#### 1 Mental Well-being in UK Higher Education during Covid-19: Do Students Trust 2 **Universities and the Government?**

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#### 21 Abstract

22 This paper draws upon the concept of recreancy to examine the mental well-being of 23 university students during the Covid-19 pandemic. Briefly, recreancy is loss of societal 24 trust that results when institutional actors can no longer be counted on to perform their 25 responsibilities. Our study of mental well-being and recreancy focuses on the role of 26 universities and government regulators within the education sector. We surveyed 600 UK 27 students attending 161 different public higher education providers in October 2020 during 28 a time when many UK students were isolated in their residences and engaged in online 29 learning. We assessed student well-being using the Short Warwick-Edinburgh Mental 30 Well-Being Scale (scored 7 to 35) and found the mean score to be 19.9 (95% confidence 31 interval (CI) 19.6, 20.2). This level of well-being indicates that a significant proportion of 32 UK students face low levels of mental well-being. Structural equation modelling (SEM) 33 analysis indicate that high recreancy - measured as a low trust in universities and the 34 government - is associated with low levels of mental well-being across the student 35 sample. While these findings are suggestive, they are also important and we suggest that 36 government and university leaders should not only work to increase food and housing 37 security during the Covid-19 pandemic, but also consider how to combat various sector 38 trends that might intensify recreancy.

#### 41 Introduction

42 The negative impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the mental well-being and 43 mental health of university students is serious and a growing concern (Kecojevic et al., 44 2020; Savage et al. 2020; Son et al. 2020). Low levels of mental well-being can reduce 45 motivation, diminish concentration and hinder academic attainment (Eisenberg et al., 46 2009; except see Topham and Moller, 2011; Brook and Willoughby 2015;). Moreover, 47 low levels of student mental well-being can also be a major factor in self-harm and suicide 48 ideation (Bantjes et al., 2016). Previous studies suggest that factors such as race, gender. 49 age and financial strain are likely associated with student mental well-being (Burris et al., 50 2009; Hardeman et al. 2015). While there is strong reason to suspect that the impact of 51 these established factors on well-being are intensified during the Covid-19 pandemic, few 52 studies have examined university student mental well-being and the role of institutional 53 trust during the pandemic. That is, the Covid-19 has served as a reminder that social 54 institutions such as education cannot be counted on to attenuate what Brown (2020, p.1) 55 labels an "ecological disaster." As a result, in this work we draw upon a social-56 psychological perspective to argue that contemporary studies of student mental well-being 57 should account for student trust in their university and government to ensure their mental 58 well-being during the Covid-19 pandemic. To make this connection we draw upon 59 Freudenburg's (1993, p. 915-916) concept of recreancy that we employ by measuring 60 perceptions of trust in universities and government regulators to understand risk 61 management associated with low levels of student well-being during Covid-19. 62 Specifically, recreancy is "a retrogression or failure to follow through on a duty or trust" 63 (Freudenburg, 1993, p. 916). Staying true to Freudenburg's original conception of 64 recreancy we do not lay blame on any institutional actors. Instead, the purpose of this

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research is to determine whether and how student levels of trust in two important actors in the education sector during Covid-19 may impact student mental well-being.

67 The current research is divided into five sections. First, we examine the concept of 68 recreancy to demonstrate how it is relevant to ecological disasters such as Covid-19. Next, 69 we examine the literature on student well-being, situating the concept of recreancy 70 alongside important predictors of well-being to propose a model of student well-being 71 during Covid-19. Third, we explain data collection and methods for testing our model of 72 student well-being. In that section we draw upon a survey of 600 students currently 73 enrolled in universities across the UK. The fourth section of this manuscript describes the 74 findings of the research. Specifically, we discover trust is correlated with mental well-75 being but also appears to be shaped by food and housing insecurity as well as social and 76 economic circumstances. Finally, we conclude by suggesting that recreancy, as 77 operationalized by asking whether students trust their university and the government, is 78 likely to be a critical variable in studies of student well-being during ecological disasters 79 such as the Covid-19 pandemic.

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### **Ecological Disasters and Recreancy**

81 One view of the current pandemic is that it is an anthropogenically driven 82 ecological disaster that has arisen because of technological advances in agriculture. In 83 short, the modern world provides an ideal environment for emerging pathogens that can 84 lead to such disasters. Brown (2020) explains:

As cities and farm operations grew, people and animals crowded closer
together. The result was a new epidemiological order, in which zoonotic
diseases—ones that could jump from animal to human—thrived. At first,
these diseases remained confined to the places where they originated.
[However]...infectious diseases have broken out more than twelve thousand

90	times over the past three decades. It's no small feat to cross the species		
91	barrier; these numbers speak to the scale of our agricultural system.		
92	Thus, the interconnectedness of biological lives makes it likely, if not inevitable, for		
93	pandemics such as Covid-19 to occur. In particular, those advances in agriculture		
94	technology that have allowed for unprecedented levels of food production and when		
95	combined global travel and trade they can contribute to the creation of an ecological		
96	network that binds us all together and lay the groundwork for ecological disasters (see		
97	Morens et al., 2020; Shereen et al. 2020).		
98	It is within the context of ecological disaster that we draw upon Freudenburg's		
99	concept of recreancy (see also Ritchie and Gill, 2007). Freudenburg (1993) developed his		
100	theory of recreancy by drawing upon Durkheim's (1933 [1893]) theory of the division of		
101	labor, or the notion that societies are increasingly held together organically as		
102	occupational specialization increases. While the division of labor is responsible for		
103	important technological advances, it is also simultaneously problematic (Freudenburg		
104	1993). That is, "the very division of labour that permits many of the achievements of		
105	advanced industrial societies may also have the potential to become one of the most		
106	serious sources of risk and vulnerability" (Freudenburg 1993, p.914). The implications of		
107	this unintended consequence of specialization are not only that technological disasters		
108	occur, but in Freudenburg's words that "natural forces" overcome institutional defences		
109	that are no longer reliable. In short, social institutions are not trusted because institutional		
110	actors fail to carry out their obligations. While recreancy research tends to focus on the		
111	actors within institutions, Freudenburg believed in a more nuanced approach that linked		
112	these actors to their social institutions. Thus, Freudenburg (1993; 2000) conceived of		
113	recreancy as the deterioration or lack of trust in social institutions. This institutional focus		
114	allowed Freudenburg to maintain that recreancy was not about blaming institutional		
115	actors.		

