic reasons (e.g., sample size, non-normality), it was important for me to

consider fit indices holistically (Schermelleh-Engle et al., 2003). Accordingly, I used the following cutoff criteria: standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) < 0.10, Comparative Fit Indices (CFI) > 0.90, Tucker-Lewis Indices (TLI) > 0.90, and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) < 0.10 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Among SRMR, CFI, or RMSEA indices, I allowed one index to signal misfit so long as the other two indices demonstrated acceptable fit. Additionally, I noted the chi-square test for transparency, but it has been previously demonstrated that chi-square signals misfit for large samples (Bearden et al. 1982).

CFAs demonstrated acceptable fit for all scales except surface acting, self-interested voice, and negative affect. A CFA for the three-item surface acting scale was not able to meaningfully detect misfit, instead demonstrating perfect fit. However, this is how the surface acting scale has been used in the past. For this reason, I moved forward with the scale as is. Additionally, because the self-interested voice scale was developed by adapting the first three items from Liu et al. (2010) and the last five items from Maynes and Podsakoff (2014), I decided to treat the self-interested voice scale as a two-factor model where the Liu et al. (2010) items comprised factor one and the Maynes and Podsakoff (2014) items comprised factor two. Treating the scale in this manner produced acceptable fit. Lastly, I evaluated factor loadings, item intercorrelations, and covariances of the negative affect scale. I dropped item 1 (“distressed”) given a low factor loading and item 10 (“afraid”) given its high interitem correlation with other items (i.e., item 4, 5, and 8). Thereafter, I dropped item 8 (“nervous”) for its subsequently low factor loading. Fit improved substantially after dropping items 1, 8, and 10.

Measurement Equivalence

Measurement equivalence between student affairs professionals of color and their white counterparts was evaluated to ensure that all latent variables were interpreted in a conceptually

similar manner by both groups (Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008). Across measurement equivalence analyses, a CFI decrease of $>.002$ was used to signal that a constrained model fit significantly worse than a less constrained model (Somaraju et al., 2022). Upon examining configural, metric, and scalar CFIs, measurement invariance was an issue for the following scales: telepressure, workload, self-interested voice, personal burnout, and student-related burnout. A further evaluation of measurement invariance for the telepressure scale led me to discover that the factor loading for item 1 (“It’s hard for me to focus on other things when I receive a message from someone”) was substantially different between racial groups. After dropping this item, I was able to achieve measurement equivalence. I then assessed which adjustments to make to the workload scale by starting with the configural model and then placing scalar constraints individually for each of the five items (i.e., the free-baseline approach for testing differential item functioning; Somaraju et al., 2022). Item 2 (“How often does your job require you to work very hard?”) and item 5 (“How often do you have to do more work than you can do well?”) produced the largest decreases in CFI, which led me to drop both items from further model testing. Following these revisions, the workload scale yielded perfect configural model fit. With these changes, scalar fit was still significantly different than configural model fit based on a CFI decrease of $>.002$. However, given scalar model fit was excellent on its own and compared against a saturated configural model, I concluded that this was still the best approach to the workload scale despite the a priori measurement equivalence rule not being met. In terms of self-interested voice, I could not achieve measurement equivalence with two factors. For this reason, I assessed invariance for the five items adapted from Maynes and Podsakoff (2014). Because I was unable to achieve measurement equivalence with these items, I then followed the free-baseline approach previously mentioned (Somaraju et al., 2022). This step led me to drop item 4 (“I frequently

make suggestions to my supervisor about how to change work methods or practices to fit my interests”) and item 6 (“I frequently make suggestions about how to do things to fit my interests”) given they both yielded the largest decrease in CFI. Similar to the workload scale, these adjustments yielded perfect configural model fit where scalar fit was excellent for the self-interested voice scale. Moreover, after placing scalar constraints on all items in the personal burnout scale, item 2 (“In general, how often are you physically exhausted?”) demonstrated the greatest decrease in CFI. Thus, I achieved measurement equivalence by dropping item 2. Finally, following scalar constraints, I dropped items 5 (“Does it drain your energy to work with students?”) and 6 (“Do you feel that you give more than you get back when you work with students?”) on the student-related burnout scale. Following these adjustments, all scales exhibited sufficient reliability (>.70) and acceptable fit, both of which are indicated in Table 3.

Table 3

Scale Fit Indices

	χ^2	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	SRMR	α
LMX	35.738***	0.084	0.975	0.962	0.028	0.90
TELE	9.890	0.067	0.992	0.984	0.022	0.89
WL	0.00***	0.000	1.000	1.000	0.000	0.79
PBO	22.751***	0.127	0.963	0.926	0.030	0.85
WBO	70.364***	0.136	0.913	0.870	0.047	0.88
SBO	16.401***	0.181	0.923	0.769	0.052	0.88
SIV	0.00***	0.000	1.000	1.000	0.000	0.77
SA	0.00***	0.000	1.000	1.000	0.000	0.87
NA	48.224***	0.106	0.936	0.904	0.049	0.81

Note. TELE = telepressure, WL = workload, PBO = personal burnout, WBO = work-related burnout, SBO = student-related burnout, SIV = self-interested voice, SA = surface acting, NA = negative affect. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $p < .001$.

Model Evaluation

After achieving measurement equivalence for each scale, I estimated a correlated dimensions model to assess construct validity where scales were in the same model. This model

fit reasonably well ($\chi^2 [866] = 1726.448, p < .001, CFI = .842, TLI = .827, RMSEA = .067, SRMR = .069$) though CFI and TLI did not reach the threshold of acceptable fit. However, when considering fit indices holistically, acceptable fit was achieved.

