

4. Thematic analysis of data from included qualitative studies

Pre-Covid studies

Theme	Subtheme	Studies	Data
Benefits	Positive effect on emotions	Charalampous 2021 ² Daniel 2018 ⁴² Tietze 2011 ¹⁰⁵	<p>Overall remote e-working seemed to have a positive effect on emotions. Individuals advised that compared to working in an office, they were more satisfied with their jobs and felt happier with getting a better balance between their working and non-working lives. (Charalampous, 2021²)</p> <p>Participants described feeling more fulfilled by having more time and mental space for creativity and creative work, by working online and thus being 'freed' from daily face-to-face workplace interactions, which they saw as a distraction. (Daniel, 2018⁴²)</p> <p>Post-implementation, this expectation was realised for many participants, who felt less stressed and more relaxed. (Tietze, 2011¹⁰⁵)</p>
	Autonomy and control	Daniel 2018 ⁴² Hislop 2015 ⁶² Mann 2003 ⁸⁰ Tietze 2011 ¹⁰⁵	<p>Participants also enjoyed the inherent autonomy of scheduling inherent in working from home (particularly with their own business), for example alternating working patterns to fit around preferences for each day, such as taking an extending lunch break and catching up in the evening. (Daniel, 2018⁴²)</p> <p>General experiences of homeworking The homeworkers were broadly happy with their work, with the main benefit being the spacio-temporal flexibility inherent in homeworking, as they can structure their own time and vary the location as needed: <i>"It's flexible work. I can start at 5 o'clock in the morning and I can be finished by 10 o'clock, so I can have a couple of hours to myself to do what I want to do... I haven't got to sit around and wait to start work at 9 o'clock. I can get started early or if I've got only one job and I need to go out, I can start it 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon."</i> (4SJ) (Hislop 2015⁶²)</p> <p>Teleworkers may also experience a decrease in stress attributable to the perception of having control over their work (environment and work schedules). (Mann 2003⁸⁰)</p> <p>Working from home also made it easier for participants to manage their own workloads and consequently address equity issues and experience improved wellbeing:</p>

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			<p><i>"If it hadn't been for the homeworking I'd have left the council by now because they were expecting so much for the money I was getting... but now I do the work for my scale and that's it." (R1) (Tietze, 2011)</i></p>
	Avoid negative aspects of office life	Collins 2016 ⁴⁰ Daniel 2018 ⁴² Tietze 2011 ¹⁰⁵	<p>Teleworkers and office workers had different views on office life. One benefit perceived by teleworkers was that they could avoid the negative aspects of office work, such as "backbiting" and "bitching":</p> <p><i>"I don't like being in an office. I find offices full of, typically, large groups of women who are very, very catty" (Amanda, teleworker) (Collins 2016⁴⁰)</i></p> <p>Participants described feeling more fulfilled by having more time and mental space for creativity and creative work, by working online and thus being 'freed' from daily face-to-face workplace interactions, which they saw as a distraction. (Daniel 2018⁴²)</p> <p>Post-implementation, this expectation was realised for many participants, who felt less stressed and more relaxed. Some attributed it to escaping "bickering and gossiping" in the office, as some who had needed to return for a meeting emphasised:</p> <p><i>"I was in for a team meeting yesterday and the bad atmosphere and the stress, it really hit you. I don't want to go back, I want to continue with this." (R2) (Tietze 2011¹⁰⁵)</i></p>
Detriments	Loneliness, boredom and isolation	Charalampous 2021 ² Collins 2016 ⁴⁰ Daniel 2018 ⁴² Hislop 2015 ⁶² Koehne 2012 ⁷² Mann 2003 ⁸⁰ Stitou 2018 ¹⁰² Vitterso 2003 ¹¹¹	<p>Once social interaction was eliminated, people WFH started to feel lonely or bored. (Charalampous 2021²)</p> <p>Teleworkers only had social relationships with office workers whom they already knew and had already met face-to-face. They did not know nor get to know new office staff, and typically did not call upon office staff for support unless they knew them, and therefore if teleworkers were not brought in and introduced to new office-based staff they could become increasingly more isolated. (Collins 2016⁴⁰)</p> <p>In contrast with the positive feelings of reflective solitude (and creativity), participants also experienced loneliness and isolation:</p> <p><i>"The one very dark porridge is I find it very isolating...very, very isolating." Participant #7</i></p> <p><i>"After two or three years, it's really hard...a</i></p>