116It is not relevant to know whether or not villainy can be discerned,117whether at individual or collective levels; instead, to repeat Weber's118words, the key question is simply whether experience shows that the119behaviors of specialized individuals and institutions can be counted120on (Freudenburg 1993, p. 917).

121 We apply the concept of recreancy to the educational sector because it is often viewed as 122 taking a major role in student 'duty of care' and ensuring student well-being (de la Torre, 123 2019; Maier, 2015). In short, the university has a direct impact on lives of many students 124 (Barnett et al. 2015; Lairo et al. 2013). In the UK, universities have been under pressure 125 for their response to Covid-19. For instance, the media has widely reported that students 126 believe universities have failed to protect their well-being during lockdown (BBC News, 127 2020; Hall, 2020; Hopegood, 2020; Onapa, 2020). This pressure has led to a public 128 outcry that universities cannot be trusted. For example, Manchester University was forced to publicly apologize "for the concern and distress caused" to students after 129 130 university officials surrounded resident halls with guarded metal barriers during the night to keep students segregated (Kennelly, 2020). Anecdotally, students across the country 131 132 have reported that they cannot count on universities during the Covid-19 crisis. As one 133 student succinctly put it, "We were lied to" (Moore, 2021, para 8). Other students extend 134 blame to government regulators who do not carry out their university oversight 135 responsibilities and instead allow universities to freely take advantage of students. 136 Moreover, some higher education advocates even suggest that the government has failed 137 to provide universities with appropriate guidance and financing which leaves universities 138 little choice but to exploit their own student populations. For example, one journalist 139 observed, the "government has yet to show [universities] the sort of crisis support it tried to extend, for example, to the hospitality industry" (Moore, 2021, para 7). In the wake of 140 141 these events students' advocate groups have called for additional help and students have

142	engaged in organised protest activities ranging from rent strikes to virtual direct action by	
143	highlighting their grievances like food insecurity or prison-like living conditions to	
144	shame universities (Hall, 2020). More recently, students have organised a call for tuition	
145	and rent refunds as well as better access to campus facilities and student health and well-	
146	being support (Dawson, 2021; Hall, 2020; Hopegood, 2020). In this research we suggest	
147	that whether the university and its regulators can be "counted on" during an ecological	
148	crisis such as Covid-19 has important implications for the mental well-being of students.	
149	Unsurprisingly, there have been few studies of recreancy among university	
150	students. One notable exception is research by Ladd et al., (2007; see also Gill et al.,	
151	2007) into the relocation of nearly 50,000 New Orleans college students during	
152	Hurricane Katrina, a large Category 5 hurricane that struck southeastern United States in	
153	August 2005. Ladd et al., (2017) discovered that students were filled with perceptions of	
154	recreancy, especially in relation to the government's response to the disaster. As the	
155	researchers report, "about six out of 10 students stated, based on their disaster	
156	experiences, they did not trust President Bush, FEMA [i.e., Federal Emergency	
157	Management Agency], the federal government, or the Louisiana state government" (Ladd	
158	et al., 2017, p.64), with one university student summing up their feelings of recreancy as	
159	follows: "FEMA is a joke!" (p. 66). Students in the study reported that they "distrusted	
160	the federal government, even more than before" and could not "count on any politician."	
161	While Ladd's study was appropriately focused on the trust of state and federal	
162	government response to relocating students during the Katrina disaster, we focus on	
163	recreancy by asking about trust in higher education and its operational response during	
164	Covid-19.	
165	Despite the scarcity of research on student recreancy, the concept has been applied	

to a variety of technological and natural disasters (Bickerstaff et al., 2008; Cope et al.,

167 2016, 2020; Gill et al., 2016; Freudenburg et al., 2009; McSpirit, 2005; Ritchie et al.,

168 2013; Straub, 2020). As Ritchie et al., (2013, p. 657) observe, recent scholars have noted, recreancy "offers important insights into social impacts such as loss of social capital and 169 civility, as well as psychological responses of frustration, anger, and hostility frequently 170 171 associated with these types of events." (see also Ritchie and Gill 2007; Ritchie et al., 172 2018). While scholars have examined recreancy with respect to potential community 173 impacts that disrupt and harm social relationship and create civil disorder there have been 174 no studies, of which we are aware, that examine the concept of student recreancy during 175 the Covid-19 pandemic. Thus, our examination of mental well-being is social-176 psychological in that we hypothesize that students experiencing high levels of recreancy, 177 and therefore low levels of trust in the university and its regulators will also have lower levels of mental well-being than students who have high levels of trust in these two sets of 178 179 actors.

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### Predicting Student Mental Well-Being

181 The World Health Organization (2004) states, "mental health is not just the 182 absence of mental disorder [but] as a state of well-being in which every individual realizes 183 his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work." Mental 184 well-being is the experience of health and prosperity. It includes having good mental 185 health, high life satisfaction, a sense of meaning or purpose, and an ability to manage 186 stress (Yilmazli Trout and Alsandor 2020).

In our review, we highlight research that directly measures well-being or its components, and mental health difficulties that could aid or disrupt an individual's potential. Previous research has overwhelmingly suggested that a variety of factors such as financial strain, gender, race and age, housing security and food security may impact well-being (Hardeman et al., 2015). We review these factors below prior to presenting our integrated model of student recreancy and well-being during Covid-19.

