

1 **Evaluating the buffering role of perceived social support and coping resources against the**
2 **adult mental health impacts of COVID-19 psychosocial stress: a cross-sectional study in**
3 **South Africa**

4
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47 **ABSTRACT**

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49 **Objectives:** Growing evidence has highlighted the global mental health impacts of the COVID-
50 19 pandemic and lockdown, particularly in societies with pre-existing socioeconomic adversities
51 and public health concerns. Despite the sudden and prolonged nature of many psychosocial
52 stressors during the pandemic, recent studies have shown that communities utilized several
53 coping mechanisms to buffer the mental health consequences of COVID-related stress. This
54 paper examines the extent to which coping resources and social support buffered against the
55 mental health effects of COVID-19 psychosocial stress among adults in South Africa.

56

57 **Materials & Methods:** Adult participants (n=117) completed an online survey during the second
58 and third waves of the COVID-19 pandemic in South Africa (January-July 2021), which
59 assessed experiences of stress, coping resources, social support, and four mental health
60 outcomes: depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and bipolar disorder. Moderation
61 analyses examined the potential buffering role of coping resources and social support against the
62 mental health effects of COVID-19 stress.

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64 **Results:** Adults reported elevated rates of psychiatric symptoms. Coping resources buffered
65 against the poor mental health effects of COVID-19 psychosocial stress, whereas perceived
66 social support did not significantly moderate the association between COVID-19 stress and adult
67 mental health.

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69 **Discussion:** These results suggest that adults in our sample utilized a variety of coping resources
70 to protect their mental health against psychosocial stress experienced during the COVID-19
71 lockdown and pandemic in South Africa. Additionally, existing mental health conditions and
72 strained social relationships may have attenuated the potential stress-buffering effect of
73 perceived social support on adult mental health.

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75 INTRODUCTION

76 The SARS-COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdown severely disrupted everyday
77 life and infrastructure across the world while introducing a wide variety of global-level stressors.
78 Building on everyday stressors, many of the additional pressures COVID-19 brought were novel
79 and abrupt, compounding negative effects. They were also broad reaching and deeply felt across
80 sectors, impacting economic, social, interpersonal, and healthcare domains. Since its onset,
81 COVID-19 has led to at least 6.55 million global deaths but also has caused upheaval through
82 lost jobs, depletion of resources, and the cause of short-and long-term disability for an
83 unquantified number of people. In particular, the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has been
84 disproportionately harmful to people at the margins already living in precarity. Several studies
85 have demonstrated that individuals with pre-existing conditions were more likely to experience
86 COVID-related hospitalization, ongoing morbidity, or mortality (Fang et al., 2020; Sanyaolu et
87 al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020). Marginalized populations, particularly those that have experienced
88 systemic and pervasive violence and trauma, have higher rates of morbidity and mortality,
89 particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic (Brakefield et al., 2022; Braveman & Gottlieb,
90 2014). In lower-to-middle income countries (LMIC), like South Africa, the pandemic has
91 introduced further mental health threats compounding existing ones (Kim et al., 2022).

92 As of October 2022, 4.02 million cases of COVID-19 have been reported in South
93 Africa, resulting in 102,000 deaths (Our World in Data, 2022). Like in many other parts of the
94 world, in South Africa, the onset of the pandemic brought about violent and abrupt disruptions to
95 economic and social resources, including travel, and gathering restrictions, as well as strain on an
96 already burdened healthcare infrastructure. Further, as a highly contagious airborne disease, the
97 containment and treatment of COVID-19 necessitated mandated social isolation, which has well-

98 documented negative impacts on mental health. In South Africa, a country recovering from the
99 violent legacies of apartheid and the subsequent downstream high rates of stress-related health
100 conditions (Coovadia et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2023), the additional stressors stemming from
101 COVID-19 created compounded stressors on an already overburdened healthcare system. This
102 struggling healthcare system, and the epidemic of non-COVID-related communicable and non-
103 communicable diseases, is an outcome of policies derived from colonial subjugation, apartheid
104 dispossession, and post-apartheid recovery. Across these periods, racial and gender
105 discrimination, the migrant labor system, the destruction of family life, vast income inequalities,
106 and extreme violence have shaped health and health services (Coovadia et al., 2009; Barbarin &
107 Richter, 2013; Kaminer & Eagle, 2010). These conditions have primed a population facing
108 inequality across multiple sectors, including in healthcare and disease incidence, to be
109 disproportionately impacted by COVID onset and recovery.

110 For many individuals, increased psychosocial stress has been a hallmark of this
111 pandemic. The pervasive and powerful impacts of stress on different aspects of human
112 functioning and well-being, particularly on mental health, have been well described in the
113 literature (Lupien et al., 2009; Lupien et al., 2018). Chronic psychosocial stress has powerful
114 effects on individual physiology including changes to sleep, metabolism, and immune function
115 (Russel & Lightman, 2019; Sanford et al., 2023). The ubiquitous stress of the pandemic has had
116 substantial downstream impacts on mental health in populations around the world (Hossain et al.,
117 2020; Manchia et al., 2022; Oyenubi et al., 2022; Subramaney et al., 2020). Chronic
118 psychosocial stress has also long been associated with negative mental health, including
119 increased incidence of depression, anxiety, burnout, pathological aging, and post-traumatic stress
120 disorders (Burke et al., 2005; Marin et al., 2011; McEwen, 2017; Meewisse et al., 2007; Metzger

121 et al., 2008; Steudte et al., 2013; Uchino, 2006; Yehuda et al., 2005). These effects of
122 psychosocial stress on mental health tend to be context-specific, where outcomes differ on an
123 individual basis and are shaped by factors such as severity, duration, or unpredictability of the
124 stressor. Further, untreated mental health issues can leave individuals more susceptible to future
125 mental health problems in times of crisis, creating compounded effects.