After establishing construct validity, I estimated multiple models to assess study hypotheses, including hypothesized moderator effects as well as direct and indirect effects. All models were estimated in Mplus Version 8.8 as structural equation models (SEM) with latent variables (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). Of note, in this version of Mplus interactions between latent variables are also estimated as latent, substantially increasing computation time and reducing the amount of model fit information provided. As such, I first estimated a model with hypothesized interaction effects estimated as latent. However, these effects were non-significant, so most hypotheses evaluated below are with a model that omits these latent variable interactions ($\chi^2 [903] = 1754.66, p < .001, CFI = .841, TLI = .826, RMSEA = .066, SRMR = .069$).

Thematic Coding

To supplement my quantitative workload measure, I incorporated an open-ended question to assess qualitative workload. Specifically, I asked participants to “Please describe (in no more than 500 characters) what you find most demanding about your work.” Following data collection, I employed thematic analysis by using line-by-line codes to group data into themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

RESULTS

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for aggregate scale scores are provided in

Table 4.

Table 4

Means, standard deviations, and correlations

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	LMX	TELE	WL	PBO	WBO	SBO	SA	SIV
LMX	4.04	0.72								
TELE	3.26	0.97	-.05							
WL	3.46	1.00	-.02	.15*						
PBO	3.09	0.78	-.26**	.23**	.34**					
WBO	2.86	0.82	-.34**	.22**	.43**	.82**				
SBO	2.32	0.92	-.12	.08	.17**	.41**	.57**			
SA	2.69	0.85	-.28**	.16*	.12	.47**	.51**	.40**		
SIV	3.87	0.77	.18**	.13*	.26**	.01	.04	.08	-.13	
NA	1.80	0.67	-.24**	.20**	.28**	.64**	.64**	.42**	.45**	-.01

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. TELE = telepressure, WL = workload, PBO = personal burnout, WBO = work-related burnout, SBO = student-related burnout, SIV = self-interested voice, SA = surface acting, NA = negative affect. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 (H1) posed that job demands would positively relate to burnout. H1a focused on telepressure and burnout outcomes. Results suggest that H1a was not supported as telepressure did not positively relate to personal burnout ($b = .18$ $SE = .10$, $p > .05$), work-related

burnout ($b = .07, SE = .10, p > .05$), nor student-related burnout ($b = .04, SE = .13, p > .05$).

Comparatively, H1b received support as workload positively related to personal burnout ($b = .35, SE = .11, p = .002$), work-related burnout ($b = .45, SE = .12, p < .001$), and student-related burnout ($b = .35, SE = .16, p = .027$). In sum, there is support that workload is positively related to burnout across burnout scales (i.e., personal, work-related, and student-related burnout).

Hypothesis 2 (H2) stated that student affairs professionals of color would demonstrate a stronger positive relationship with workload than their White counterparts. Instead, H2 was significant in the opposite direction with results demonstrating that White student affairs professionals report greater workload ($b = .47, SE = .17, p = .006$). Therefore, H2 as hypothesized was not supported.

Hypothesis 3 (H3) centered on a moderation effect between workload and burnout, predicting that student affairs professionals of color would demonstrate a stronger relationship between workload and burnout than their White colleagues. This hypothesis was evaluated using the model including latent variable interactions. Results demonstrate nonsignificant moderation effects across burnout scales: personal burnout ($b = -.10, SE = .24, p > .05$), work-related burnout ($b = -.18, SE = .24, p > .05$), and student-related burnout ($b = -.41, SE = .31, p > .05$).

Accordingly, H3 was not supported given that racial identity did not significantly moderate the relationship between workload and burnout.

Hypothesis 4 (H4) posed that subordinate LMX would negatively relate to subordinate burnout such that as a subordinate's perception of LMX relationship quality increased, subordinate burnout would decrease. Results were nonsignificant across burnout scales: personal burnout ($b = -.02, SE = .11, p > .05$), work-related burnout ($b = -.09, SE = .11, p > .05$), and student-related burnout ($b = -.26, SE = .15, p > .05$). As such, H4 was not supported.

Hypothesis 5 (H5) advanced that the relationship between job demands and burnout would depend on subordinate LMX. As with H3, H5 was evaluated using the model including latent variable interactions. H5a posed that the relationship between telepressure and burnout would be weaker (stronger) when subordinate LMX is high (low). Results demonstrate nonsignificant moderation effects across burnout scales: personal burnout ($b = .12, SE = .09, p > .05$), work-related burnout ($b = .03, SE = .10, p > .05$), and student-related burnout ($b = -.04, SE = .13, p > .05$). H5b similarly predicted that the relationship between workload and burnout would be weaker (stronger) when subordinate LMX is high (low). Again, results demonstrate nonsignificant moderation effects across burnout scales: personal burnout ($b = .01, SE = .09, p > .05$), work-related burnout ($b = .06, SE = .01, p > .05$), and student-related burnout ($b = .08, SE = .12, p > .05$). In sum, H5 did not receive support.

Hypothesis 6 (H6) posed that a subordinate's LMX rating would positively relate to self-interested voice behaviors. Results support this hypothesis ($b = .24, SE = .09, p = .006$), suggesting that subordinates are more likely to engage in self-interested voice when they perceive a high-quality supervisor-subordinate relationship. Thus, H6 was supported.

Hypothesis 7 (H7) stated that a subordinate's engagement in self-interested voice would negatively relate to burnout. Results indicate that self-interested voice does not significantly relate to burnout for any of the burnout scales: personal burnout ($b = -.13, SE = .11, p > .05$), work-related burnout ($b = .12, SE = .11, p > .05$), and student-related burnout ($b = .20, SE = .14, p > .05$). In sum, H7 was not supported.

Hypothesis 8 (H8) advanced that a subordinate's LMX rating would negatively relate to engagement in surface acting. Results demonstrate support for this hypothesis ($b = -.22, SE =$

.10, $p = .029$). Accordingly, subordinates are more likely to engage in surface acting when they perceive a low-quality supervisor-subordinate relationship. Thus, H8 received support.

Hypothesis 9 (H9) posed that a subordinate's engagement in surface acting would positively relate to burnout. Results suggest support across all three burnout scales. In other words, a subordinate's engagement in surface acting positively and significantly related to personal burnout ($b = .39$, $SE = .13$, $p = .002$), work-related burnout ($b = .50$, $SE = .14$, $p = p < .01$), and student-related burnout ($b = .84$, $SE = .24$, $p = .001$). In sum, H9 was supported.

Hypothesis 10 (H10) stated that student affairs professionals of color would use fewer self-interested voice behaviors than their White colleagues. Results indicate that professionals of color did not engage in self-interested voice at a significantly higher rate than their White colleagues ($b = .20$, $SE = .16$, $p > .05$). Accordingly, H10 was not supported.

Hypothesis 11 (H11) centered on the notion that student affairs professionals of color would engage in higher levels of surface acting than their White counterparts. Results demonstrate that professionals of color did not engage in significantly higher levels of surface acting than their White colleagues ($b = .11$, $SE = .19$, $p > .05$). As such, H11 was not supported.

Exploratory Indirect Effects

Though not directly hypothesized, indirect effects were evaluated between LMX and outcomes. This is because LMX was hypothesized to correlate with surface acting and self-interested voice, which were in turn hypothesized to correlate with burnout. As such, these mediation effects can be considered exploratory. In no instance was LMX related to a burnout dimension. Effects can be found in Table 5 and Table 6.

Table 5
Direct, Indirect, and Interaction Effects

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>					
	<i>PBO</i>		<i>WBO</i>		<i>SBO</i>	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
<i>Direct</i>						
LMX	-0.02	0.11	-0.09	0.11	-0.26	0.15
TELE	0.18	0.10	0.07	0.10	0.04	0.13
WL	0.35**	0.11	0.45***	0.12	0.35*	0.16
SIV	-0.13	0.11	0.12	0.11	0.20	0.14
SA	0.39**	0.13	0.50***	0.14	0.84**	0.24
NA	0.98***	0.18	0.10***	0.19	0.87***	0.24
<i>As LMX Mediator</i>						
TELE	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
WL	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.04
SIV	-0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04
SA	-0.09	0.05	-0.12	0.06	-0.18	0.10
<i>Interactions</i>						
TELE X LMX	0.12	0.09	0.03	0.10	-0.04	0.13
WL X LMX	0.01	0.09	0.06	0.10	0.08	0.12
WL X RACE	-0.10	0.24	-0.18	0.24	-0.41	0.31

Note. Estimates presented are standardized regression coefficients. TELE = telepressure, WL = workload, PBO = personal burnout, WBO = work-related burnout, SBO = student-related burnout, SIV = self-interested voice, SA = surface acting, RACE = racial identity, NA = negative affect. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $p < .001$.

Table 6
Additional Direct Effects

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>					
	<i>WL</i>		<i>SIV</i>		<i>SA</i>	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
LMX	0.02	0.08	0.24**	0.09	-.22*	0.10
NA	0.46***	0.10	0.24**	0.09	0.65***	0.12

Note. Estimates presented are standardized regression coefficients. WL = workload, SIV = self-interested voice, SA = surface acting, NA = negative affect. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $p < .001$.

Qualitative Themes

215 participants described what they found most demanding about their work, often noting several aspects. Table 7 summarizes the top 15 themes derived from my thematic analysis. Participants most frequently indicated that (1) workload and overload were the most demanding aspects of their work. Specifically, participants described their large student caseload, their inability to fulfill responsibilities, and the impact of “other duties as assigned.” Participants also indicated that their workload varies based on the time of year (e.g., course registration, orientation). Second to workload and overload, participants most described (2) immediacy, often referencing last-minute requests, acute needs that required postponing other tasks, and time pressure. Participants also referenced the expectation to respond quickly to others, perhaps aligning with the experience of telepressure. In terms of the demanding nature of (3) student issues and support, participants explained the difficulty in meeting individual student needs and managing behavioral issues. Next, participants described being pulled in different directions, juggling many responsibilities, and managing competing priorities, which yielded a theme of (4) competing responsibilities. Additionally, participants indicated (5) understaffing and limited staff, often explaining the increased workload associated with vacancies. Regarding (6) administrative tasks and daily operations, participants described inefficient processes, excessive emails, detailed documentation requirements, and back-to-back meetings. Similar, yet distinct from workload, participants referenced (7) long work hours associated with busy times of year as well as frequent evening and weekend work obligations. Moreover, participants described the demands of (8) crisis management, particularly for those who served in a 24/7 on-call capacity. According to participants, crises required (9) emotional labor, a theme that is consistent with surface acting. Crises and last-minute requests spurred another theme – (10) balancing acute

needs with long-term projects and goals. Further, participants described (11) limited funding and resources, and challenges with (12) navigating change. Specifically, participants expressed difficulty in adapting to changing policies, resistance to change, and the demanding aspects of enacting change. Also, participants described difficulties in (13) event planning and implementation, explaining their efforts to program according to students' class level, planning events that students "actually want" to attend, and collaborating with stakeholders. Finally, participants expressed (14) work-nonwork challenges and the (15) expectation to always be available.

Table 7

Most Demanding Aspects of Student Affairs Professionals' Work

Theme	Example	N
Workload/overload	"I find the extra requests the most demanding, doing my regular job duties and supervising staff and advising students is a lot but then all of the extra "volunteer" requests of sitting on committees, helping judge awards, interviewing students, sitting on search committees – it all adds up."	39
Immediacy	"A lot of times Housing Services will ask me to drop everything and contact students or track down a student immediately and they get passive aggressive if it's not done right away. So there's a lot of pressure from them to drop everything and do what they ask no matter how busy my day already is."	37
Student issues/student support	"The most demanding part of my work would be meeting with students and finding out what areas of support they need and following up about it or contacting resources on campus on their behalf. Doing that back to back for multiple students throughout the week is demanding, and learning about any personal challenges the students are facing on top of the academic challenges."	34
Competing responsibilities	"There are often times when everything is a priority and everything had an important deadline to accomplish right then and there."	31
Understaffing/limited staff	"The lack of adequate staff. We are tremendously overextended, underfunded and burnt out doing jobs well beyond our job descriptions without additional	24

	compensation or administrative support to remedy the issues.”	
Administrative tasks/daily operations	“What I find most demanding about my work is the requirement to log student contact in 3 different systems, none of which share data with one another. I find myself spending more time navigating the use of these systems than helping students.”	21
Long work hours	“Orientation season is very busy, easily you will be working 60 hours a week during summer to get students assimilated into the University. Orientation prep and Orientation days are very labor intensive, our days start from 5:00 a.m. and go on until 6:00 p.m.”	16
Crisis management	“I think that being on call is the most demanding part of the work. Having to wake up at 2 AM to go break up a party, watch a student puke, or talk to a resident who is contemplating suicide, are tiring and stressful situations.”	15
Emotional labor/emotional regulation	“The most demanding part of my job is the training and development of people that are not ready to explore their own identity. This causes additional emotional labor as people need assistance with the processing of their thoughts and ideas of self.”	10
Balancing acute needs with long-term projects and goals	“It is difficult to balance the immediate needs of students with the demands of committee work and institutional & work projects.”	10
Limited funding/resources	“I work for programs that serve underserved populations and it is exhausting to constantly have to advocate for funding and for us to exist.”	10
Navigating change	“I recently came into this position, and the program as it is right now is so far outside of wise/best practices that most of my work this year has been dedicated to analyzing the program, writing proposals to make changes, and seeking faculty/dean approval to make the necessary changes. This first year is really about changing course and getting us set up for the upcoming year....It’s a lot right now!”	9
Programming/event planning and implementation	“Probably the events because they require a lot of back-end work and heavy work leading up to and the day of.”	8
Work-nonwork challenges	“Balancing my work life with the responsibilities of family life – sometimes there is a need/expectation that I should be in two places at one time.”	8
Expectation to be available	“The 24/7 nature of working in a residence life setting, meaning I am always on-the-clock in a sense.”	8

DISCUSSION

The present study examined the relationship between job demands (i.e., telepressure and workload), LMX relationship quality, racial identity, self-interested voice, surface acting, and burnout via the administration of online self-report surveys. Participants included student-facing, subordinate-identifying student affairs professionals recruited primarily through student affairs professional associations and student affairs-related Facebook pages. Structural equation modeling (SEM) was employed to test hypotheses.

As expected, subordinate LMX positively predicted self-interested voice behaviors and negatively predicted engagement in surface acting. These results point to the nature of a high-quality relationship, wherein understanding, trust, and respect promote speaking up and authentically expressing oneself (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Additionally, surface acting positively predicted burnout across all scales. This finding suggests that we can be further confident of the positive predictive relationship between surface acting and burnout based on the combination of variables controlled for in the present study. Similarly, workload predicted burnout across all scales, indicating that workload negatively impacts student affairs professionals' personal well-being, produces strain at work, and may even affect relationships with students.

Other hypotheses were not supported. Notably, subordinate LMX did not predict burnout. Because this study did not evaluate a supervisor's LMX rating in combination with the subordinate's LMX rating, it's unclear whether supervisor and subordinate saw "eye to eye" in their perception of relationship quality. Perhaps subordinate LMX did not negatively and significantly predict burnout because disagreement existed within the dyad. Graen et al. (1982a)

indicated that supervisors who perceive low-quality LMX relationships expect their subordinates to “cope with pressures on their own” (p. 871). Accordingly, supervisors may not be providing resources that effectively mitigate subordinate burnout. Relatedly, supervisor support may not adequately buffer student-related burnout because subordinates’ relationships with others are distinct from the supervisor-subordinate dyad. Alternatively, surface acting and voice behaviors may be proximal predictors of burnout, making LMX (or LMX congruence) a more distal antecedent. Future work should more comprehensively assess LMX as well as the temporal sequencing of constructs to address these competing possibilities.

Furthermore, subordinate LMX did not significantly moderate the relationships between job demands and burnout. One possibility is that LMX is not synonymous with supervisor support and is therefore not a resource as previously described (Bakker et al., 2014). Alternatively, low LMX may not be the mere absence of a resource, but instead serve as a stressor or demand. Should this be the case, measurement of the costs and benefits of LMX (e.g., experience of a transactional relationship versus presence of socioemotional support, respectively) may need to be measured directly to align LMX with demands and resources of Job Demands-Resources Theory (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017; Demerouti et al., 2001). Another possible explanation for why subordinate LMX rating did not moderate the relationship between job demands (i.e., telepressure, workload) and burnout is because the present study included surface acting in the model, and previous studies may not have had as proximal a predictor of burnout in their models.

Another surprising discovery was that telepressure did not predict burnout for any of the burnout scales. This finding is mystifying given the well-established predictive relationship between job demands and burnout (Bakker et al., 2014). One explanation may be that participants completed the survey during times where they were experiencing less telepressure

(e.g., academic advisors not in the midst of course registration) and therefore had the capacity to participate in the study (i.e., the lack of relationship may be due to restriction of range).

However, the likelihood of this explanation is difficult to determine as the observed variability of the measure is similar to other measures in the study, but the impact of real telepressure on study participation cannot be ruled out. Alternatively, perhaps prior studies of telepressure lack other measures of job demands, whereas the present study's measurement of telepressure with workload rendered telepressure a non-significant predictor.

Other unanticipated findings were that White student affairs professionals reported significantly greater workload than student affairs professionals of color, and racial identity did not moderate the relationship between workload and burnout. Although it is possible that White student affairs professionals experience discrepant rates of workload compared to professionals of color, another explanation is that professionals of color may have accepted workload associated with identity taxation as the norm (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012). As such, it is unclear whether White professionals are actually experiencing greater workload or are simply reporting more workload than their peers of color. The same rationale may explain why student affairs professionals of color did not demonstrate a stronger relationship between workload and burnout than their White colleagues.

Additional racial identity hypotheses were not supported. Specifically, student affairs professionals of color did not use significantly fewer self-interested voice behaviors nor engage in significantly higher levels of surface acting than their White colleagues. A possible reason for why professionals of color did not differentially engage in self-interested voice is because there may not be a significant difference in perceptions of psychological safety between professionals of color and their White counterparts. In terms of surface acting, previous research suggests that

“Black employees must perform more emotional labor...in order to reduce the racial disparity” (Grandey et al., 2018, p. 2164). However, the present study was broader in that a comparison was not made between Black employees and non-Black employees, but instead considered professionals of color and their White counterparts. Thus, it may be the case that Black employees engaged in higher levels of surface acting than non-Black employees, but this comparison was not evaluated due to insufficient sample size between groups.

A final unexpected finding was that self-interested voice did not negatively and significantly predict burnout. Instead, self-interested voice positively and significantly predicted student-related burnout. Because self-interested voice is often directed towards leaders, and subordinate LMX was also not predictive of burnout, it is possible that supervisors are not receptive to subordinates’ self-interested voice behaviors. If this is the case, lack of receptivity may prevent subordinates from using self-interested voice to truly improve their working conditions. Another alternative explanation is that self-interested voice and burnout are positively related since one might be more likely to engage in voice behaviors if the antecedents of burnout are present. For example, in a hazardous situation one might voice not because they are comfortable doing so and expect to be well-received but rather because there is an imminent hazard. Should this alternative be true then future investigations might consider novel antecedents of burnout given the measurement of multiple job demands and LMX in the present study.

Implications

Implications for Theory

The present study’s findings extend and integrate research on LMX and burnout in organizations by incorporating a unique combination of variables. What is more, this study measured burnout using the Copenhagen Burnout Inventory (Kristensen et al., 2005), which

enabled an examination of the relationship between variables and three independent burnout scales – personal burnout, work-related burnout, and client-related burnout (adapted to student-related burnout). This more nuanced approach to measuring burnout demonstrated that workload and surface acting predict not only work-related burnout, but also personal and student-related burnout. Uniquely, this study contributes to our understanding of a subordinate’s perception of supervisor-subordinate relationship quality and the impact this perception has on observable expressions of burnout, namely self-interested voice and surface acting. By examining potential indicators of burnout (i.e., self-interested voice, surface acting), this study initiates a conversation to be had about supervisor ability to perceive observable expressions of subordinate burnout.

Implications for Practice

In general, this study emphasizes that the relationship a subordinate has with their supervisor has an impact on their well-being. Accordingly, student affairs professionals must consider practicing health-relevant leadership by cultivating not only a professional relationship, but also a relationship that is rooted in personal understanding, trust, and respect (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Further, health-relevant leaders must evaluate how to optimize job demands and resources to mitigate burnout while simultaneously promoting well-being. Notably, this study offered insight into predictors of student affairs professionals’ burnout (e.g., workload and telepressure) that may inform the high rate of turnover within the field. Given that telepressure did not significantly predict burnout, student affairs administrators should prioritize reducing workload to mitigate burnout. One strategy to reduce stress from workload, particularly long and excessive working hours, is to allow student affairs professionals to create their own schedules. Encouraging student affairs professionals to control their schedule in the form of flextime may

promote well-being, job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Ng et al., 2006). Moreover, because subordinate LMX negatively predicted surface acting (i.e., an antecedent of personal, work-related, and student-related burnout), student affairs professionals should consider developing LMX-focused interventions (e.g., leadership training curriculum) that center on fostering supervisor support as a resource to prevent and buffer burnout (Bakker et al., 2014). Additionally, student affairs divisions should strategize ways to reduce the negative consequences of surface acting. In student affairs functional areas, display rules often necessitate emotional labor in some form or another when interacting with students; however, brief interventions that target effective coping strategies (e.g., Weaver et al., 2019) may weaken the link between surface acting and burnout. Lastly, employers of student affairs professionals should critically evaluate turnover versus labor costs. Though potentially challenging to implement, it may be the case that such high workload leading to burnout, and ultimately turnover as shown in prior work (Cropanzano et al., 2003; Lorden, 1998; Tull, 2006), creates undue hiring and onboarding costs that could be remedied with additional upfront investment in adequate staff.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

There are potential limitations to the present study. One limitation is that this study relied on single time-point self-report data. Future research should consider collecting data from multiple sources as well as at multiple time points. Relatedly, the present research could be expanded by considering LMX congruence, or whether supervisor and subordinate see “eye to eye” in their perception of relationship quality. For instance, Matta et al. (2015) found that employee work engagement was maximized when supervisor and subordinate converged on high-quality LMX compared to converging on low-quality LMX or disagreeing. For the present

research questions, knowing a supervisor's perception of the relationship quality may offer insight into the level of support offered by the supervisor, providing another lens through which to examine the effectiveness of supervisor support as a job resource that buffers the impact of job demands on burnout.

Another limitation is the possibility of range restriction. Notably, the present study is part of a larger LMX congruence study that asked subordinates to provide their supervisors' email addresses for researchers to recruit supervisor-subordinate dyads, a common recruitment strategy in dyadic research (e.g., Matta et al., 2015). Because this study required participants to provide supervisor contact information, it is possible that only participants who had a high-quality relationship with their supervisor opted to enroll. Prior research has identified incompatibility with supervisors, particularly ineffective supervision, as a primary reason that student affairs professionals leave the field (Marshall et al., 2016). In fact, Marshall and colleagues noted that 42% of student affairs professionals did not appreciate their supervisors. Given the prevalence of supervision issues, participants may not have felt comfortable recruiting their supervisor based on relationship issues or perhaps because participants did not want to add more to supervisors' workload.

A third potential limitation is that data collection occurred over a period of nine months – from February 2022 to November 2022. As such, data was collected over academic breaks, such as Spring Break and Summer Break. Student affairs professionals' student caseloads likely varied across these months, and this study did not take into account significant student affairs functional experiences such as on-campus move-in and course registration periods. Future research would benefit from collecting data during the standard academic year.

Moreover, given difficulties recruiting a sufficient sample size, analyses required treating racial identity as a binary variable. Therefore, participants were coded as either White or a person of color. Ideally, a larger sample size with participants across racial identities may have yielded significant moderator effects associated with racial identity.

Another potential limitation arose from issues with achieving measurement equivalence. The configural models for workload, surface acting, and self-interested voice were fully saturated wherein there were as many estimated parameters as observed data. For this reason, confirmatory factor analyses produced perfect fit. Though fit was not optimal, I decided to rely on scalar fit to balance the competing demands of model fit and using the scales as validated. Future research should investigate scale validation procedures that may demonstrate a pattern of measurement invariance.

Finally, unanticipated results warrant attention in future studies. Notably, this study did not find a significant difference in surface acting between student affairs professionals and their White counterparts. One possibility is that professionals of color are performing more emotional labor, but not necessarily more surface acting. Although this study focused on observable behaviors associated with mitigating burnout, future studies might consider measuring deep acting alongside surface acting.

Conclusion

This study contributes to the literature by empirically testing the relationships between job demands, LMX, self-interested voice, surface acting, racial identity, and burnout. Results underlined the opportunity for supervisor support to mitigate burnout, as well as the importance of reducing the negative consequences associated with surface acting. The evidence presented here is suggestive of future research directions in cultivating high-quality LMX relationships,

examining the conditions under which self-interested voice negatively or positively predicts burnout, and considering job resources that optimally mitigate personal burnout, work-related burnout, and student-related burnout.

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APPENDIX A

Subordinate Survey 1

Screening questions

Do you currently work at least 20 hours per week as either a graduate assistant or professional in a student affairs functional area in the United States?

NOTE: According to the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), student affairs functional areas include the following (will be listed in bullet point format): Academic Advising, Admissions, Alumni Programs, Campus Activities, Campus Safety, Career Services, Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, Clinical Health Programs, College Union, Community Service/Service Learning, Commuter Student Services, Counseling Services, Disability Support Services, Enrollment Management, Financial Aid, GLBT Student Services, Graduate and Professional Student Services, Greek Affairs, Intercollegiate Athletics, International Student Services, Learning Assistance/Academic Support Services, Multicultural Services, Nontraditional-student Services, On-Campus Dining, Orientation, Recreational Sports, Registrar, Residence Life/On-Campus Housing, Spiritual Life/Campus Ministry, Student Affairs Assessment, Student Affairs Fundraising and Development, Student Affairs Research, Student Conduct (Academic Integrity/Behavioral Case Management), Student Media, TRIO/Educational Opportunity, Veterans' Services, Wellness Programs, and Women's Center.

- Yes
- No (if no, the individual will be excluded from participation)

Do you consider your role to be student-facing (i.e., you regularly and directly interact with students)?

- Yes
- No (if no, the individual will be excluded from participation)

Do you currently have a direct supervisor (i.e., the position is not vacant)?

- Yes
- No (if no, the individual will be excluded from participation)

Are you willing to provide the email address of your direct/immediate supervisor for researchers to invite them to participate in this study?

- Yes
- No (if no, the individual will be excluded from participation)

Which of the following best describe you? (Check all that apply)

- Asian, Desi, or Asian American
- Black, African, or African American
- Hispanic, Chicanx, or Latinx
- Middle Eastern or North African
- Native American, Alaskan Native, or Indigenous

- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- White, European American, or Caucasian
- Multiracial
- A race/ethnicity not listed here (please specify)
- Prefer not to answer

Demographic questions

What is your FULL NAME (i.e., first and last name)?

[Participant name]

What is your UNIVERSITY email address?

[Participant email]

What is the UNIVERSITY email address of your direct/immediate supervisor?

[Supervisor's email]

For how many years and months have you been directly supervised by your current supervisor?

[Numerical response]

Does the institution you work for have one or more of the following designations? (Check all that apply)

- Alaska Native-Serving Institution (i.e., undergraduate students who identify as Alaska Native make up at least 20% of total enrollment)
- Asian American Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institution (AANAPISI) (i.e., undergraduate students who identify as Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander make up at least 10% of total enrollment)
- Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI) (i.e., undergraduate students who identify as Hispanic make up at least 25% of total enrollment)
- Historically Black College and University (HBCU) (i.e., colleges and universities founded before 1964 and were originally intended to provide higher education to African American communities)
- Native American-Serving Non-Tribal Institution (i.e., a postsecondary institution that is not affiliated with American Indian and Native Alaskan tribes where undergraduate students who identify as Native American make up at least 10% of total enrollment)
- Native Hawaiian-Serving Institution (i.e., undergraduate students who identify as Native Hawaiian make up at least 10% of total enrollment)
- Predominantly Black Institution (PBI) (i.e., undergraduate students who identify as Black make up at least 40% of total enrollment and students who identify as low-income and/or first-generation college students make up at least 30% of total enrollment)
- Predominantly White Institution (PWI) (i.e., colleges and universities in which students who identify as White make up at least 50% of total enrollment)
- Tribal College and University (TCU) (i.e., colleges and universities associated with American Indian and Native Alaskan tribes)
- I cannot select one of these institution types because [ALLOW TEXT ENTRY]

Select your PRIMARY student affairs functional area.

- Academic Advising
- Admissions
- Alumni Programs
- Campus Activities
- Campus Safety
- Career Services
- Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement
- Clinical Health Programs
- College Union
- Community Service/Service Learning
- Commuter Student Services
- Counseling Services
- Disability Support Services
- Enrollment Management
- Financial Aid
- GLBT Student Services
- Graduate and Professional Student Services
- Greek Affairs
- Intercollegiate Athletics
- International Student Services
- Learning Assistance/Academic Support Services
- Multicultural Services
- Nontraditional-student Services
- On-Campus Dining
- Orientation
- Recreational Sports
- Registrar
- Residence Life/On-Campus Housing
- Spiritual Life/Campus Ministry
- Student Affairs Assessment
- Student Affairs Fundraising and Development
- Student Affairs Research
- Student Conduct (Academic Integrity/Behavioral Case Management)
- Student Media
- TRIO/Educational Opportunity
- Veterans' Services
- Wellness Programs
- Women's Center
- I cannot select a PRIMARY student affairs functional area because [ALLOW TEXT ENTRY]

Select any other student affairs functional areas that comprise your role and other responsibilities (Check all that apply).

- Academic Advising

- Admissions
- Alumni Programs
- Campus Activities
- Campus Safety
- Career Services
- Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement
- Clinical Health Programs
- College Union
- Community Service/Service Learning
- Commuter Student Services
- Counseling Services
- Disability Support Services
- Enrollment Management
- Financial Aid
- GLBT Student Services
- Graduate and Professional Student Services
- Greek Affairs
- Intercollegiate Athletics
- International Student Services
- Learning Assistance/Academic Support Services
- Multicultural Services
- Nontraditional-student Services
- On-Campus Dining
- Orientation
- Recreational Sports
- Registrar
- Residence Life/On-Campus Housing
- Spiritual Life/Campus Ministry
- Student Affairs Assessment
- Student Affairs Fundraising and Development
- Student Affairs Research
- Student Conduct (Academic Integrity/Behavioral Case Management)
- Student Media
- TRIO/Educational Opportunity
- Veterans' Services
- Wellness Programs
- Women's Center

Which of the following position levels most closely aligns with your role?

- Graduate assistant
- Entry-level
- Mid-level
- Senior-level
- Executive-level

For how many years and months have you been in your current position?
[Numerical response]

How long have you been working in student affairs professionally (i.e., not including undergraduate and graduate assistantships or internships)?

- I am a graduate assistant and have not yet worked professionally in student affairs
- 0-1 year
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- More than 15 years

Are you currently enrolled in any degree program? If YES, DISPLAY LOGIC TO “In what type of degree program are you currently enrolled?” (Associate, Bachelor’s (e.g., BA, BS, BSBA, BE), Master’s (e.g., MA, MS, MBA, MFA, MEd), Doctoral (e.g., PhD, EdD), Professional (e.g., JD, MD), Joint Degree, Other (please specify)) AND “What is the name of your degree program (e.g., Higher Education & Student Affairs, Human Resources, Education Policy)?

What is your gender (e.g., woman, agender)? _____

When we describe who participated in our study, which of these categories would you like us to include you in?

- A trans/transgender category (usually refers to people who were given a gender and/or sex label at birth that does not accurately represent them)
- A cisgender category (refers to people who are the same gender and/or sex they were assigned at birth)
- Neither cisgender nor transgender describe me because: _____
- Unsure because: _____
- Prefer not to answer

And, which of these categories would you like us to include you in?

- Binary (someone who identifies as exclusively a man/male or woman/female)
- Nonbinary (someone who has an identity other than exclusively woman/female or man/male)
- Neither binary nor nonbinary describe me because: _____
- Unsure because: _____
- Prefer not to answer

Which of the following best describe you? (Check all that apply)

- Asexual
- Bisexual
- Fluid
- Gay

- Heterosexual
- Lesbian
- Pansexual
- Queer
- Questioning
- A sexual identity not listed here (please specify)
- Prefer not to answer

What is your highest level of education?

- High School Diploma or GED
- Associate Degree
- Bachelor's Degree (e.g., BA, BS, BSBA, BE)
- Master's Degree (e.g., MA, MS, MBA, MFA, MEd)
- Doctoral Degree (e.g., PhD, EdD)
- Professional Degree (e.g., JD, MD)
- Other (please specify)

What is your current age?

- Under 21
- 21-24
- 25-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60-69
- 70+

What is your current gross annual salary (not including benefits)?

- I have a graduate student stipend
- Less than \$20,000
- \$20,000-\$29,000
- \$30,000-\$39,000
- \$40,000-\$49,000
- \$50,000-\$59,000
- \$60,000-\$69,000
- \$70,000-\$79,000
- \$80,000-\$89,000
- \$90,000-\$99,000
- \$100,000-\$109,000
- \$110,000-\$119,000
- \$120,000 or greater

Leader-member relationship quality

LMX-7 Questionnaire (Graen & Uhl-bien, 1995)

1. Do you know where you stand with your supervisor. That is, do you usually know how satisfied your supervisor is with what you do?

Response options: 1 = Rarely, 2 = Occasionally, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Fairly often, 5 = Very often

2. How well does your supervisor understand your job problems and needs?

Response options: 1 = Not a bit, 2 = A little, 3 = A fair amount, 4 = Quite a bit, 5 = A great deal

3. How well does your supervisor recognize your potential?

Response options: 1 = Not at all, 2 = A little, 3 = Moderately, 4 = Mostly, 5 = Fully

4. Regardless of how much formal authority your supervisor has built into their position, what are the chances that your supervisor would use their power to help you solve problems in your work?

Response options: 1 = None, 2 = Small, 3 = Moderate, 4 = High, 5 = Very high

5. Regardless of the amount of formal authority your supervisor has, what are the chances that they would “bail you out” at their expense?

Response options: 1 = None, 2 = Small, 3 = Moderate, 4 = High, 5 = Very high

Please rate the following statement.

6. I have enough confidence in my supervisor that I would defend and justify their decision if they were not present to do so.

Response options: 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree

7. How would you characterize your working relationship with your supervisor?

Response options: 1 = Extremely ineffective, 2 = Worse than average, 3 = Average, 4 = Better than average, 5 = Extremely effective

On an average week, how many hours of face-to-face interactions (virtually or in-person) do you have that are just you and your supervisor? [Numerical response]

On an average week, how many hours of face-to-face interactions (virtually or in-person) do you have with your supervisor in a group setting? [Numerical response]

On an average week, how many emails or similar forms of communication (e.g., Teams message, Slack chat, text message, etc.) do you send to your supervisor? [Numerical response]

Telepressure

Workplace Telepressure Measure (Barber & Santuzzi, 2015)

Instructions: For the following questions, think about how you use technology to communicate with people in your workplace. Specifically think about message-based technologies that allow you to control when you respond (email, text messages, voicemail, etc.). Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements.

When using message-based technology for work purposes . . .

1. It's hard for me to focus on other things when I receive a message from someone.
2. I can concentrate better on other tasks once I've responded to my messages.
3. I can't stop thinking about a message until I've responded.
4. I feel a strong need to respond to others immediately.
5. I have an overwhelming feeling to respond right at that moment when I receive a request from someone.
6. It's difficult for me to resist responding to a message right away.

Response options: 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree

Workload

Quantitative Workload Inventory (Spector & Jex, 1998)

Please indicate the extent to which you experience the following in your role as a student affairs professional.

1. How often does your job require you to work very fast?
2. How often does your job require you to work very hard?
3. How often does your job leave you with little time to get things done?
4. How often is there a great deal to be done?
5. How often do you have to do more work than you can do well?

Response options: 1 = Less than once per month or never, 2 = Once or twice per month, 3 = Once or twice per week, 4 = Once or twice per day, 5 = Several times per day

On which days of the week do you typically work?

- Monday
- Tuesday
- Wednesday
- Thursday
- Friday
- Saturday
- Sunday

When does your working day typically start and when does your working day typically end? [Text entry for start time and end time)

On average, how many HOURS PER WEEK do you work? [Numerical response]

In an average MONTH, how many HOURS do you work outside of your standard working hours? [Numerical response]

In an average MONTH, how many DAYS do you work outside of your standard working hours? [Numerical response]

In an average MONTH, how many HOURS do you spend working over the weekend? [Numerical response]

Do you DIRECTLY supervise student employees? If yes, DISPLAY LOGIC to How many student employees do you directly supervise? [Numerical response]

Do you work with student employees in a non-supervisory capacity? If yes, DISPLAY LOGIC to How many student employees do you work with in a non-supervisory capacity? [Numerical response]

Are you responsible for advising students (e.g., academic advisees, student organization, cohort of students)? If yes, DISPLAY LOGIC to How many students do you advise? [Numerical response]

Do you mentor students outside of your work with student employees and students whom you advise? If yes, DISPLAY LOGIC to How many students do you mentor? [Numerical response]

On an average working day, how many students do you interact with face-to-face (virtually or in-person) for more than 10 minutes at a time? [Numerical response]

On an average working day, how many messages do you send to students via email, text, or a similar form of information communication technology? [Numerical response]

Open-ended Question to Assess Qualitative Workload

- Please briefly describe (in no more than 500 characters) what you find most demanding about your work.

Burnout

Copenhagen Burnout Inventory (Kristensen et al., 2005)

Personal burnout

1. How often do you feel tired?
2. How often are you physically exhausted?
3. How often are you emotionally exhausted?
4. How often do you think: “I can’t take it anymore”?
5. How often do you feel worn out?
6. How often do you feel weak and susceptible to illness?

Response options: 1 = Never/almost never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often, 5 = Always

Work-related burnout

1. Is your work emotionally exhausting?
2. Do you feel burnt out because of your work?
3. Does your work frustrate you?
4. Do you feel worn out at the end of the working day?
5. Are you exhausted in the morning at the thought of another day at work?
6. Do you feel that every working hour is tiring for you?
7. Do you have enough energy for family and friends during leisure time?

Response options: The first three questions: 1 = To a very low degree, 2 = To a low degree, 3 = Somewhat, 4 = To a high degree, 5 = To a very high degree; The last four questions: 1 = Never/almost never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often, 5 = Always

[Student]-related burnout

1. Do you find it hard to work with students?
2. Do you find it frustrating to work with students?
3. Does it drain your energy to work with students?
4. Do you feel that you give more than you get back when you work with students?
5. Are you tired of working with students?
6. Do you sometimes wonder how long you will be able to continue working with students?

Response options: The first four questions: 1 = To a very low degree, 2 = To a low degree, 3 = Somewhat, 4 = To a high degree, 5 = To a very high degree; The last two questions: 1 = Never/almost never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often, 5 = Always

Surface Acting

Subset of Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003)

On an average day at work, how frequently do you...

1. Resist expressing your true feelings.
2. Pretend to have emotions that you don't really have.
3. Hide your true feelings about a situation.

Response options: 1 = Never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Some of the Time, 4 = Most of the Time, 5 = Always

Self-Interested Voice

Self-Interested Voice Measure (Duan et al., 2021)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with this statement in your role as a student affairs professional.

1. I develop and make recommendations to my supervisor concerning issues that affect my interests.
2. I speak up and influence my supervisor regarding issues that affect my interests.
3. I communicate to my supervisor about my opinions only on issues relevant to my interests.
4. I frequently make suggestions to my supervisor about how to change work methods or practices to fit my interests.
5. I regularly propose ideas to my supervisor for pursuing my interests.
6. I frequently make suggestions about how to do things to fit my interests.
7. I often speak up with suggestions to work projects in order to benefit me.
8. I often speak up about how to solve work-related problems from my end.

Response options: 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS)

Negative Affectivity Measure (Watson et al., 1998)

Indicate the extent you have felt this way over the past week.

1. Distressed
2. Upset
3. Guilty
4. Scared
5. Hostile
6. Irritable
7. Ashamed
8. Nervous
9. Jittery
10. Afraid

Response options: 1 = Very slightly or not at all, 2 = A little, 3 = Moderately, 4 = Quite a bit, 5 = Extremely