193 **Financial Strain.** A number of studies have examined the economic 194 circumstances and mental well-being of university students. Among the most studied 195 variables are student financial pressures, which are likely to decrease mental well-being. 196 For instance, university students who come from lower socioeconomic status households 197 often face more financial strain and therefore have higher rates of mental health problems 198 and lower levels of mental well-being than do those who come from more affluent 199 households (Eisenberg et al., 2007). In a study of Australian students, Stallman (2010) 200 found that students who identified as having any level of financial stress were much more 201 likely to report decreased subjective mental well-being when compared to students with 202 no financial stress (see also Lange and Byrd, 1998; Ansari et al., 2011; Mulder and 203 Cashin, 2015). In a recent UK study Benson-Egglenton (2019) found a clear relationship 204 between students' mental well-being and financial circumstances. That is, students that 205 faced financial hardship had lower levels of mental well-being. Benson-Egglenton 206 reported that students who had higher well-being scores on the Short Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale (SWEMWBS) were less likely to need a student loan, more 207 208 likely to receive financial support from their parents and less likely to be in debt when 209 compared to those who had lower well-being scores.

210 Gender. Male and female students have also been identified as having different 211 levels of well-being. Female students are more likely to self-report symptoms consistent 212 with mental illness than their male peers (Eisenberg et al., 2007). In addition, female 213 students are more likely than male students to perceive various academic, friend and work 214 scenarios as stressful (Day and Livingstone, 2003) which may impact mental well-being. 215 Moreover, research on student well-being suggests that female students have lower levels 216 of mental well-being than males and are also more likely to suffer from distress, including 217 more somatic symptoms and anxiety/insomnia (Saleh et al., 2017) which might be linked 218 to academic performance. In particular, women in male dominated fields of study are

more likely to feel pressure to conforming to the gender stereotypes (i.e., 'stereotype
threat'), which is associated with poor mental health (Bell et al., 2003).

While considerable evidence exists that female students are more at risk of low 221 2.2.2 levels of mental well-being than male students, a number of studies on gender and well-223 being are inconclusive. Lee and Loke (2005) find that male students participate in more 224 pro-health type behaviours than female students but that no gender differences in 225 psychosocial well-being exist (Lee & Loke 2005; see also Ansari and Stock, 2010). 226 Nevertheless, Ansari et al., (2013, p.293) found that even while females were more likely 227 to rate well-being higher than males, they were also "more likely [than males] to feel 228 psychosomatic/physical health problems ... [and] ... more likely to feel burdened 229 overall."

230 Race/Ethnicity. White university students have higher levels of mental well-being 231 (Dyrbye et al., 2007) and lower levels of psychological distress (Prelow et al., 2006) than 232 other students. Wang et al., (2008) discovered ethnic minority students tended to feel less 233 satisfied with life and experienced more stress than white students. Moreover, ethnic 234 minority students often report having higher levels of stress and lower levels of mental 235 well-being than white students, suggesting a potential correlation between stress and well-236 being (Cokley, McClain, Enciso, & Martinez, 2013; Griffith, Hurd, & Hussain, 2017). 237 The finding that ethnic minority students experience lower levels of mental well-being 238 than white students is often reported in the literature, and there may be reasons for this 239 finding other than stress (Ben-Ari, 2004; Blaine & Crocker, 1995; Iwamasa & Kooreman, 240 1995). For instance, as is the case with stereotype threats faced by women, ethnic minority 241 students may feel significant pressure to reject group stereotypes (Aronson et al., 2013). Steele et al. (1995) discovered that being under threat of judgement by a racial stereotype 242 243 leads to impaired performance on tests and is associated with lower levels of mental well-244 being. Other research suggests that ethnic minority students might experience low levels

245 of mental well-being and higher levels of mental illness because of the university campus 246 climate or existing institutional prejudice and discrimination (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997; Greer & Chwalisz, 2007; Sue & Sue, 2008; Christopher & Skillman, 247 248 2009). In a study of first year medical students Hardeman et al. (2015) compared African 249 American students to white students and found that African American students had nearly 250 twice the risk of being classified as having symptoms of depression and anxiety. In short, 251 the harmful social stereotypes and discrimination are likely to contribute to lower levels of 252 mental well-being among non-white students.

253 Age. Research suggests that young people are disproportionately impacted by low 254 levels of mental well-being when compared to other ages (Pedrelli et al., 2015). In addition, most studies of university student mental well-being that control for age suggest 255 256 that students face a decline in their mental well-being in their first year of study (Topham 257 et al., 2011). Older university students are more likely to seek help for mental health 258 problems (Eisenberg et al., 2007). While age seems to be a factor in mental well-being, 259 some studies do not find a relationship between age and outcomes related to mental well-260 being, such as stress (e.g., Saleh et al., 2017). In addition, a few studies (e.g., Voltmer et 261 al., 2012; Galbraith and Merrill 2015) suggest there is a negative correlation among age 262 and factors associated with mental well-being perhaps because older students (e.g., those 263 typically in post-graduate school) are sometimes identified as being more sleep deprived 264 (Wallace et al., 2017) or are more likely to suffer from academic burnout (Lin and Huang, 265 2014). Finally, some research finds that age and gender may interact in that age only 266 matters for female students, where older students report higher levels of mental well-being 267 than younger students (Davoren et al., 2013).