126 In global crises, the context in which individual stress response is often shaped by their
127 social world, and much of the COVID-19 experience has been characterized by social isolation.
128 It is well known that social isolation can have devastating effects on highly social animals like
129 humans – social isolation has been shown to transform stress response mechanisms and in the
130 last 25 years, has been recognized as a major risk factor for morbidity and mortality in humans
131 (Cacioppo et al., 2003; Cacioppo et al., 2015; Hostinar et al., 2015). Coping plays an important
132 role in processing negative experiences, particularly those related to social isolation, and can
133 shape physical and mental health (Cacioppo et al., 2003). The COVID-19 pandemic, like many
134 other global crises, led to an increased reliance on a variety of coping mechanisms
135 (Bhattacharjee & Ghosh, 2022; Polizzi et al., 2020). These coping mechanisms have included
136 support from family and friends, changes in attitude (i.e., a positive outlook or acceptance),
137 activities (i.e., staying occupied/busy, activities promoting relaxation, exercise), taking
138 medications, religious practices, counseling/therapy, or crying.

139 Social support, specifically, is a powerful and well-documented coping mechanism. In
140 settings of extreme stress, highly resilient individuals are particularly adept at forming supportive
141 social attachments (Charney, 2004). Socially supportive ties play two major roles in times of
142 stress: (1) helping individuals process and control emotional responses to stressful situations and
143 (2) keeping physiological, neuroendocrine, and immunologic responses to stress at lower levels

144 and/or by promoting faster recovery of these systems when responding to a stressor (Cohen &
145 Wills, 1985; Taylor, 2011). Early work by Uchino and colleagues demonstrated the positive
146 physiological effects of perceived social support/connectedness, including lower resting blood
147 pressure, better immunosurveillance, and lower levels of basal catecholamines (Uchino et al.,
148 1996; Hennessy et al., 2009; Taylor, 2011). Additionally, many mechanisms of social support,
149 including informational support (i.e., helping another to understand a stressful event and
150 available resources better), instrumental support (i.e., provisioning of tangible assistance, such as
151 services or financial assistance), and emotional support (i.e., providing warmth and nurturance),
152 likely ameliorate the adverse consequences of stress and trauma (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Taylor,
153 2011).

154 During disaster scenarios, particularly pandemics (e.g., HIV/AIDS, H1N1 influenza,
155 SARS, and Ebola), coping mechanisms are key. For example, increased social support has been
156 associated with lower rates of mental health problems in these settings (Asante, 2012; Chew et
157 al., 2020; Guilaran et al., 2018). This is also true for COVID-19. In a study with 405 students at
158 an American university, Szkody and colleagues report that when accounting for time in social
159 isolation, perceived social support buffered the association between concerns about COVID-19
160 and psychological health (Szkody et al., 2021). In South Africa, recent work suggests that
161 individuals embedded within care networks tended to weather the pandemic better – Steigler and
162 Bouchard showed that those confined with family members tended to be more optimistic than
163 those confined alone and were able to spend any leisure time doing family activities, thus staving
164 off boredom, anxieties, and rumination on the situation (Stiegler & Bouchard, 2020).

165 Here, we examined the relationship between COVID-19 stress and self-reported mental
166 health outcomes and the potential buffering effects of coping and social support in a cohort of

167 adults living through the COVID-19 pandemic across South Africa. We were interested in testing
168 if COVID psychosocial stress was associated with adult mental health, particularly the incidence
169 of symptoms for four main psychiatric conditions: depression, anxiety, bipolar disorder, and
170 post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Further, using multivariate regression analyses, we
171 evaluated if coping and social support attenuated the relationships between COVID psychosocial
172 stress and adult mental health outcomes.

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190 **METHODS**

191 *Study sample*

192 This study was conducted using an online survey between January and July 2021 during
193 the second and third waves of the coronavirus pandemic in South Africa. The online survey
194 collected data on mental health symptoms, experiences of stress and social support, COVID-19
195 infection history, perceptions of COVID-19, and household conditions. The survey was
196 administered in English and distributed using online listservs, social media, community groups,
197 and non-profit organizations. Organizations working with resource-constrained communities
198 were targeted to increase representation of the sample and reduce selection bias, given the online
199 nature of the survey. Inclusion criteria were as follows: adults 18 years of age and older; English
200 proficiency; lived in South Africa for at least three weeks during the pandemic; and ability to
201 provide informed consent. Participants provided formal written consent. Individual participants
202 were not identifiable during or after the survey data collection process. All study procedures
203 were approved by the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Committee.

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205 *Study measures*

206 Participants first completed surveys querying demographic and household information.
207 Socioeconomic status was assessed using an asset inventory of the following household items:
208 cell phone, computer, electricity, internet access, landline telephone, microwave, motor vehicle,
209 pay television, radio, refrigerator, television, video machine, and washing machine. Education
210 was assessed by querying participants to report the highest level of schooling completed.

211 COVID-19 psychosocial stress was assessed using an ethnographically derived survey
212 tool based on in-depth ethnographic interviews with 55 adults in the metropolitan Johannesburg

213 region, 12 adults living in rural Thohoyandou in Limpopo Province, and participant observation
214 for eight months during the COVID-19 pandemic in Johannesburg (Kim *in prep*). Interviews and
215 field notes were thematically analyzed and twenty of the most prevalent and salient stressors
216 were identified and converted into items for the COVID-19 psychosocial stress scale. Items
217 included stressors related to health (feeling unsafe, having a chronic or existing health
218 condition), socioeconomic adversity (unemployment, food insecurity, financial insecurity),
219 socialization (not being able to socialize, not being able to attend gatherings), and resource
220 deficits (lack of transportation, difficulty accessing healthcare), among others. Participants
221 reported the degree to which each item served as a source of stress based on a 4-point Likert
222 scale, which included the following responses: “Never, Seldom, Sometimes, Often, Very Often.”
223 The Likert scale for each item ranged from 0-4. All items were summed to create a total score of
224 COVID-19 psychosocial stress. The internal reliability for this scale was acceptable ($\alpha = 0.79$).