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			<p><i>lonely, lonely journey</i>" Participant #20 (Daniel 2018⁴²)</p> <p>Isolation was exacerbated by working long and irregular hours, particularly when in regular contact with people from overseas (e.g., clients, collaborators):</p> <p><i>"I went to bed at the same time that my parents got up to go to work. It doesn't make any sense, personally"</i> Participant #20 (Daniel 2018⁴²)</p> <p>The "single most negative aspect of their work" was the sense of social isolation, in terms of a lack of opportunity to interact with others for both professional and social reasons. Having no colleagues (peers or managers) meant a lack of support with problem-solving, including after experiencing a stressful situation:</p> <p><i>"There are times when not having somebody to bounce things off of... you know, like when you work in a corporate environment you have other people to talk to and you kind of... I have to come up with my own solutions all the time."</i> (1LJ)</p> <p><i>"You can have a bad time with a client and you've got no one to bounce it off, so you tend to sort of take it all in on yourself"</i> (12BB) (Hislop 2015⁶²)</p> <p>A lack of possibility for person to person social interaction could negatively impact on remote workers' wellbeing:</p> <p><i>"We had one person that used to work for us and he was not getting tasks done because he was just, I think, lacking enough social interaction from being at home [...] The thing about it is he's actually a very - knowing the stuff he's done, he's very competent and talented. So, it really was just coming down to he couldn't be in an environment - because I think he was an extrovert, he couldn't be in such a work environment where he wasn't getting enough of that. And so, he ended up taking a job which was more a level of interaction, working in an office and the whole type of thing."</i> (P3) (Koehne 2012⁷²)</p> <p>Teleworkers emphasise the lack of social support available to talk things through which could produce other negative emotions such as feelings of insecurity and lack of confidence in their abilities. Loneliness</p>

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			<p>was not experienced by office workers. (Mann 2003⁸⁰)</p> <p>Teleworkers experience more negative emotions than office-workers relating to this area and one of the main aspects is the irritation caused by being physically distant from the source of any problems. This social isolation can restrict the ability to sort out issues, leading to frustration, and prevent emotional support from fellow workers to help deal with the situations. (Mann 2003⁸⁰)</p> <p>The absence of contact with other adults during working hours left all participants feeling socially isolated and lonely, impacting on their mental health:</p> <p><i>"...{I} work alone, see no one, and remain socially isolated, is hard for me."</i> (Kate) (Stitou 2018¹⁰²)</p> <p>Those who had worked for a whole week at home described it as an isolating experience: <i>"If you are going to stay at home for five days, you get isolated... It is strenuous, and you need high self-discipline to make it work. Working at home once a week is the ideal situation."</i> (Norwegian teleworker) (Vitterso, 2003¹¹¹)</p>
	<p>Maintaining communication / social contact [sub-subtheme of loneliness, boredom and isolation]</p>	<p>Grant 2013⁵⁶ Koehne 2012⁷² Tietze 2011¹⁰⁵ Vitterso 2003¹¹¹</p>	<p>Building relationships and maintaining communication channels both at work with colleagues and relationships outside of work emerged as a common theme for maintaining the psychological well-being of the interviewees. Being able to manage social interaction when away from the office and missing social cues when remote working were also raised. (Grant 2013⁵⁶)</p> <p>Social isolation was an issue for 10/17 participants. Remote workers would counteract this by seeking social interaction in their home communities:</p> <p><i>"The flip side of working remote is - not feeling connected to anything. I was born in [location name], I grew up here, I went to school here. I have lots of friends and colleagues physically here. I have to make the effort, but I can get that kind of action, which I think for somebody who's in the middle of nowhere that would be a lot harder."</i> (P10) (Koehne 2012⁷²)</p> <p>Social isolation was not really a concern among the participants in this study, as they</p>