Food/Housing Insecurity. Both food and housing insecurity are believed to be related (Payne-Sturges et al., 2018) and predict low levels of mental well-being (Heflin and Ziliak 2008; Howell and Howell 2008; Stahr et al., 2015; Broton and Goldrick-Rab,

271	2016; Frongillo et al., 2017; Jones 2017; Lee 2020). Moreover, some students may even
272	sacrifice basic food and housing needs to pay university tuition and fees. Food insecurity
273	exists when there is insufficient or inappropriate access to food, while housing insecurity
274	occurs when housing is unstable, unaffordable, unsafe or unavailable (Haskett et al.,
275	2020). There is growing recognition that food insecurity is tied to mental well-being on
276	university campuses and many researchers are starting to conclude that food insecurity is
277	likely to be a consistent and main factor associated with anxiety and depression among
278	university students (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2015; Bruening et al., 2016; Coffino et al., 2020;
279	Diamond et al., 2020). A recent systematic review of 58 empirical studies from countries
280	across the globe suggest that nearly one-third of university students may be food insecure
281	and it is likely that that they suffer from "poorer nutritional outcomes, higher stress and
282	depression and adverse learning, academic outcomes and/or productivity" as a
283	consequence (Bruening et al., 2017, p. 1780; see also Nazmi et al., 2019).
284	
285	
286	While housing insecurity is less studied than food insecurity among student
287	populations it is, nevertheless, often mentioned in studies of student mental well-being
288	(Leung et al., 2020). Moreover, in countries like the United States, 11-19% of
289	undergraduate students are housing insecure (Broton and Goldrick-Rab 2018; see also
290	Haskett et al., 2020) and these rates are increasing (Goldrick-Rab, 2020). Importantly,
291	Leung et al. (2020) found that students who were facing housing insecurity were nearly
292	twice as likely to report on a patient health questionnaire that they faced anxiety and
293	depression, two conditions that negatively impact mental well-being.
294	Finally, it must be noted that food and housing insecurity are likely to impact well-
295	being but are also likely to be strongly related to other important factors. For instance,

financial strain is likely to have an important and direct impact on both housing and food

297	insecurity (Hughes et al., 2011; Micevski et al., 2014; Patton-López et al., 2014; Knol et		
298	al., 2018; Zigmont et al., 2019) among students, which are also likely to impact mental		
299	well-being (Raskind et al., 2019). Students who receive student loans are also more likely		
300	to be food insecure (Morris et al., 2016; Payne-Sturges et al., 2018) while those who have		
301	competing financial obligations are more likely to face food insecurity (McArthur, 2017).		
302	Raskind et al. (2019) found that students whose parents have less than a high school		
303	education, are receiving benefits and have lower discretionary budgets are more likely to		
304	identify as food insecure. Those studies that have been conducted suggest that poverty and		
305	financial stress leads to increased anxiety and poor mental health (Eisenberg et al., 2007;		
306	Woessner, 2012). Moreover, it is increasingly clear that marginalized students are		
307	particularly at risk. That is, non-white (Martinez et al., 2018; Phillips et al., 2018),		
308	multiethnic (Wood & Harris, 2018), female (Patton-López et al., 2014; Maroto et al.,		
309	2015, but see Martinez et al., 2018; Raskind et al., 2019), Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual,		
310	Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ) students (UC Global Food Initiative, 2017) are		
311	disproportionately food insecure when compared to white males.		
312	Methods		
313	Sampling and Data Collection. Research on recreancy and predictors of student		
314	mental well-being generated a set of hypotheses in Table 1 to be tested in this study. We		
315	are especially interested in examining the relationship between institutional trust and		
316	mental well-being within the context of the existing literature on student mental well-		
317	being. Figure 1 summarizes the predicted relationships in the literature along with		
318	variables on institutional trust.		
319	[Table 1 About Here]		
320	The findings presented in this research are drawn from a cross-sectional sample of		
321	UK university students administered during the Covid-19 pandemic. Following ethical		
322	approval from the Faculty of Arts, Design and Social Sciences Ethics Committee at		

323	Northumbria University (reference no: 22790) a sample of 600 students was obtained with	
324	the help of <i>Prolific</i> (www.prolific.ac), an online survey platform that connects researchers	
325	to participants and is often used for social and economic research (Palan and Schitter	
326	2018). Out of the 600 students who responded to the survey, 133 students did not provide	
327	answers to all the survey questions. As a result, the total sample size for this study is	
328	n=467 students. We provide a breakdown of missing cases by variable in Appendix A	
329	along with descriptive statistics for the variables included in our analysis (described	
330	below). Specifically, <i>Prolific</i> selected the student sample from a population of 4,758	
331	eligible students who were immediately available to enrol in the research on a first-come,	
332	first-served basis. All participants received £1.50 compensation for their time to complete	
333	the short questionnaire that consisted of 38 close-ended questions. The questionnaire took	
334	less than 10 minutes to complete and was administered between 27-28 October 2020.	
	[Figure 1 About Here]	
335	[Figure 1 About Here]	
335 336	[Figure 1 About Here] In 2018/2019 the UK Higher Education Statistics Agency reported that 2.38	
<ul><li>335</li><li>336</li><li>337</li></ul>	<b>[Figure 1 About Here]</b> In 2018/2019 the UK Higher Education Statistics Agency reported that 2.38 million students were enrolled at 169 public higher education providers across England,	
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<ul> <li>335</li> <li>336</li> <li>337</li> <li>338</li> <li>339</li> <li>340</li> <li>341</li> <li>342</li> <li>343</li> <li>344</li> </ul>	[Figure 1 About Here] In 2018/2019 the UK Higher Education Statistics Agency reported that 2.38 million students were enrolled at 169 public higher education providers across England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. In the current study, the student sample consisted of 600 students from 161 public higher education and alternative providers in the UK. 93.5% of these students were undergraduates. Overall, the sample was 64% female (vs. 64% of undergraduates in the public university population in 2018/2019), 62% white (vs. 75% of undergraduates in the public university population in 2018/2019), 49% were under 21 years of age (vs. 57% in the undergraduate university population in 2018/2019), 22%	
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in 2018/2019)<sup>1</sup>. Notable, then, the sample of students in this study appears to reflect the
UK population of undergraduates with some amount of accuracy.