225 Mental health outcomes were assessed using four Likert scale-based surveys, which
226 assessed symptoms of four separate psychiatric conditions: depression, anxiety, post-traumatic
227 stress disorder (PTSD), and bipolar disorder. The internal reliability for all measures passed the
228 threshold for acceptability ($\alpha > 0.7$). Depressive symptoms were assessed using the Patient
229 Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9), a nine-item survey that measures common symptoms of
230 depression, such as fatigue, irritability, melancholia, and trouble concentrating ($\alpha = 0.93$).
231 Anxiety symptoms were measured using the General Anxiety Disorder Scale (GAD-7), a seven-
232 item survey that assesses key symptoms of anxiety, including nervousness, rumination, and
233 restlessness, among others ($\alpha = 0.94$).

234 PTSD symptoms were assessed using the PTSD Checklist – Civilian Version, which
235 comprises 17 questions that query key disease symptoms ($\alpha = 0.96$). While PTSD diagnoses

236 typically query symptoms in response to a particular event, the PCL-C assesses PTSD symptoms
237 related to a set of “stressful experiences” experienced by the individual and can be viewed as a
238 screening tool for PTSD symptoms. Finally, bipolar disorder symptoms were assessed using the
239 Mood Disorder Questionnaire (MDQ), a screening tool for bipolar symptoms, including
240 increased energy, grandiosity, decreased need for sleep, and others. The first thirteen items of the
241 MDQ were summed to create a composite score of bipolar disorder symptomatology ($\alpha = 0.86$).
242 The following cut-off scores were used for the following measures: ≥ 10 (Patient Health
243 Questionnaire-9), ≥ 10 (Generalised Anxiety Disorder-7), ≥ 31 (PTSD Checklist - Civilian
244 Version), and ≥ 7 (Mood Disorder Questionnaire)

245 Social support was evaluated using the Multidimensional Scale for Perceived Social
246 Support (MSPSS). The MSPSS is a 12-item tool that measures perceptions of support from
247 family, friends, and significant others (Zimet et al., 1988). Finally, coping resources were
248 assessed using an ethnographically derived coping measure (developed through the same
249 procedure described above), which assessed the availability and use of a variety of psychological
250 skills, social practices, economic resources, and other tools utilized to cope with the pandemic.

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252 *Statistical analysis*

253 Data were analyzed using Stata 15.1 (College Station, TX). Bivariate associations were
254 conducted to estimate the relationships between COVID-19 psychosocial stress, all adult mental
255 health measures, social support, coping, and covariates. We then fitted linear regression models
256 to the data and ran four separate sets of analyses based on the specified mental health outcomes:
257 depression, anxiety, PTSD, and bipolar disorder symptoms. COVID-19 psychosocial stress was
258 the primary exposure variable of interest, and social support and coping resources were treated as

259 moderators of the association between COVID-19 psychosocial stress and adult mental health.
260 Psychological, household, and social factors that were thought to potentially confound the
261 relationship between COVID-19 psychosocial stress and adult mental health were included as
262 covariates: age, gender, assets, education, adverse childhood experiences, exercise, disease
263 status, and hours worked. Individuals missing relevant data needed for this analysis were
264 excluded through listwise deletion.

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282 RESULTS

283 Full data were available for n=117 individuals out of a total of n=395 who were eligible
284 for the study, provided informed consent, participated in data collection. Table 1 describes the
285 characteristics of our analytic sample. The average age was 36.8 years, 83% of the sample was
286 female, and a majority of the sample had some post-secondary education. The average number of
287 adverse childhood experiences was 2.4, and the average COVID-19 psychosocial stress score
288 was 22.7 (out of 80). The average score for depressive symptoms was 9.3 (PHQ-9), 8.6 for
289 anxiety symptoms (GAD-9), 39.1 for PTSD symptoms (PCL-C), and 3.8 for bipolar symptoms
290 (MDQ). The prevalence rates of probable psychiatric disorders across the following
291 psychopathologies in our sample are as follows: 38% for depression, 39% for anxiety, 57% for
292 PTSD, and 21% for bipolar disorder.

293 [Table 1]

294 Supplementary Tables 1 and 2 report forms of social support received from friends,
295 family, and significant others and the availability of coping resources. The most prevalent forms
296 of social support included the presence of “a special person with whom I can share my joys and
297 sorrows,” “a special person who is a real source of comfort to me,” “a special person in my life
298 who cares about my feelings,” “a special person who is around when I am in need,” and “friends
299 with whom I can share my joys and sorrows”. The most common forms of coping were receiving
300 support from family, staying occupied/busy, sleeping, receiving support from friends, and having
301 a positive outlook.

302 All bivariate analyses between COVID-19 psychosocial stress and all four mental health
303 outcomes were positive (depression: $b = 0.30$; anxiety: $b = 0.23$; PTSD = 0.81; bipolar disorder:
304 $b = 0.12$) and highly significant $p < 0.0001$. Fully adjusted models found that COVID-19 stress

305 remained directly associated with all four mental health outcomes, and all associations were
306 significant ($p < 0.01$) (depression: $b = 0.21$; anxiety: $b = 0.17$; PTSD: $b = 0.54$; bipolar
307 symptoms: $b = 0.074$) (not shown). Identification as female was positively associated with worse
308 depression, anxiety, and PTSD scores ($p < 0.05$). Older age was associated with lower anxiety
309 scores ($b = -0.10$; $p = 0.49$) while adverse childhood experiences ($b = 2.4$; $p = 0.001$) and the
310 number of chronic diseases ($b = 5.7$; $p = 0.021$) were associated with higher PTSD scores. Older
311 age ($b = -0.065$; $p = 0.022$) and educational attainment ($b = -1.03$; $p = 0.024$) were associated
312 with lower bipolar disorder scores and the number of hours worked was associated with higher
313 bipolar disorder ($b = 0.052$; $p = 0.01$).