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			<p>stayed in contact with the people that mattered to them: <i>"I might have lost contact with people you might spend 10 min a day with but not with real friends."</i> (R7)</p> <p>Participants reported proactively organising meet-ups with other homeworkers whom they regarded as friends, and for two participants who did miss the social side of working in the office, this was offset by the benefits of working from home. (Tietze 2011¹⁰⁵)</p> <p>Interviews revealed that a sense of belonging (e.g. in terms of family concerns, affinities with local regions and closeness to old friends) would drive the teleworking arrangements (rather than teleworking increasing a sense of local belonging). Spending less time commuting allowed workers to spend more time with family and friends (which had a positive impact on wellbeing, although this was more inferred than explicitly stated). (Vitterso 2003)</p>
	Frustration	Charalampous 2021 ² Mann 2003 ⁸⁰	<p>There were feelings of frustration, anger and stress, due to not technological issues or not being able to get hold of colleagues when needed. (Charalampous 2021²)</p> <p>Another cause of irritation for the teleworkers seems to be the intrusion of family members into work time. This blurring of boundaries between work and home life, as other family members have difficulty in distinguishing the work role from the family role, may lead to feelings of frustration, anger and stress. (Mann 2003⁸⁰)</p>
	Stress related to the work	Stitou 2018 ¹⁰²	<p>Stress could arise from the mental and emotional effort needed to remain alert, attentive and patient with the children, particularly when children have a behavioural condition or a disability. (Stitou 2018¹⁰²)</p> <p>Additional mental and emotional effort arose from a group where there are more boys than girls, and from difficult relationships with infants, home visitors and parents, which could cause stress.</p> <p><i>"The home visitor comes only to give statements of offence for any reason instead of supporting, guiding, and helping us. For example, during an unannounced visit, she came during the snack time, she saw pieces</i></p>

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			<p><i>of cookies on the ground thrown by one kid just before I opened the door to her and she said that my work environment is not clean and I got a 'statement of offence'. After a number of statements of offence, the daycare is closed."</i> (Kate) (Stitou 2018¹⁰²)</p> <p>HBC workers also experience stress from the nature of the remuneration, which is based on the number of children they have in their care. Sometimes workers struggle to fill places due to requirements for ratios of children of certain ages, and competition with other HBC workers. They feel under-valued by government regulators and childcare agencies, who they feel conflate working from home with a break. (Stitou 2018¹⁰²)</p>
	Worry over losing teleworking status	Collins 2016 ⁴⁰ Tietze 2011 ¹⁰⁵	<p>Teleworkers felt committed to fulfilling the team leader's expectations, and were concerned that they would be recalled to work in the office again if it was felt they were under-performing. (Collins 2016⁴⁰)</p> <p>Some reported deliberately maintaining productivity in order to remain working from home and not be pulled back into the office. (Tietze 2011¹⁰⁵)</p>
	Organisational culture	Charalampous 2021 ² Stitou 2018 ¹⁰² Tietze 2011 ¹⁰⁵	<p>Interviewees suggested that being part of an organisation that embraces and supports remote e-working was fundamentally important for their career progression and development.</p> <p>This was because results ultimately drove their progression. Some dangers of not being physically present about career opportunities and relevant training were outlined though, especially when individuals first started e-working remotely. (Charalampous 2021²)</p> <p>Less organisational, as these were home-based childcare providers, but regulations and fear of inspections seemed to cause these workers stress and worry, and determine how they operated (e.g. they stuck rigidly to the rules and had to close their childcare setting for a few days while they had decorators in, losing pay, to avoid disciplinary action). (Stitou 2018¹⁰²)</p> <p>Participants reported that new working procedures (including having to contact particular people by telephone relating to queries) were a source of stress, as the</p>

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			named contact started to ignore their requests and respond rudely, and the teleworkers didn't want to phone too often as they were concerned it might look like they were struggling. Another concern related to being micro-managed by managers, phoning or emailing to check up on those working from home, which caused tension. (Tietze 2011 ¹⁰⁵)

Covid studies

Benefits theme

Subtheme	Category	Studies	Data
Improved wellbeing	Improved general wellbeing	Fukumura 2020 ⁵²	"The positivity and improved attitude is so huge. I have anxiety thinking about returning to work already. I want to work from home from now on. It has changed my outlook that much!" (Fukumura 2020 ⁵²)
	Avoiding commuting	Fukumura 2020 ⁵²	Freeing up time from commuting reduced stress both in terms of being able to do other activities during that time and not having the stress of commuting: <i>"am less stressed now that I am not driving in traffic. I feel a lot healthier not sitting in a car an hour or more each way."</i> (Fukumura 2020 ⁵²)
Improved working conditions	Avoiding negative aspects of office life	Fukumura 2020 ⁵²	Others reported well-being benefits in not having to speak to colleagues that they didn't want to speak to, or be distracted by other people's conversations in the office. (Fukumura 2020 ⁵²)
	Increased flexibility	Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷	Some participants wanted to continue to work from home following lockdown, as they liked the flexibility it afforded. (Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷)
	Improved working space at home	Fukumura 2020 ⁵²	Some people preferred the special arrangements at home, for instance those with internal offices in the workplace, and no natural light, where they could work at home in a more comfortable space and take breaks in the garden. (Fukumura 2020 ⁵²)
Possibility of social interaction	Maintaining communication / social contact	Boncori 2020 ³⁴ Lal 2021 ⁷⁶ Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷ Waizenegger 2020 ¹¹²	"At this time of social distancing, online socializations have become even more important through video phone calls made not only with relatives far away, but also with colleagues and friends from work who share virtual coffees with me, their insecurities and fears, their spaces and

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			<p>personal environments.” (Boncori 2020³⁴) Some people missed the small daily social interactions that they usually had at work, although more time with family was also appreciated. (Lal 2021⁷⁶) The social element was important to people, with video calling providing a way to connect, albeit awkwardly (certainly at first): <i>“Had my first online meeting today. Six colleagues looking very awkwardly out from my screen and me looking even more awkward in return. However, it was very comforting to see them, we're quite a close-knit bunch I suppose, and the fact that these familiar faces are still out there, has lifted the spirits a little.”</i> (Travers, 2020¹⁰⁷) Some workplaces and teams had implemented daily video meetings to check in on the wellbeing of staff in the team, which people felt helped them to feel part of the team. (Waizenegger 2020¹¹²) Socialisation was something that generally improved as organisations and teams would arrange video meetings for social purposes. Employees appreciated having the opportunity to catch up with team members they didn't usually see anyway (e.g. if they were in another country), and these opportunities have allowed the team to bond. Some organisations and teams already held a physical social event, which they moved online, and some created an online social event, where previously there was no culture of socialising in the workplace, and people found this social support useful for wellbeing. (Waizenegger 2020¹¹²)</p>
	<p>More team bonding with those already working from home</p>	<p>Waizenegger 2020¹¹²</p>	<p>In some workplaces, pre-COVID-19, workplaces would arrange physical social events, which remote workers had often missed out on, however now everyone was working remotely and there was a feeling of team bonding: <i>“We're speaking more frequently than we ever did before. Which I'm finding better just because I can communicate more regularly, and so I feel more connected than I ever did before when I used to go up once a month or once every two months. Now</i></p>

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			<i>that everybody's doing it, and we've figured out ways to make it work, it's actually much more quality now, in my opinion, much more consistent" (Wendy) (Waizenegger 2020¹¹²)</i>
	Spending more time with family	Lal 2021 ⁷⁶	Some people missed the small daily social interactions that they usually had at work, although more time with family was also appreciated. (Lal 2021 ⁷⁶)

Detriments theme

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'Emergency' nature of the situation	Detrimental working space at home	Fukumura 2020 ⁵² Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷	Some people described the home environment less conducive to work, due to the presence of others including children, a lack of privacy and a lack of appropriate technology. (Fukumura, 2020 ⁵²) Working in unsuitable spaces (e.g. landing, blocking fridge door) and competing for space with other family members (e.g. children, pets) could cause problems, but people also expressed warmth for their children and pets. Photographs depicted these scenes and people also spoke about the worry of people seeing these things in the background on video calls, although some people enjoyed the informality of this way of communicating. (Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷)
	Working from home with others present	Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷ Waizenegger 2020 ¹¹²	"I've worked from home for 20 years now. These last 5 weeks the landscape of that has changed drastically ... The house during the day is no longer my own! It feels cramped. My "space" has been invaded." (Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷) Incompatibility with housemates in terms of workload and others' responses to the lockdown also impacted on people's wellbeing: <i>"30 April at 11:59 (5 weeks in)</i> <i>Anyone finding their housemates are struggling this week?</i> <i>I think it's the change of weather, but I've got a bit more work than I've had in recent weeks, whereas my housemates are struggling to find things to do during the rain when they can't get outside, and are constantly interrupting me/whinging/being needy/snapping at</i>

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			<p><i>each other and me/ranting about things that can't currently be changed. It's making me feel very tired, and unable to concentrate on work fully. I've sent both of them off to do some tasks separately, while I try to get on with work. It's like having two kids again - they are 20 & 51!!! [two frustrated emojis]"</i> (Travers 2020¹⁰⁷)</p> <p>Participants often worked in a space shared with other occupants of the household, and this caused distraction and difficulty in focusing on work tasks (Waizenegger 2020¹¹²)</p>
	<p>Working from home with a child / children present [sub-subcategory of working from home with others present]</p>	<p>Clark 2021³⁹ Fukumura 2020⁵² Waizenegger 2020¹¹²</p>	<p>In the early stages of the pandemic, working mothers experienced negative emotions, including higher levels of stress, guilt, increased pressure, disconnectedness and isolation. Women reported their work being affected by disproportionately increased childcare responsibilities and domestic duties in addition to working from home:</p> <p><i>"I know, I know in the first few weeks, I was stressed I was giving out to the kids and then I just had to say, listen, I have to stop. Just stop because nobody knows what we're doing, no one's totally and if I can't be online for 8 hours a day, I can't be on line 8 hours a day. Yeah, it's so mixed because you're a teacher you're a mother, you're a worker. You're doing the laundry, you're cooking lunch are you're not taking a lunch break. You're all in the one room, nearly. It was, it's just mad."</i> (Clark 2021³⁹)</p> <p>The challenge of having to look after children while also being expected to work caused tension:</p> <p><i>"So he only like you know, every time I back turned, he was in some um online on YouTube watching some playing [Fortnite] or something. You know he's absolute nightmare so or beating up his sister one or the other. I was on many calls where like my boss would say, do you want to go and sort that house because you could hear the fighting from 2 rooms away."</i> (Clark 2021³⁹)</p> <p>There was also guilt associated with being a working mother, working from home, while the children were also at home.</p>

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			<p>Supporting children with their online learning was an additional challenge. (Clark 2021³⁹)</p> <p>Having to care for a child/children has also impacted on mental health and wellbeing while working from home: <i>"I am having to adjust hours to home school my 2nd grader [7-8 yo] since schools have closed, which takes away from the hours put in at work during regular business hours. Since these hours have to be adjusted, I feel as if I start my day at 7:30 am and finish after 7:30 pm. These long days can sometimes make me feel burnt out."</i></p> <p><i>"I'm a single parent of an eight-month-old infant and have a demanding full-time career. I work 90 minutes away from my office, and that's where her daycare is, so I withdrew her from daycare and care for her full time while working full time from home. It's the hardest thing I've ever done, my work performance and mental health both have suffered."</i> (Fukumura 2020⁵²)</p> <p>For working parents in particular, the home environment was often not conducive to working. Under pre-COVID-19 circumstances, children would have been in school or childcare however during the lockdown it was common for workers to have other household occupants in the shared work/home space, and this environment was not conducive to being able to focus on work tasks or video meetings, for instance, if children were playing loudly or screaming in the background. (Waizenegger 2020¹¹²)</p>
	Emotional toll from forced blurring of boundaries	Boncori 2020 ³⁴ Clark 2021 ³⁹	<p>The enforced nature of the situation (working from home with no childcare) has led to a complete lack of work-life balance and this has led to poor emotional wellbeing.</p> <p><i>"The past month is really having an emotional toll on me. I need some time to recover, to do nothing, to read and exclude myself from the world. This forced isolation is actually enforcing a complete blurring of boundaries; and, if there ever was any distance before, there is now complete overlap in my life - no more</i></p>

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			<p>hyphen or separation in 'work-family balance', and definitely no balance at all." (Boncori 2020³⁴)</p> <p>In the early stages of the pandemic, working mothers experienced negative emotions, including higher levels of stress, guilt, increased pressure, disconnectedness and isolation. Women reported their work being affected by disproportionately increased childcare responsibilities and domestic duties in addition to working from home:</p> <p><i>"I know, I know in the first few weeks, I was stressed I was giving out to the kids and then I just had to say, listen, I have to stop. Just stop because nobody knows what we're doing, no one's totally and if I can't be online for 8 hours a day, I can't be on line 8 hours a day. Yeah, it's so mixed because you're a teacher you're a mother, you're a worker. You're doing the laundry, you're cooking lunch are you're not taking a lunch break. You're all in the one room, nearly. It was, it's just mad."</i> (Clark 2021³⁹)</p>
	<p>Unusual pandemic situation and (unrealistic) expectations</p>	<p>Fukumura 2020⁵² Travers 2020¹⁰⁷ Waizenegger 2020¹¹²</p>	<p>Respondents also reported pandemic-related stress while working from home, highlighting the unusual nature of this circumstance, and expectations from employers to 'carry on as normal' confounded this stress. (Fukumura 2020⁵²)</p> <p>Working from home during lockdown was interpreted as "a time of contradictions and transitions", with new and excessive demands creating worry, stress and pressure, but also opportunities afforded by a lack of commute and spending more time with the family, also the opportunity to exercise:</p> <p><i>"..I find it hard when school insist on calls, Zoom or work submitted by a certain time, or just call you in bed at 9 am and expect you up answer. I normally pay for a team of folk to look after my kids so find the expectation that I work directed hours a bit sexist and not family friendly. My line manager clearly does not parent his own kids much! [emoji] ..."</i> (Travers 2020¹⁰⁷)</p> <p>The enforced nature of working from home meant that everyone faced different challenges. People who live on their own</p>

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			<p>might feel isolated and crave social contact, whereas working parents and caregivers might struggle with the number of online meetings:</p> <p><i>"It drives me nuts. I think the thing is everyone is coping with this so differently. There's some people who don 't see a single person in a day, and then there is me who is surrounded by people. it's different, because even the other people in the team with kids, they still want adult conversation, whereas I get enough adult conversation in my daily conversations with my team members"</i> (Rajani) (Waizenegger 2020¹¹²)</p>
	Changes to routine and wellbeing	Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷	<p>Some people reported struggling with a lack of routine, and others crafted their own routines, although there was concern that these may not be sustainable over the longer-term:</p> <p><i>"Sometimes, I just wake up crazy early and am unable to get back to sleep. This results in me feeling rubbish, tired and at the end of the working day, in no mood for exercise."</i></p> <p><i>"Now, I'm thinking more clearly than usual. I enjoy the focus, but that's only when combined with a daily 2 hr run/walk at 6pm and 20 minutes cardio activity at 12.00. So, although I'm working effectively, I'm having to use unsustainable compensatory behaviour to maintain that."</i> (Travers 2020¹⁰⁷)</p>
	Loneliness, boredom and isolation	Clark 2021 ³⁹ Gao 2020 ⁵⁴ Lal 2021 ⁷⁶	<p>Participants also reported feeling isolated, particularly if they were not able to see family members living in other towns and their neighbours could see family. (Clark 2021³⁹)</p> <p>Both women experienced social isolation as a result of being physically distanced from their workplace and colleagues, even if working alone was previously sought/preferred:</p> <p><i>"I am an introvert and used to work from home. Normally, I would spend at least one day a week working remotely from home on my research projects. Initially, the lifestyle shift after lockdown did not seem that different from my usual daily working routine. But now I am unable to get those</i></p>

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			<p><i>small doses of face-to-face interaction with my colleagues, to have scheduled dinners with friends, or to enjoy the warmth of a big hug as I usually greet others. I realise that it's not just my ability to reason that has been negatively affected, as my thinking is often blocked, but the importance of human contact that makes me feel truly connected to the workplace and social networks."</i></p> <p>This was also explored in the context of possible regret for choosing to live alone (e.g. rather than starting a family), as one thing that added to the sense of isolation was not being able to see other people or to hug them. (Gao 2020⁵⁴)</p> <p>Some people missed the small daily social interactions that they usually had at work, although more time with family was also appreciated. (Lal 2021⁷⁶)</p>
Working online	Videoconference fatigue	Boncori 2020 ³⁴ Lal 2021 ⁷⁶ Waizenegger 2020 ¹¹²	<p>"Last week, the first two days of working from home I had six and eight hours of virtual meetings, respectively. It feels like it's getting a bit better this week, but work at the moment is intensive and tiring." (Boncori 2020³⁴)</p> <p>Video calls (particularly when scheduled for all/most of the day) could cause anxiety, tiredness and musculoskeletal problems:</p> <p><i>"I've noticed I'm becoming a bit more anxious on days I expect to have a video call." (P.4)</i></p> <p><i>"I'm sat at the computer for so long that I've been feeling it over the last few weeks ... it was a long day and I felt tired after back to back video calls throughout the day ... [I have experienced] mood changes, in terms of increased stress and also the physical effects - such as my shoulders and neck tensing up" (P.30)</i></p> <p><i>"Meetings back to back. 10 min lunch break ... The biggest impact while WFH is I cannot even spare a few minutes to call my Bank to sort out what I want. Day packed with meeting from start to finish." (P.19). (Lal 2021⁷⁶)</i></p> <p>Some people found video-conferencing overwhelming and suffered from "virtual meetings-fatigue", due to the additional</p>

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			attention demands of virtual meetings. Some people also found virtual meetings intrusive (schedule-wise), particularly if a number of meetings were scheduled. The amount of virtual meetings and the accompanying resultant exhaustion could negatively impact on collaboration outside of virtual meetings. (Waizenegger 2020 ¹¹²)
	Physiological pain	Boncori 2020 ³⁴	"I was so absorbed in back-to-back meetings today that I forgot to drink water, and then developed a headache, which made work even more exhausting. My back issues are now tormenting me, and the only way to avoid being crippled by pain is to work whilst sitting in bed, which may not be perceived by many as 'professional enough', so on goes the fake room background."(Boncori 2020 ³⁴)
	Invasion of the home space	Boncori 2020 ³⁴	"Private homes are invaded through monitors; tiny cameras open up an immense window into our personal lives: our messy living rooms, the laundry hanging up in the kitchen, the pets needing limelight and children seeking undivided attention. I am very protective of my family space and I only want to share it selectively. Our sleep is often interrupted with worry and pain, our processes and habits are manipulated into something new that we do not recognize and yet need to adjust to at pace. This digital invasion is chipping off at the source of wellbeing my home offers in terms of comfort, protection and safety from the outside world. I wonder what my life looks like from the outside, from the other side of the camera lens. I am comforted by the opportunity to use a virtual backdrop in my online conversations, and yet I feel disturbed by it as it introduces a fake filter against the authenticity of my interpersonal connection." (Boncori 2020 ³⁴)
	Translating work and management online	Boncori 2020 ³⁴	Having a managerial role and having to manage people as they all worked from home under pandemic conditions was extremely stressful: "Only four days ago the Prime Minister asked people to remain home and imposed restrictions on movement. We

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			<p>don't know for how long this pandemic emergency may continue. This is an unprecedented level of insecurity and it makes managing and supporting others even more challenging.” (Boncori 2020³⁴)</p> <p>“Last week, the first two days of working from home I had six and eight hours of virtual meetings, respectively. It feels like it's getting a bit better this week, but work at the moment is intensive and tiring. These meetings were urgent, strategic and encapsulated within a framework that had been developing over the previous four weeks: approving hundreds of alternative assessment methods in each of the seven departments I am responsible for; conceiving new courses that may attract students; re-envisaging ways to teach and learn in this new university context; managing panic and stress from a number of staff; providing advice and reassurance; selling projects we ourselves may not be completely in agreement with. This pace of change and decision-making is not sustainable, and I hope we will reach a point when things will be easier. Many of my colleagues only started coming to terms with the urgency and gravity of the situation last week, while I felt already exhausted after weeks of liaison with key role holders in departments and sections. I think given the role I chose to take on and the current circumstances, we'll have to just hang in there and plough through this for now. I don't have the luxury to stop; I have to work as efficiently as possible to make sure I support the organization in implementing the best plan we could design in order to address - and hopefully overcome - the unprecedented challenges brought by this pandemic.” (Boncori 2020³⁴)</p>
	Silence and awkwardness	Gao 2020 ⁵⁴	<p>They also experienced challenges relating to elements of their academic roles, including technological challenges, and the way silence is used and perpetrates their working lives (as well as their lives overall). For example, one spoke of frustrations with online teaching and student engagement:</p>

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			<p><i>"I had a session where some students did not have a stable Internet connection and a working microphone/audio. We had to revert to written discussion which takes longer even if you type very fast. I figured that the silence can be disconcerting when you can't see them. It seems we need to get used to giving students the space to think and write a response to a question. In another session, only two students attended. Three others logged on, but left immediately. I don't know why this happened, perhaps because they were shy or did not have their audio switched on. I can use the share content tool to upload and present PowerPoint slides and share a Chrome tab to play a video. Neither of the students had looked at the preparatory materials beforehand. In the end, we discussed their assignment." (Gao 2020⁵⁴)</i></p> <p>Silence was also a feature of virtual interactions with colleagues:</p> <p><i>"As a way to keep in touch during the pandemic, monthly coffee meetings in the business school have switched to daily virtual coffee meetings, a virtual place where staff get together. I noticed that unlike other virtual meetings with specific agenda, the virtual coffee meetings have many silent gaps. A sense of awkwardness infuses the virtual environment. I wonder if this is because people are trying to avoid talking over each other or are they uncomfortable with expressing their opinions in these supposedly casual conversations? I keep silent and watch people leave during these silent moments." (Gao 2020)</i></p>
	Worry about colleagues	Lal 2021 ⁷⁶	<p>Maintaining interaction while working remotely was also an issue, with a lack of face-to-face interaction leading to worries about colleagues:</p> <p><i>"I needed to ask [a colleague to do a task] and I haven't seen him since he was ill. I worry that without that visual contact and being able to judge if he is in a place to cope with anything extra to do I might be the straw that broke the camel's back. We judge how people are and use emotional intelligence when we see and chat with</i></p>

Subtheme	Category	Studies	Data
			<p><i>them on a regular basis. Judgements are made in the dark when working in this remote manner." (P.21).</i></p> <p><i>" ... there was one of my office colleague who responded very rude to one of my query, I did wonder, was it working in loneliness that made my colleague to behave in the strange manner." (P.6). (Lal 2021⁷⁶)</i></p>
	Emotional impact of working from home	Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷	<p>Some participants reported a brain fog or fuzziness in relation to home working, and feelings of fatigue were also common: <i>"started out with brain fog. But looking back I'm wondering if that was extreme anxiety about delivering teaching online and feeling deskilled with minimal tech resources - with no practical or constructive responses to any expression of anxiety from boss. I felt paralysed with fear to be honest."</i> (Travers 2020¹⁰⁷)</p>
Inequalities in stress / pressure	Smaller, more crowded living space	Fukumura 2020 ⁵² Travers 2020 ¹⁰⁷	<p>Some people described the home environment less conducive to work, due to the presence of others including children, a lack of privacy and a lack of appropriate technology. (Fukumura 2020⁵²)</p> <p>Working in unsuitable spaces (e.g. landing, blocking fridge door) and competing for space with other family members (e.g. children, pets) could cause problems, but people also expressed warmth for their children and pets. Photographs depicted these scenes and people also spoke about the worry of people seeing these things in the background on video calls, although some people enjoyed the informality of this way of communicating. (Travers 2020¹⁰⁷)</p>
	Gender disparity in childcare	Clark 2021 ³⁹	<p>The impact of the additional childcare fell disproportionately to the women in this study, and many felt they needed to try and find a part-time job or quit work altogether. They also recognised the detrimental impact of this situation on their careers. Those with more flexible work found it easier but still a challenge. Participants reported having to reduce work hours and their friends taking anti-depressants. Women reported that male partners' employers did not give any</p>

Subtheme	Category	Studies	Data
			consideration to their potential childcare responsibilities, which added to the burden on women. (Clark 2021 ³⁹)
Organisational culture	Treating mothers and fathers differently	Clark 2021 ³⁹	Organisational cultures that inherently viewed childcare as women's work, as demonstrated through a lack of consideration of father's potential childcare responsibilities, added to the stress burden on women (Clark 2021 ³⁹)
	Increased monitoring	Delfino 2021 ⁴⁵ Fukumura 2020 ⁵² Lal 2021 ⁷⁶	<p>Wellbeing was directly alluded to. Employees experienced stress in relation to increased demands and fear of management, which led them to miss breaks to increase their availability, decreased their motivation for their job (and subsequently looked for other work), and a serious impact on mental health. Employees (even senior ones) felt unable to discuss this with management: <i>"In our world these issues are very sensitive [...] I do not talk about this with my manager, since I do not want to signal that I do not want to work. Maybe that would piss him off. The only people I can talk about this are my colleagues [at the same level], who agree with me."</i> (Giulio, emphasis added) (Delfino 2021⁴⁵)</p> <p>Several working practices that could impact on wellbeing were also mentioned. These included the use of 'action controls' (including increased monitoring, borne out of a lack of trust in employees by management), including management scheduling more video calls (than they previously had in face to face meetings), and monitoring employees' online/offline status and calling them when it changed. This made employees feel uncomfortable. Employees also felt they should always be available, including before and after the expected start/end of the working day, not taking lunch breaks, and responding to chat messages immediately. (Delfino 2021⁴⁵)</p> <p><i>"My supervisor's level of communication has been stress-inducing. Not only is it much more frequent, it knows no time boundary. I receive communication all hours of the day on numerous platforms that seem to multiply weekly. Oftentimes</i></p>

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			<p>the alerts are redundant and result in giving me and my colleagues communication fatigue. I understand there is an adjustment period and oversight is difficult remotely, but the sheer amount and persistence implies that we must be micromanaged in order to complete our work – which in an office space has never been true and remains untrue.” (Fukumura 2020⁵²)</p> <p>Being more contactable (e.g. by senior colleagues) also led to anxiety: <i>“My day was busy and it felt a little chaotic as my manager phoned me several times throughout the morning with new tasks he wanted me to do urgently and I already had a lot to be getting on with so it was a bit stressful and difficult to manage.”</i> (P.12).</p> <p><i>“My team leader gave me a task and after 2 hours he kept sending me messages via teams on updates. At some point I felt like I was going crazy.”</i> (P.7). (Lal 2021)</p> <p>The expectation for people to be constantly on video calls impacts negatively on their mental and physical wellbeing (see above under ‘videoconference fatigue’) (Lal 2021⁷⁶)</p>