349 *Mental Well-being.* The primary dependent variable in the current study is mental 350 well-being that is measured with the Short Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale 351 (SWEMWBS). The SWEMWBS has been widely used by researcher studying mental 352 well-being (e.g., Fat et al., 2017; Fung, 2019; Marshall et al., 2019; Lee et al., 2020; Summers et al., 2020) and measures the positive aspects of mental health. The scale 353 354 assesses mental well-being using a 5-point Likert scale (1= 'None of the time', 2= 'Rarely', 3= 'Some of the time', 4= 'Often', 5= 'All of the time') on seven questions with 355 356 an overall outcome score ranging from 7 to 35. All SWEMWBS scores were transformed using the published metric conversion recommended by Stewart-Brown et al. (2009, para 357 358 22). Higher scores on the SWEMWBS are indicative of greater mental well-being. The 359 SWEMWBS has been used to study student populations and is correlated with other 360 scales measuring overall health, physical well-being, life satisfaction and emotional 361 intelligence (Kannangara, et al., 2018; Tennant et al., 2007; Fat et al., 2017). Moreover, 362 past research has found that in 2011 mean SWEMWBS scores for 16- to 24-year-olds in 363 the English population range between 23.2 for women and 23.6 for men (Fat et al. 2017). The mean SWEMWBS score in the current sample is 19.9. While comparisons are 364 365 difficult to make across diverse populations and time periods it is not surprising that the 366 mean SWEMWBS score in the current sample is somewhat lower than reported in 367 previous studies. Moreover, in the current study the SWEMWBS showed good internal 368 consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.86 in the sample. Appendix B lists the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Population estimates derived from *Higher Education Student Statistics: UK, 2018/19 – Student Numbers and Characteristics* published 20 January 2020. Available at https://www.hesa.ac.uk/news/16-01-2020/sb255-higher-education-student-statistics/numbers

370

results of the confirmatory factor analysis for the mental well-being scale. As noted, the scale had factor loadings that ranged from 0.500 to 0.797.

371 *Recreancy.* We measure recreancy as the amount of trust students place in their 372 university and government to ensure their general well-being during the Covid-19 373 pandemic. To measure recreancy, we rely on two specific questions about trust: (1) "I 374 trust the university to look after my well-being during the coronavirus pandemic" and (2) "I trust the UK government to ensure that my university will look after my well-being 375 376 during the coronavirus pandemic." Responses to these two questions are scored from 377 strongly disagree = 1 to strongly agree = 5. In particular, the mean (median) for trust in 378 the university is 3.35 (3.0) with 7.8% of students reporting that they strongly disagree that 379 they trust that their university is working to ensure their well-being and 14.5% of students 380 reporting that they strongly agree that they trust that their university is working to ensure 381 their well-being. Overall, just over 25% of students disagree or strongly disagree that their 382 university will look after their general well-being during the Covid-19 pandemic. The 383 mean (median) scores for trust for government to regulate UK universities to promote 384 student well-being is low as the mean score for this question is 2.3 (2). Nearly 31.7% of 385 students strongly disagree that they trust the UK government to ensure their university 386 will look after their general well-being while only 4.3% strongly agree that they trust the 387 government to ensure that the university will look after their general well-being.

*Financial Strain*. We use free school meal (FSM) status to identify students who are likely to come from households that are facing financial stain. In the UK, pupils who are at least seven years of age qualify for free school meals when the adults in the household claim one of several types of state benefits, including social security benefits in the form of income support, jobseeker's allowance, income related employment support, child tax credits, working tax credits and/or universal credit. In the case of universal credit, applicants must demonstrate an annual net earned income £7,400 or less in

395 England or £14,000 or less in Northern Ireland to receive FSM (DFE 2018). While there 396 are various potential measures of financial strain, Gorard (2012, p.1014) suggests that in the UK, using FSM as an indicator of poverty or financial hardship is "currently better 397 398 than the alternatives...such as...household income, home resources, parental 399 occupation(s) or social class." Taylor (2018) also suggests that while parental education, 400 occupation and income are likely to be the best indicators of socio-economic 401 disadvantage, researchers should be cautious about recommending replacing FSM 402 eligibility for other alternative indicators of economic hardship as those indicators are 403 often difficult to collect and the gain in predictive power is modest. In the present study 404 we believe it is unlikely that many students would be unable to accurately report the household income of their parents and caregivers. As a result, we employ the relatively 405 406 simple measure of FSM to identify those students who have come from households that 407 are likely to face economic hardships. We measure financial strain by asking students 408 whether they received FSM in their last year of secondary school. Students who come 409 from households that face economic hardship are therefore eligible for FSM are also 410 likely to face financial stains at university where they often rely on support from their family (see Benson-Egglenton, 2019). Students scored "1" on the financial strain variable 411 412 if they come from a household that received FSM in secondary school, while those who 413 did not FSM were scored "0" on that variable.

*Gender.* To capture the relationship between gender and mental well-being
identified in the literature we measure gender using a dichotomous variable. Students
were asked to report their gender (i.e., 'female', 'male', 'non-binary', 'third gender' or
self-described). In our analysis female, non-binary, third gender and self-described
students were scored "1" while male students were scored "0". As an alternative
operationalisation of gender, we also compared female students (scored as "1") to all
other genders scored as "0." We estimated a model for each operationalization of gender

and found that the models were nearly identical (not shown). That is, the alternative
methods of measuring gender had no impact on this analysis as the coefficients, standard
errors and goodness of fit statistics were identical in both models.