314 Table 2a shows the moderating effect of social support on the association between
315 COVID-19 psychosocial stress and mental health. After adjusting for covariates, social support
316 did not significantly buffer the mental health effects of COVID-19 psychosocial stress
317 (depression: $b = -.0010$, $p = 0.75$; anxiety: $b = -.000073$, $p = 0.98$; PTSD: $b = -0.0084$, $p = 0.28$;
318 bipolar disorder: $b = -0.0022$; $p = 0.20$). The R^2 for each of the models is as follows: 35% for
319 depression, 32% for anxiety, 47% for PTSD, and 32% for bipolar disorder.

320 Table 2b reports the moderating effect of coping resources on the relationship between
321 COVID-19 psychosocial stress and mental health. In fully adjusted models, coping significantly
322 buffered against symptoms of depression ($b = -0.014$, $p = 0.043$; see fig 1), anxiety ($b = -0.013$, p
323 $= 0.038$; see fig 2), and PTSD ($b = -0.030$, $p = 0.044$; see fig 3), but not bipolar symptoms ($b = -$
324 0.0045 , $p = 0.18$). The R^2 for each of the models is as follows: 37% for depression, 34% for
325 anxiety, 51% for PTSD, and 33% for bipolar disorder.

326 [Table 2]

327 [Figures 1, 2, & 3]

328 **DISCUSSION**

329 In this analysis of adults living under the COVID-19 pandemic in South Africa, coping
330 resources buffered against the poor mental health effects of COVID-19 psychosocial stress,
331 whereas perceived social support did not significantly moderate the association between
332 COVID-19 stress and adult mental health. Specifically, greater use of coping resources
333 attenuated symptoms of depression, anxiety, and PTSD due to COVID-19 stress. We also found
334 elevated levels of poor mental health in this sample during the COVID-19 pandemic and
335 lockdown. We highlight the fact that this sample is overly educated, largely female, and
336 represents a group of adults with moderate to high socioeconomic status. Despite the difficult
337 and prolonged conditions of the pandemic, our results suggest that adults effectively utilized
338 resources to positively cope with the various stressors brought on by the pandemic.

339 The buffering role of coping resources is consistent with the larger literature on adult
340 mental health during the pandemic and various other conditions of psychosocial stress.
341 Specifically, our results build on past studies that show that coping behaviors buffer against
342 symptoms of adult depression, anxiety, and PTSD due to psychosocial stress from the pandemic
343 (Okafor et al. 2021; Senger 2023; Suhail et al. 2022). Past studies have shown that a variety of
344 coping resources is valuable, including cognitive strategies (e.g., positive thinking, reappraisal),
345 behavioral practices, (e.g., handwashing, information gathering), social capital (e.g., structural,
346 instrumental), and spirituality (e.g., praying, connectedness, meaning-making) (Pankowski &
347 Wytrychiewicz-Pankowska 2023). This important set of mental health-sparing behaviors
348 protected numerous communities at high risk of COVID-19 infection and those with pre-existing
349 vulnerabilities, including frontline healthcare workers, adults living with chronic diseases, and
350 elderly populations (Hong et al. 2023; Lábadi et al. 2022; Tahara et al. 2021). Coping also

351 provided similar buffering effects against psychosocial stress among adults in past pandemics,
352 including Ebola (James et al. 2019) and HIV/AIDS (Seffren et al. 2018).

353 These results also add to the growing literature in South Africa that report the positive
354 mental health benefits of coping during the COVID-19 lockdown (Eloff, 2021; Engelbrecht et
355 al., 2021; Kim et al. 2022; Paredes-Ruvalcaba et al. 2023; Scheunemann et al. 2023; van der
356 Merwe et al., 2021; Visser & Law-van Wyk, 2021). While a majority of these studies focus on
357 healthcare workers or university students, rather than community-based adults such as those
358 included in our sample, the buffering effect of coping resources is consistent across analyses.
359 Engelbrecht et al. (2021) found that preparedness for care for COVID-19 patients, avoidance-
360 based coping, and current health status before COVID-19 predicted lower PTSD symptoms in
361 nurses deployed during the pandemic. In a qualitative study of community-based adults in
362 Gauteng, Paredes-Ruvalcaba et al. (2023) found that adults from diverse racial and
363 socioeconomic groups utilized a variety of coping strategies to overcome the stressors of the
364 pandemic, such as peer support, prayer, exercise, financial support, mindset reframing, natural
365 remedies, and following COVID-19 protocols. Notably, coping resources may have positive
366 impacts on mental health but poor, longer-term effects on physical health. For instance, Visser &
367 Law-van Wyk (2021) reported that South African university students engaged in substance use
368 to cope with the pandemic, despite early social policies prohibiting the sale of cigarettes and
369 alcohol in the country. Together, these studies and our results suggest that South Africans
370 utilized a variety of coping mechanisms to protect themselves against the negative mental health
371 impacts of COVID-19 psychosocial stress.