424 Race/Ethnicity. Students' Race/Ethnicity was measured using a 15-category 425 nominal level variable. Results were largely clustered in White British category (i.e., White English/White Welsh/White Scottish/White Northern Irish/ White British) and 426 427 spread evenly with relatively low frequencies (n=4 to 23) among most other categories 428 (e.g., African, Bangladeshi, Black British, Caribbean, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, White 429 and Asian). As a result, we created the dichotomous variable where White UK students 430 were scored 1 and students of all other races and ethnicities were scored 0. This variable 431 therefore measures self-identified race/ethnicity categorized into white/non-white which 432 likely is associated with social advantages.

*Age.* Age is a ratio level variable that represents the student's age in years. The
mean (median) student age was 23.0 (21.0) years old with a standard deviation of 6.5
years.

436 Food Insecurity. Food insecurity was measured using the US Department of 437 Agriculture's 6-item food security scale (see Patton-López, et al., 2014). The questions 438 that made up the scale asked students to recall whether the following happened since the 439 start of the Autumn 2020 term: (1) "The food that I bought just didn't last, and I didn't have money to get more"; (2) "I couldn't afford to eat balanced meals"; (3) "Did you cut 440 the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?" and if 441 442 "Yes"; (4) "how often did this happen?"; (5) "Did you ever eat less than you felt you 443 should because there wasn't enough money for food?" and (6) "Were you hungry but didn't eat because there wasn't enough money for food?" The possible responses to 444 445 questions 1 and 2 were 'never', 'sometimes' or 'often,' while the responses to questions 3, 5 and 6 were "yes" or "no." Finally, the responses to question 4 was 'almost every 446

447	month', 'some months but not every month', or 'only 1 or 2 months.' Responses of	
448	"often" or "sometimes" on questions 1 and 2, and "yes" on questions 3, 5, and 6 were	
449	scored as 1. Responses of "almost every month" and "some months but not every month"	
450	on question 5 were scored 1. All other non-missing answers were scored 0. The sum of	
451	these six items ranged from 0 ('food security' $-52.8\%$ of all students) to 6 ('very low	
452	food security' $-7.1\%$ of all students). The mean (median) food insecurity score was 1.4	
453	(0). Cronbach's alpha for the food insecurity scale is 0.88, suggesting high internal	
454	consistency for this variable.	

*Housing Insecurity.* Housing insecurity was measured by asking students the
extent to which they agreed with the following statement since the start of the Autumn
2020 school term: "I am finding it difficult to pay my rent or mortgage." Responses to this
item ranged from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree. The mean (median)
housing insecurity score was 2.5 (2.0).

460 Analytic Strategy. Building on previous research, the purpose of the current study 461 is to present a conceptual model of student mental well-being during the Covid-19 462 pandemic. As previously suggested, we hypothesize that recreancy, measured as trust in 463 the University and Central Government, play an important role in shaping levels of 464 student mental well-being. To carry out our analysis we estimated the structural equation 465 model (SEM) presented in Figure 1 testing the hypotheses described in Table 1. We 466 choose to use SEM because the literature suggests the relationships between food security, 467 housing security, gender, race, age and economic status are complex and can take various 468 paths to mental well-being. In addition, we believe that the focus by UK students on food 469 and housing security is central to predicting student trust in their university and the 470 government. In short, the SEM provided us with a method to present relatively complex 471 relationships where there are more than one dependent variable in a parsimonious fashion.

The SEM was estimated using the Stata 15 sembuilder function for 467 students
for whom all information was available. We use maximum likelihood estimations
(without imputation or deletion). As previously noted, scales for food insecurity and
mental well-being are acceptable. We assess the model fit using the Root Mean Square
Error of Approximation (RMSEA) and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI).

477 **Results** 

478 The descriptive statistics and bivariate correlation coefficients for the variables and 479 scales in the analysis are in Appendix A. Those bivariate correlations indicate that student 480 mental well-being is correlated with the food insecurity scale and three variables (housing 481 insecurity, trust in their university and trust in government). An increase in food insecurity 482 or housing insecurity across the sample of students is associated with a decrease in mental 483 well-being. In addition, as trust in their university or trust in the government to regulate 484 their university increases across students, student mental well-being also increases. Despite 485 previous research findings on race, gender, past financial strain and age, none of these variables are associated with mental well-being in those bivariate correlations. However, 486 487 we do observe that female students are more likely to face housing insecurity than male 488 students. We also find that white students are less likely to trust the government than non-489 white students. Finally, we observe that higher levels of food insecurity and housing 490 insecurity are associated with lower levels of trust in the university and lower levels of trust 491 in the government. In short, the bivariate correlations suggest that student trust in the 492 university and government are important, if not critical, variables in predicting student 493 mental well-being.

494 Figure 2 presents the SEM hypothesized in Figure 1. Overall, the chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) 495 for the model is 177.7, which is statistically significant (*p*<0.05) and leads us to reject the 496 null hypothesis that the observed and predicted models are equal. However, chi-square is 497 highly sensitive to sample size and not recommended for use with samples as large as the

498	one in the current study (Hox and Bechger 1998). As a result, we examine model	
499	goodness of fit using the comparative fit index (or CFI) and the root mean square error of	
500	approximation (or RMSEA). We choose the CFI because it is not sensitive to sample siz	
501	and compares the fit of the observed model to the baseline model where all variables are	
502	uncorrelated (Lei and Wu 2007). The CFI for the model in Table 2 is 0.93, well above the	
503	acceptable benchmark value of 0.90 (Schumaker and Lomax 2010), equal to the value	
504	recommended by Byrne (1994) and near the conservative benchmark of 0.95	
505	recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999). The RMSEA is a parsimony-adjusted absolute	
506	fit indicator that examines whether our specified model in Table 2 reproduces the sample	
507	covariance matrix. The RMSEA for the model is 0.06, which is appropriately below the	
508	0.08 benchmark value (Hu and Bentler, 1999) and near the ideal 0.05 value recommended	
509	by Stieger (1990). Finally, it is worth pointing out that the when chi-square statistic for the	
510	model fit ( $\chi^2 = 177.7$ ) is divided by the model degrees of freedom ( $df = 62$ ) as a relative	
511	adjustment for sample size, the result is 2.87. This value is near the ideal value of 2	
512	recommended by Ullman (2001) well below the common cut-off value of 5 recommended	
513	by Schumacker and Lomax (2010). In short, the model in Table 2 appears reasonable.	
514	The hypotheses presented in Table 1 are evaluated in Figure 2. When we examine	
515	the direct effects of financial strain, gender, age and race/ethnicity on mental well-being	
516	(Hypotheses 1 to 4) we only find modest support for Hypothesis 2. That is, looking across	
517	students in the sample, female students tend to have slightly lower levels of mental well-	
518	being than male students ( $\beta = .10, p < 0.05$ ). Turning to the relationship between food	
519	security, housing security and mental well-being (Hypotheses 5 and 6) we find that	
520	increasing levels of housing security are associated with decreased levels of mental well-	
521	being ( $\beta = -0.11, p < 0.05$ ) and increasing levels of food insecurity are associated with	
522	decreasing levels of well-being ( $\beta = -0.11, p < 0.05$ ). Thus, both hypotheses are supported.	

523	Hypotheses 7 and 8 examine the impact of recreancy as measured through the		
524	variables trust in the university and trust in government university regulators. Figure 2		
525	suggests that trust in the university is positively correlated with mental well-being. As		
526	students report that they trust their university to look after their mental well-being, their		
527	subjective well-being scores increase ( $\beta = 0.22, p < 0.05$ ). The same relationship is found		
528	between government trust and mental well-being ( $\beta = 0.15, p < 0.05$ ). Both relationships		
529	support hypotheses (H7 and H8) and suggest that trust has a negative association with		
530	student mental well-being. Moreover, student trust in their university and the government		
531	has two of the largest effects on mental well-being, suggesting that recreancy is an		
532	important aspect of student well-being during the Covid-19 pandemic.		
533	Discussion and Conclusion		
534	There has been a recent call to investigate the students' mental well-being during		
535	the Covid-19 pandemic (Grubic et al., 2020). Although there have been several		
536	investigations into student well-being researchers have yet to examine the potential role of		
537	recreancy as measured by examining student perceptions of the failure of institutional		
538	actors such as universities and government regulators. As a result, there is a significant		
539	gap in current understandings of why some students may have particularly low levels of		
540	mental well-being during the Covid-19 pandemic. Our findings suggest that a lack of		
541	student trust in universities and government regulators may be an important factor in		
542	levels of mental well-being among students during ecological disasters. That is, recreancy		
543	appears to be important. While students have likely come to rely, at least partly, on		
544	university and government institutions to protect their mental well-being in the past, the		
545	perception by many students is that these actors can no longer be relied upon. Our		
546	analyses indicates that this form of recreancy could have an impact on student mental		
547	well-being.		

548 Unfortunately, like most studies of student well-being our research suffers from 549 some weaknesses. First, our sample is cross-sectional and does not consider how recreancy and mental well-being might have changed over time. As a result, it is difficult 550 551 to say definitively whether levels of trust are impacted by Covid-19. We must point out, 552 however, that there is pretty clear evidence that food insecurity and housing insecurity, 553 things that should influence trust, have intensified during the Covid-19 pandemic (e.g., 554 see Glowacz & Schmits 2020; Grubic et al., 2020; Konstantopoulou et al., 2020; Yehudai 555 et al., 2020).

556 Second, the cross-sectional nature of our study means that it is not possible to 557 establish causation. In particular, the association between mental well-being modelled in 558 our data could be reversed, such that low levels of student mental well-being give way to 559 low levels of trust. To examine this issue in more detail we tried alternative SEM models 560 where mental well-being was used to predict trust (not shown). However, these efforts 561 failed to produce a better fitting model. Thus, while our approach provides some 562 theoretical support for our particular findings that trust shapes well-being more research is 563 needed. That is, these findings need to be replicated in other settings and using 564 longitudinal designs to better understand whether the relationship between trust mental 565 well-being.

566 Third, as this is an observational study rather than experimental study it is possible 567 that the association between mental well-being and trust could be confounded by an 568 important third factor such as personality attributes or academic achievement. For 569 instance, personality attributes such as neuroticism extroversion, openness, agreeableness 570 and conscientiousness may all influence levels of mental well-being and may also be 571 related to how much faith and trust students place in the university and government during 572 Covid-19. This study did not account for various personality factors that may influence

573 mental well-being and as a result, as is the case with all observational studies, some574 caution must be exercised when interpreting results.

575 Fourth, our research is based in the UK, and the finding regarding demographic 576 variables, food insecurity and housing insecurity on mental well-being are largely 577 consistent with the majority of studies on student mental health and mental well-being 578 across the globe; it remains uncertain whether the mental well-being of higher education 579 students in other countries would be similarly correlated with recreancy. In particular, the 580 present survey was administered during a period of high infection rates and when UK 581 students and young people were being blamed by politicians and media for spreading the 582 virus (Horner, 2020; McIntyre et al., 2020). The consequence of this 'blame' may have created a unique situation where student trust or confidence was uniquely related to well-583 584 being. Moreover, trust in UK government was also at an all-time low in 2019 with 34% of 585 the population stating that they 'almost never' trust government (Curtice et al., 2020). 586 Thus, it is possible that these low levels of trust among the majority of the UK population 587 is relatively unique, perhaps limiting the generalizability of the study results.