372 We also found that perceived social support did not significantly buffer against the
373 adverse psychological effects of the pandemic, which contradicts the larger literature that

374 highlights the positive mental health effects of adult social support (Harandi et al. 2017; Kessler
375 & McLeod 1985). Studies worldwide have repeatedly shown the protective and buffering effects
376 of social support against a wide range of poor mental health outcomes, including depression,
377 anxiety, and suicidal ideation (Casale et al. 2015; Chang et al. 2017; Olashore et al. 2021).
378 Additionally, studies in South Africa have described the importance of receiving social support
379 from family, friends, significant others, and coworkers. Paredes-Ruvalcaba et al. (2023) found
380 that South African adults utilized various means of virtual communication, such as video calls,
381 group texts, social media, and online services, to provide emotional support, process negative
382 cognitions, and stay hopeful. Scheunemann et al. (2023) described the vital role of social
383 relationships and active coordination between psychiatric healthcare workers in Gauteng to
384 provide more tangible, instrumental support among one another, including the organization of
385 online prayer groups, alternative work schedules to cover missing shifts due to pandemic-related
386 health problems and pooled financial resources.

387 Despite these past findings, we find that social support did not buffer against the poor
388 mental health effects of COVID-19 psychosocial stress. Given the state-enforced isolation and
389 disruption of infrastructural support systems, drastic changes in social behaviors and structures
390 during the pandemic may have altered the role of social support on health in this setting and may
391 explain these null findings. Past studies have shown that co-occurring emotional and
392 psychological experiences, such as feelings of loneliness, negative mood, and problematic social
393 relationships, can compromise the positive mental health effects of social support (Wang et al.
394 2018). For instance, conditions of depression and anxiety can negatively bias an individual's
395 appraisal of their social relationships, leading to altered evaluations of their interpersonal
396 contexts. Additionally, the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support may not fully

397 capture the social and interpersonal dynamics between the respondent and the relationships in
398 question (e.g., family, friends, and significant others). Past research has described many familial
399 and social relationships shifted during the lockdown, and greater strain in social relationships,
400 both familial and non-familial, predicted worse mental health outcomes during the pandemic
401 (Essler et al. 2021; Randall et al. 2021; Skinner et al. 2021).

402

403 *Limitations*

404 Our study is not without limitations. Our findings are not generalizable to the entire
405 South African population as our sample represents a relatively wealthy, educated, and majority
406 female set of adults. The online nature of data collection likely biased our sample to those who
407 had access to the internet, computers, and other socioeconomic resources, leading to a privileged
408 sample. The cross-sectional design of our analysis may also subject our analysis to reverse
409 causality, limiting our ability to determine the true temporal ordering of events. Finally, different
410 forms of social support important for buffering against the effects of stress may not have been
411 captured by our social support measure.

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420 **CONCLUSION**

421 In this online study of 117 adults during the second and third waves of the COVID-19
422 pandemic in South Africa, we found that the use of coping resources, but not perceived social
423 support alone, significantly buffered against worse symptoms of depression, anxiety, and post-
424 traumatic stress disorder. This sample of South African adults exhibited elevated levels of mental
425 health symptoms, with more than half of the sample reporting PTSD symptoms, over a third
426 exhibiting symptoms of depression and anxiety, and a fifth of adults reporting symptoms of
427 bipolar disorder. These data suggest that adults utilized a variety of coping resources to protect
428 their mental health against psychosocial stress experienced during the COVID-19 lockdown and
429 pandemic in South Africa.

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726 *Table 1. Demographic characteristics, social experience, and mental health*

Variables	n = 117	%	Range
<i>Demographics</i>			
Age	36.8 (11.7)		21-76
Gender			
Male	23	19.7	
Female	91	77.8	
Non-binary/Genderqueer	3	2.5	
Education			
Finished high school & matric	9	7.7	
Some university	15	12.8	
Graduated university	93	79.5	
Assets	10.5 (2.0)		1-13
<i>Social experience & mental health</i>			
COVID-19 psychosocial stress	22.7 (11.4)		1-55
Adverse childhood experiences	2.4 (2.1)		0-9
Perceived social support	61.0 (16.2)		15-84
Coping resources	28.2 (7.9)		6-49
Exercise (hours)	8.8 (11.2)		0-60
Average hours of work per week	34.7 (16.5)		0-72
Number of chronic conditions	0.35 (0.7)		0-3
Depressive symptoms	9.3 (7.3)		0-27
Depression caseness (≥ 10)	45	38.5	
Anxiety symptoms	8.7 (6.5)		0-21
Anxiety caseness (≥ 10)	46	39.3	
PTSD symptoms	39.1 (18.3)		17-85
PTSD caseness (≥ 30)	82	57.3	
Bipolar disease symptoms	3.8 (3.5)		0-13
Bipolar caseness (≥ 7)	24	20.5	

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Table 2a. Regression models predicting buffering role of social support on mental health impacts of COVID-19 psychosocial stress

	Depressive symptoms (PHQ-9)			Anxiety symptoms (GAD-7)		
	b	SE	95% CI	b	SE	95% CI
COVID-19 psychosocial stress	0.24	0.22	-0.19, 0.67	0.15	0.20	-0.24, 0.54
Social support	-0.078	0.090	-0.26, 0.099	-0.080	0.081	-0.24, 0.082
COVID-19 stress x social support	-0.0011	0.0034	-0.0079, 0.0057	-0.000073	0.0031	-0.0063, 0.0061
Age (years)	-0.087	0.057	-0.20, 0.027	-0.10*	0.052	-0.21, -0.0013
Female	2.58	1.36	-0.11, 5.27	2.41	1.23	-0.038, 4.85
Education	-1.15	0.93	-2.99, 0.70	-0.59	0.84	-2.26, 1.09
Assets	0.079	0.31	-0.53, 0.69	0.13	0.28	-0.42, 0.68
ACEs	0.30	0.31	-0.32, 0.91	0.32	0.28	-0.24, 0.88
Chronic disease	1.30	1.07	-0.83, 3.42	1.41	0.97	-0.52, 3.35
Exercise	0.024	0.055	-0.086, 0.13	-0.034	0.050	-0.13, -0.066
Hours worked	-0.019	0.042	-0.10, 0.06	-0.0083	0.038	-0.084, 0.067
Constant	19.7	11.6	-3.39, 42.8	15.2	10.6	-5.76, 36.1

Note: ACEs = Adverse childhood experiences; *b* = unstandardized regression weights; CI = confidence interval; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

	PTSD symptoms (PCL-C)			Bipolar symptoms (MDQ)		
	b	SE	95% CI	b	SE	95% CI
COVID-19 psychosocial stress	0.99*	0.48	0.027, 1.95	0.20	0.11	-0.0096, 0.41
Social support	0.024	0.20	-0.37, 0.42	0.033	0.044	-0.054, 0.12
COVID-19 stress x social support	-0.0084	0.0077	-0.024, 0.0069	-0.0022	0.0017	-0.0055, 0.0012
Age (years)	-0.21	0.13	-0.47, 0.43	-0.063*	0.028	-0.12, -0.0070
Female	6.7*	3.05	0.66, 12.7	0.94	0.67	-0.38, 2.26
Education	-1.6	2.1	-5.75, 2.53	-0.90	0.46	-1.8, 0.0067
Assets	0.44	0.69	-0.92, 1.8	-0.049	0.15	-0.35, 0.25
ACEs	2.3**	0.69	0.89, 3.6	0.22	0.15	-0.078, 0.52
Chronic disease	5.2*	2.4	0.42, 10.0	0.89	0.53	-0.15, 1.9
Exercise	0.13	0.12	-0.12, 0.37	0.046	0.027	-0.0079, 0.010
Hours worked	0.016	0.094	-0.17, 0.20	0.046*	0.021	0.0050, 0.087
Constant	29.3	26.1	-22.5, 81.0	7.2	5.7	-4.1, 18.6

Note: ACEs = Adverse childhood experiences; *b* = unstandardized regression weights; CI = confidence interval; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2b. Regression models predicting buffering role of coping resources on mental health impacts of COVID-19 psychosocial stress

	Depressive symptoms (PHQ-9)			Anxiety symptoms (GAD-7)		
	b	SE	95% CI	b	SE	95% CI
COVID-19 psychosocial stress	0.58**	0.19	0.20, 0.96	0.52**	0.17	0.18, 0.87
Coping resources	0.095	0.16	-0.22, 0.41	0.11	0.14	-0.18, 0.39
COVID-19 stress x coping resources	-0.014*	0.0066	-0.027, -0.00043	-0.013	0.0060*	-0.024, -0.00072
Age (years)	-0.073	0.056	-0.19, 0.039	-0.092	0.051	-0.19, 0.0097
Female	2.5	1.4	-0.21, 5.2	2.3	1.2	-0.14, 4.7
Education	-1.3	0.90	-3.1, 0.46	-0.68	0.82	-2.3, 0.93
Assets	0.14	0.30	-0.45, 0.73	0.21	0.27	-0.33, 0.74
ACEs	0.38	0.30	-0.22, 0.98	0.39	0.27	-0.15, 0.93
Chronic disease	1.1	1.1	-0.97, 3.2	1.3	0.96	-0.65, 3.2
Exercise	-0.020	0.058	-0.14, 0.095	-0.075	0.053	-0.18, 0.029
Hours worked	-0.0015	0.040	-0.081, 0.078	0.0030	0.036	-0.069, 0.075
Constant	11.8	10.4	-8.9, 32.5	6.3	9.4	-12.4, 25.0

Note: ACEs = Adverse childhood experiences; *b* = unstandardized regression weights; CI = confidence interval; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

	PTSD symptoms (PCL-C)			Bipolar symptoms (MDQ)		
	b	SE	95% CI	b	SE	95% CI
COVID-19 psychosocial stress	1.4**	0.42	0.52, 2.2	0.20*	0.095	0.0093, 0.39
Coping resources	0.16	0.35	-0.54, 0.86	0.038	0.079	-0.12, 0.20
COVID-19 stress x coping resources	-0.030*	0.015	-0.059, -0.00089	-0.0045	0.0033	-0.011, 0.0021
Age (years)	-0.19	0.12	-0.43, 0.01	-0.060*	0.028	-0.12, -0.0051
Female	6.2*	3.0	0.23, 12.1	0.79	0.67	-0.54, 2.1
Education	-2.0	2.0	-6.0, 1.9	-0.97*	0.45	-1.9, -0.085
Assets	0.61	0.66	-0.70, 1.9	-0.037	0.15	-0.33, 0.26
ACEs	2.4**	0.67	1.1, 3.7	0.23	0.15	-0.062, 0.53
Chronic disease	4.8*	2.3	0.12, 9.4	0.87	0.53	-0.18, 1.9
Exercise	0.020	0.13	-0.23, 0.28	0.031	0.29	-0.027, 0.088
Hours worked	0.051	0.089	-0.13, 0.23	0.051*	0.020	0.011, 0.090
Constant	26.3	23.1	-19.4, 72.1	8.7	5.2	-1.60, 18.9

Note: ACEs = Adverse childhood experiences; *b* = unstandardized regression weights; CI = confidence interval; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

FIGURES

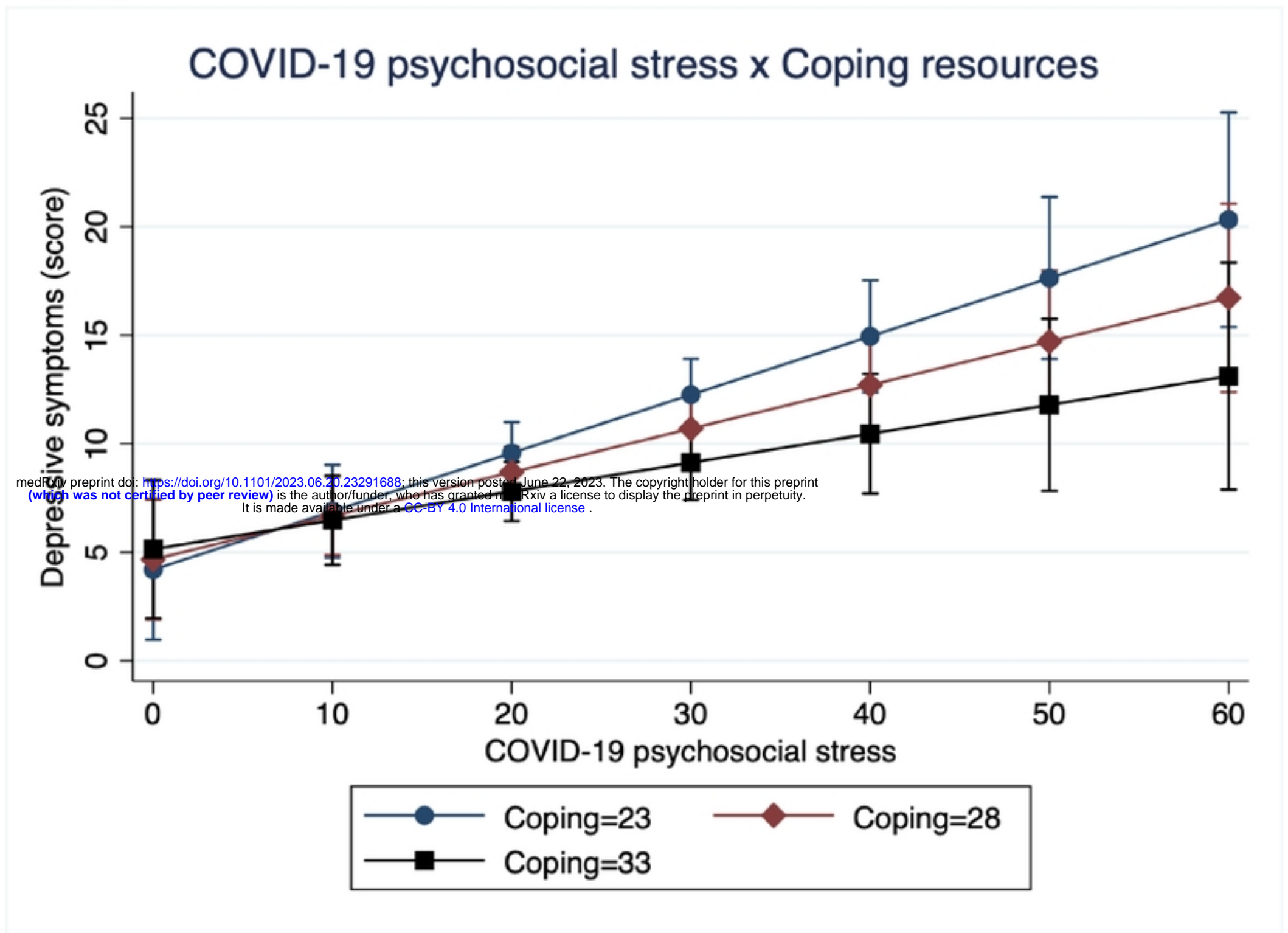


Figure 1. Interaction between COVID-19 psychosocial stress and coping resources predicting depressive symptoms.

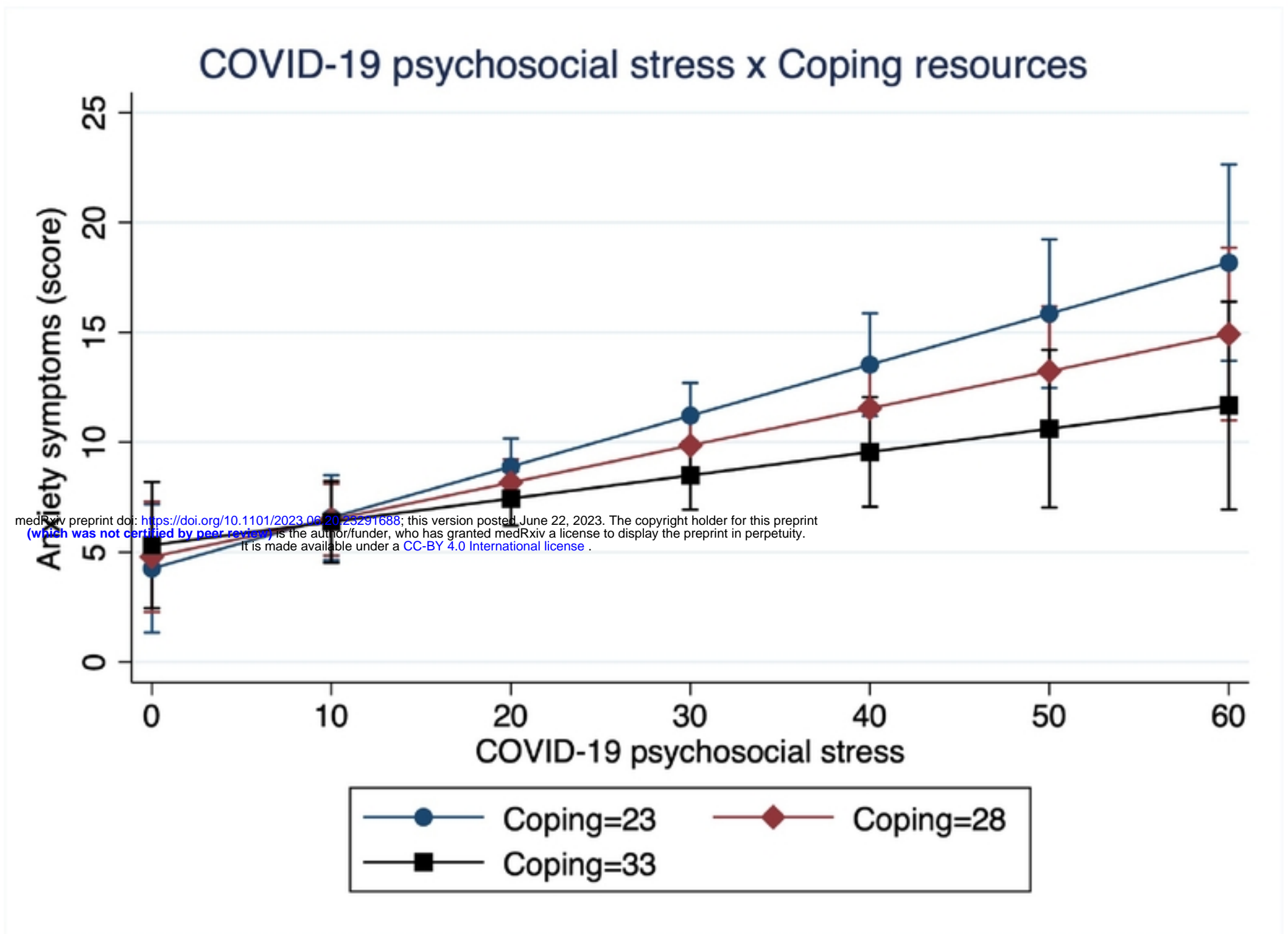


Figure 2. Interaction between COVID-19 psychosocial stress and coping resources predicting depressive symptoms.

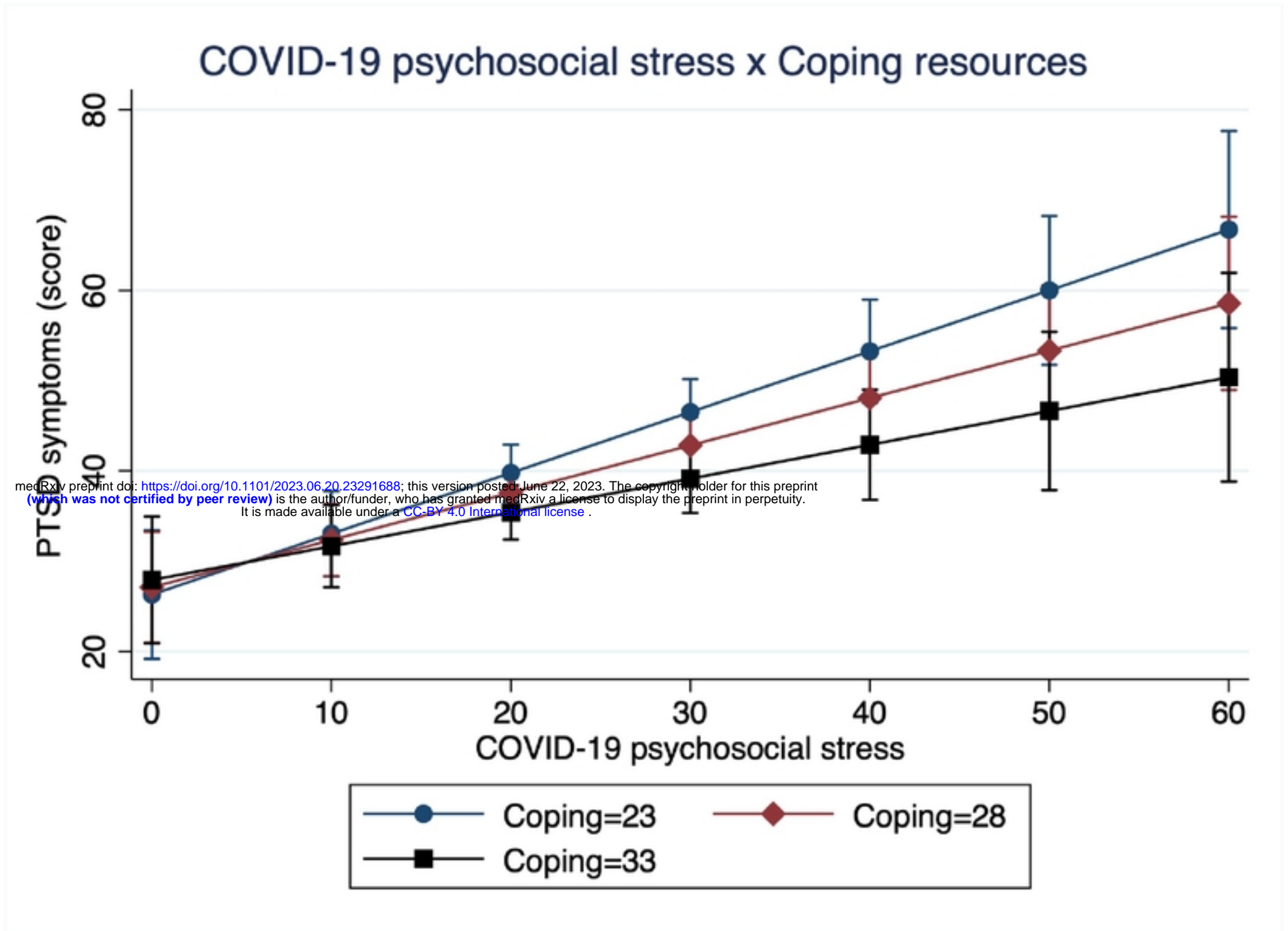


Figure 3. Interaction between COVID-19 psychosocial stress and coping resources predicting depressive symptoms.