588 In the end, these results suggest that universities across the UK should pay more 589 attention to the potential relationship between trust and mental well-being. Among the 590 more consistent findings in the literature are our results concerning gender, previous 591 financial strain, food security and housing security, all of which have been found to 592 impact mental health and/or mental well-being. Our models also suggest that problems 593 attributed to universities failure to act such as food insecurity and housing insecurity may 594 increase feelings of recreancy and reduce mental well-being. Thus, we encourage 595 universities to pay particular attention to the relationship between trust, food insecurity, 596 housing insecurity, gender, financial strain and mental well-being. If these variables are 597 related as we suggest then universities and government should ensure that students have 598 sufficient and appropriate access to healthy, nutritious and culturally appropriate food,

599 especially during periods of lockdown or self-isolation when many students and their 600 families may be struggling to source food. Moreover, governments and universities might 601 also consider the role of housing insecurity in impacting trust and mental well-being. This 602 is the case because many students report that they feel stuck paying for unaffordable 603 contracts in residences in which they are confined (and unable to leave) and/or living in 604 housing that is unsafe for vulnerable students given the overall numbers of students 605 residing in a property. Finally, while additional investigations into student trust and 606 mental well-being are needed, we suggests that universities and governments might, 607 nevertheless, consider a communication strategy for improving trust among students to 608 promote mental well-being, especially by noting how they are attenuating food and 609 housing insecurity. Thus, even while we recognize the weaknesses associated with the 610 current investigation, we also suggest that there is strong reason to want to promote 611 gender equality, food and housing security that are found to be associated with mental 612 well-being among university students. If an outcome of these efforts is to increase student 613 trust in institutional actors in the education sector, all the better.

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# 992 <u>Table 1. Hypotheses (paths) tested in University Student Mental Well-Being Model</u>

Hypothesis	Selected Literature
Financial Strain has a direct influence on mental well-being. Students who come from households that are financially strained are likely to face lower levels of mental well-being than students who come from households who have not faced economic disadvantage. (H1)	Ansari et al., (2011); Benson-Egglenton (2019); Eisenberg et al. (2007); Lange & Byrd (1998); Mulder & Cashin (2015); Stallman (2010)
Gender has a direct influence on mental well-being. Female students will have lower levels of mental well-being than male students. (H2)	Day & Livingstone (2003); Eisenberg et al. (2007); Saleh et al. (2017); except see Ansari & Stock (2010); Lee & Loke (2005)
Race/Ethnicity has a direct influence on mental well-being. White students will have higher levels of menta lwell-being than other students (H3).	Aronson et al. (2013); Ben-Ari (2004); Blaine & Crocker, (1995); Cokley et al. (2013); Dyrbye et al. (2007); Griffith et al. (2017); Hardeman et al. (2015); Iwamasa & Kooreman (1995); Prelow et al. (2006); Steele et al.(1995)
Age has a direct effect on mental well-being. Older students will have higher levels of mental well-being than younger students (H4).	Pedrelli et al. (2015); except see Galbraith & Merrill 2015; Saleh et al., (2017); Voltmer et al. (2012)
Food and Housing Security will have a direct influence on mental well-being. Students who are food insecure will have lower levels of mental well-being (H5). Students who are housing insecure will have lower levels of mental well-being (H6).	Broton & Goldrick-Rab (2016); Frongillo et al. (2017); Heflin & Ziliak (2008); Howell & Howell (2008); Jones (2017); Lee (2020); Payne-Sturges et al. (2018); Stahr et al. (2015)
Trust in Government will have a direct influence on student mental well-being. Students who trust the government to protect their health during the pandemic will have higher levels well- being than students who do not trust the government to protect their health during Covid-19 (H7).	Freudenburg et al. (1993, 2000)
Trust in their University will have a direct influence on student well-being. Students who trust their university to protect their health during the pandemic will have higher levels mental well- being than students who do not trust their university to protect their health during Covid-19 (H8).	Freudenburg et al. (1993, 2000)



Figure 1: Conceptual Model of University Student Mental Wellbeing



### Figure 2: Empirical Model of University Student Mental Wellbeing

	1	2	3	4	5	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	8	9
1. Mental Well-Being	1.00								
2. Financial Strain	0.00	1.00							
3. White	0.02	-0.01	1.00						
4. Female	-0.09	0.00	0.00	1.00					
5. Age	0.02	0.05	0.15*	0.00	1.00				
6. Food Insecurity	-0.15*	0.17*	0.08	0.02	0.05	1.00			
7. Housing Insecurity	-0.19*	0.02	0.04	0.10*	0.03	0.45*	1.00		
8. Trust Their University	0.28*	-0.03	-0.07#	-0.02	0.09*	-0.17*	-0.20*	1.00	
9. Trust in Government	0.24*	-0.07#	-0.08*	-0.03	0.07	-0.17*	-0.20*	0.51*	1.00
Mean	19.93	0.22	0.62	0.65	22.95	2.35	2.43	3.35	2.27
Median	19.25	0.00	1.00	1.00	21.00	2.00	0.00	3.00	2.00
Standard Deviation	4.00	0.42	0.49	0.48	6.47	1.09	2.95	1.15	1.18
Min. Score	7.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
Max Score	35.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	68.00	4.00	8.48	5.00	5.00
Missing Values	2	2	2	4	6	68	44	7	10

Appendix A. Bivariate Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Variables in the Study.

\* *p*<0.05; #*p*<0.10

			Standardized	
		St.	Factor	
Observed Variable – SWEMWBS	Mean	Deviation	Loading	α
I've been feeling optimistic	3.10	0.99	0.703	0.861
I've been feeling useful	3.02	0.98	0.709	
I've been feeling relaxed	2.92	0.94	0.685	
I've been dealing with problems well	3.25	0.97	0.744	
I've been thinking clearly	3.30	0.96	0.797	
I've been feeling close to other people	3.19	1.11	0.500	
I've been able to make up my own mind about things	3.57	0.97	0.689	

## Appendix B. Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the Measurement Model of Short Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale