

1 **Do Psychological Needs Play a Role in Times of Uncertainty?**  
2 **Associations with Well-being During the COVID-19 Crisis**

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## Abstract

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Across the world, measures were taken to contain the spreading of the COVID-19 virus.

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Many of these measures caused a sudden rupture in people's daily routines, thereby eliciting

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considerable uncertainty and potentially also hampering the satisfaction of individuals'

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psychological needs for autonomy, relatedness, and competence. Drawing upon Maslow's

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Hierarchical Need Theory and Self-Determination Theory, this study examined the unique role

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of felt insecurity and the psychological needs, as well as their dynamic interplay, in the

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prediction of mental health. A large and heterogeneous sample of adults ( $N = 5118$ ;  $M_{age} =$

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43.45 years) was collected during the first ten days of the lockdown period in [details removed

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for peer review]. A subsample ( $N = 835$ ,  $M_{age} = 41.39$ ) participated during a second wave one

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week later. Hierarchical regression analyses indicated that felt insecurity, need satisfaction and

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need frustration all independently predicted various positive (life satisfaction, sleep quality) and

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negative indicators depressive symptoms, anxiety) of mental health, with little systematic

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evidence for interactions between the predictors. The pattern of findings obtained concurrently

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largely held in the longitudinal analyses. Finally, results showed that associations between felt

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insecurity and lower concurrent and prospective mental health were partially mediated by need

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satisfaction and frustration, with especially psychological need frustration predicting changes

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in mental health over time. Overall, the findings suggest that satisfaction of the psychological

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needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness is not just a 'luxury good'. Satisfaction of

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these needs is important also in times of insecurity, while need frustration represents a risk

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factor for maladjustment during such times.

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*Keywords:* Hierarchical Needs Theory, insecurity, basic psychological needs, Self-

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Determination Theory, Well-being

49           The worldwide COVID-19 crisis poses a global threat to various domains of societal  
50 functioning, including the domains of public health, economy, and mental health (Brooks et al.,  
51 2020). In terms of mental health, this crisis comes with a number of threats, such as the  
52 restrictions of citizens' daily behavior (e.g., Das et al., 2020), increasing loneliness due to self-  
53 isolation (e.g., Killgore et al., 2020) and the difficulties to combine work and family roles (e.g.,  
54 Spinelli et al., 2020). Considered from a Self-Determination Theory perspective (SDT; Ryan &  
55 Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste et al., 2020), these threats may hamper the satisfaction of individuals'  
56 basic psychological needs for autonomy (i.e., experiencing a sense of volition and choice),  
57 relatedness (i.e., experiencing warmth, belonging and caring), and competence (i.e.,  
58 experiencing a sense of mastery and effectiveness). These threats may even engender frustration  
59 of the basic psychological needs, resulting in experiences of external pressure (autonomy need  
60 frustration), solitude (relatedness need frustration), and inadequacy (competence need  
61 frustration). Although it is challenging for individuals to satisfy their psychological needs  
62 during these times, need satisfaction may still be a key resource of resilience in the face of stress  
63 (Weinstein & Ryan, 2011). In contrast, frustration of the psychological needs may increase  
64 individuals' vulnerability for maladjustment (Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013).

65           At the same time, the pandemic also elicits a lot of worry and insecurity in individuals  
66 (Brodeur et al., 2020), including uncertainty regarding one's health (e.g., Mertens et al., 2020),  
67 financial concerns (e.g., Fetzner et al., 2020; Kleinberg et al., 2020), and the unpredictable nature  
68 of the quickly evolving situation at large (Bao et al., 2020). During the first days of the  
69 lockdown measures, in many countries, there was even uncertainty regarding the availability of  
70 food and medication (Arafat et al., 2020). From a Maslowian perspective (Maslow, 1954), when  
71 strong concerns for safety/security become salient, such concerns would play a preeminent role  
72 in individuals' functioning, leaving less room for other needs in the need-hierarchy, such as  
73 those studied in SDT, to play a supplementary role.

74           The first days of the lockdown period offered a unique opportunity to study the role of  
75 individuals' need for security as emphasized by Maslow and SDT's psychological needs, as  
76 well as their interplay, in the prediction of citizens' adjustment to times of distress. Sampling a  
77 large and heterogeneous group of citizens in terms of age and living situation, the present study  
78 aimed to examine whether SDT's psychological needs still matter for individuals' **mental health**  
79 after taking into account individuals' experiences of uncertainty/insecurity. This research  
80 question is important not only from a theoretical point of view but also from an applied  
81 perspective because these psychological needs are potential targets for interventions aimed at  
82 strengthening individuals' resilience in stressful conditions (Weinstein & Ryan, 2011).

### 83 **Psychological Needs**

84           SDT is one of the most intensively studied contemporary theories of human motivation  
85 and well-being (Sheldon & Prentice, 2019). *Basic Psychological Need Theory* (BPNT; Ryan &  
86 Deci, 2017), one of SDT's six mini-theories, assigns a strong and prominent role to the  
87 psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness in mental health  
88 (Vansteenkiste et al., 2020).

89           The need for autonomy entails experiences of volition, choice, and authenticity in one's  
90 actions. Autonomy frustration involves the experience of feeling controlled or coerced to act in  
91 certain ways. Clearly, the lockdown measures restricted individuals' room for independent  
92 decision-making. Due to the various "do's" (e.g., the obligation to keep physical distance) and  
93 "don'ts" (e.g., prohibition to leave the house for non-essential transportation), many citizens  
94 likely experienced less autonomy than usual. However, even limits and obligations can be  
95 experienced as autonomous to the extent that individuals accept their value and concur with  
96 their importance (Ryan & Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste et al., 2018). In addition, for some people  
97 the lockdown may have even afforded new opportunities for autonomy need satisfaction. For  
98 example, because there was no longer an obligation to commute and because there was a

99 decrease in social commitments, at least some people may have found more time to pursue their  
100 personal interests (e.g., Güzel et al., 2020).

101 Relatedness, the second of BPNT's psychological needs, denotes the experience of  
102 warmth, belonging, and mutual care. Relatedness frustration involves the experience of  
103 rejection, loneliness, and disconnection. As citizens were required to self-isolate, some may  
104 have missed the physical contact and warmth with close others (e.g., Lades et al., 2020), thereby  
105 experiencing relatedness frustration. At the same time, **the lockdown brought new opportunities**  
106 **for relatedness satisfactions, as** many citizens became creative in connecting with others  
107 through digital channels, and/or by participating in collective activities that fostered a sense of  
108 mutual care and group identity.

109 Finally, competence satisfaction occurs through the mastery of tasks, attainment of  
110 goals, and the full use and development of individuals' skills. Competence frustration involves  
111 the experience of ineffectiveness and diminished confidence. During the lockdown, some  
112 people likely doubted their capacity to harmonize different roles (e.g., parent, teleworker,  
113 homeschool teacher, Spinelli et al., 2020). Similarly, the cancellation of organized leisure  
114 activities that typically offer opportunities for skill development, may hamper competence  
115 satisfaction. Yet for others the lockdown period may have offered opportunities to acquire new  
116 skills and knowledge (e.g., digital communication, learning a new language) or to optimize  
117 skills for which little time was available before (e.g., Güzel et al., 2020).

118 In BPNT, these three psychological needs are considered as *essential* nutrients for  
119 individuals' well-being (Ryan, 1995). This assumption implies that the satisfaction of  
120 individuals' needs would contribute to individuals' adjustment, and resilience. In contrast, the  
121 frustration of these needs, **which occurs when individuals' psychological needs are actively**  
122 **thwarted or blocked (Bartholomew et al., 2011),** increases risk for problem behavior and  
123 psychopathology (Ryan et al., 2016; Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013). **Consistent with the dual**  
124 **process model (Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013), need** satisfaction was found to contribute

125 primarily to individuals' psychological well-being, as indexed by life satisfaction (Tay &  
126 Diener, 2011), vitality (Ryan & Deci, 2008), and meaning (Martela et al., 2018) as well as to  
127 their physical health, as indexed by increased longevity (Weinstein et al., 2019). In contrast,  
128 need frustration relates primarily to ill-being as indexed by symptoms of anxiety, stress, and  
129 depression (e.g., Bartholomew et al., 2011; Vandekerckhove et al., in press), while also  
130 predicting poor physical health, as indexed by poorer sleep quality (Campbell et al., 2017b) and  
131 greater stress reactivity (Reeve & Tseng, 2011).

132 In addition to being essential, SDT assumes that these needs are *universally* important,  
133 that is, crucial across developmental periods, cultures, and life domains (Ryan & Deci, 2017;  
134 Vansteenkiste et al., 2020). Congruent with this assumption, various studies have shown that  
135 the benefits associated with need satisfaction and the costs associated with need frustration  
136 generally hold across populations and contexts (e.g., Chen et al., 2015b; Church et al., 2013;  
137 Rodriguez-Meirinhos et al., 2019). Yet, only few studies have examined whether these  
138 psychological needs continue to play a role in times or circumstances of distress and uncertainty  
139 (e.g., Tay & Diener, 2011). Such an examination is important because, as highlighted in  
140 Maslow's need pyramid, psychological needs may become less important when the deficit-need  
141 for security becomes salient, as is the case during the COVID-19 Crisis.

#### 142 **Security/safety in Maslow's Hierarchical Model**

143 In Maslow's highly popularized and hierarchically organized need-pyramid, the need  
144 for security/safety is placed at the second level, in between the biological needs (e.g., hunger,  
145 thirst) and "growth-based needs", such as having self-esteem, love, and self-actualization.  
146 BPNT's psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness would **also belong to**  
147 **this higher-order category of growth-based needs**. The need for safety/security is broadly  
148 defined as the need to feel safe from environmental threats and to perceive oneself as having  
149 sufficient material resources to ensure basic survival (Maslow, 1943). This broad need involves  
150 different facets (Maslow, 1970), such as the need to feel protected from physical harm and

151 threats (i.e., environmental safety), the need to have sufficient material resources for basic  
152 survival (i.e., financial safety), and the need to protect oneself against threatening diseases (i.e.,  
153 health-related safety). Clearly, the COVID-19 crisis poses a threat to all three of facets of the  
154 safety need, with the initial lockdown phase likely activating the salience of this safety/security  
155 need. Past research has shown that heightened insecurity with respect to each of these three  
156 facets predicts greater ill-being. Financial hardship (Frankham et al., 2020), unpredictable and  
157 dangerous environments (Grillon et al., 2004), and health concerns (Goodwin et al., 2010) all  
158 come with a psychological cost, including symptoms of stress, anxiety, and depression.

159 Further, Maslow's *principle of prepotency* implies that "the appearance of a need rests  
160 on other prepotent needs; needs or desires must be arranged in hierarchies of prepotency" (p.  
161 91, 1943). That is, the need for security/safety would be a more fundamental concern in times  
162 of uncertainty, thereby starting to dominate individuals' functioning and constraining the  
163 potency of BPNT's psychological needs in terms of both salience and effects. We examine this  
164 possibility in two ways.

165 First, based on Maslow's *prepotency principle it can be expected that need satisfaction*  
166 *and frustration would fail to* play an incremental role in predicting individuals' adjustment  
167 during the COVID-19 crisis after controlling for felt security/safety. This expectation contrasts  
168 with BPNT's argument that the effects of autonomy, competence, and relatedness are *pervasive*  
169 (Vansteenkiste et al., 2020), which implies that the effects of need satisfaction should manifest  
170 in myriad outcomes and across different life conditions. Both in peaceful and stable conditions,  
171 such as during vacation periods, as well as in distressing and unstable conditions, such as during  
172 the COVID-19 crisis, these psychological needs should play a predictive role. That is, during  
173 stressful times, psychological need satisfaction would help to replenish one's resources, thereby  
174 fostering well-being, while simultaneously serving as a source of resilience and buffering  
175 against ill-being and maladjustment. In contrast, need frustration would create additional risk

176 for mental health problems (i.e., diminished well-being and more ill-being) beyond the effect  
177 of felt uncertainty.

178         The second way in which we examine whether safety/security plays a constraining role  
179 in the effects of BPNT's psychological needs is by examining moderation effects. One  
180 interpretation of Maslow's prepotency hypothesis is that "growth-based" need satisfactions  
181 would contribute to individuals' well-being *only* among individuals feeling sufficiently  
182 physically safe and secure. The well-being enhancing effect of psychological needs would not  
183 manifest among people whose needs for security/safety are unmet because they would be less  
184 able to savor and appreciate the benefits of need satisfaction, suggesting a form of  
185 desensitization (Rasskazova et al., 2016). Such a finding would again contradict BPNT's  
186 universality principle, which suggests that all individuals should benefit from need satisfaction,  
187 and pay a cost for their frustration, even when people encounter considerable threats to their  
188 security.

189         Only a handful of studies have examined the interplay between safety/security and  
190 BPNT's needs. Sheldon et al. (2001; Study 3) asked university students to think of both a  
191 satisfying and an unsatisfying event during the past semester. For each of these self-generated  
192 events, participants then rated their experienced need satisfactions, including BPNT's needs,  
193 security, and six other need-candidates, as well as their event-related affect. In terms of *saliency*,  
194 all three BPNT needs ended up in the top-4 of the most satisfied needs during 'satisfying events',  
195 with security being seventh. Yet, the pattern of need saliency was different in the case of  
196 unsatisfying events, with a lack of security coming out third. Similarly, the unique role of  
197 BPNT's needs and security in predicting affect-balance during both events differed somewhat,  
198 with BPNT's needs being stronger predictors in the case of satisfying events and with a lack of  
199 security/safety being a particular strong predictor in the case of unsatisfying events. Such  
200 findings fit with the idea that safety/security represents a deficit need, the saliency and  
201 predictive validity of which becomes stronger under unsatisfying or distressing circumstances.



202 However, one reason why the role of BPNT's needs might have appeared more limited during  
203 the unsatisfying events is because Sheldon et al.'s' measure only assessed the satisfaction side  
204 and not the frustration of these needs. In line with the dual pathway model, need frustration  
205 may play a particularly critical role in unsatisfying events, as it does in predicting ill-being and  
206 psychopathology (Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013).

207 Further, Tay and Diener (2011) examined the interplay between satisfaction of the  
208 psychological needs and the need for safety in a large cross-national study comprising 123  
209 samples. BPNT's psychological needs yielded a fairly independent association with  
210 psychological well-being above and beyond the contribution of safety satisfaction, with the  
211 BPNT effects not being moderated by safety/security. Similar findings were reported by Chen  
212 et al. (2015a), who purposefully collected data in adult samples that were heavily deprived in  
213 terms of security/safety, that is, South-African students at risk for environmental threats (e.g.,  
214 criminality) and Chinese immigrant workers at risk for financial instability. In both samples,  
215 safety/security and BPNT's growth-based needs uniquely contributed to individuals'  
216 psychological well-being, with no evidence for moderation effects.

217 Finally, in two large samples of Russian employees occupying financially precarious  
218 jobs in a rather unstable work context, Rasskazova et al. (2016) reported that work-related need  
219 satisfaction but also financial and environmental stability yielded unique positive associations  
220 with desirable outcomes (e.g., engagement and intrinsic work motivation) and unique negative  
221 associations with undesirable outcomes (e.g., boredom and alienation at work). Some evidence  
222 for an interaction effect between both sets of needs was obtained in Study 2, with workers high  
223 in safety satisfaction benefitting somewhat more from psychological need satisfaction.  
224 Rasskazova et al. (2016) also examined the possibility that felt insecurity may both yield a  
225 direct contribution to (mal)adjustment and an indirect one, that is via reduced psychological  
226 need satisfaction. The reasoning behind this mediation sequence is that (perceived) insecurity  
227 hampers satisfaction of BPNT's needs, with a lack of psychological need satisfaction in turn

228 relating to lower well-being. Their analyses indicated that psychological need satisfaction  
229 partially mediated associations between felt insecurity and outcomes.

### 230 **The Present Study**

231         Although the BPNT literature has grown exponentially over the past two decades, only  
232 few studies have addressed the interplay between individuals' psychological needs and their  
233 physical needs, including the physical need for security (Maslow, 1954). Because it is assumed  
234 that physical needs are dynamically related to BPNT's psychological needs (Vansteenkiste et  
235 al., 2020), it is important to study the independent roles and the interplay between psychological  
236 and physical needs in the prediction of (mal)adjustment. The COVID-19 crisis offered a unique  
237 window of opportunity to address this issue.

238         First, based on BPNT, we expected that satisfaction of the needs for autonomy,  
239 competence, and relatedness would represent a critical resource of mental health, even after  
240 controlling for security/safety. In contrast, the frustration of these needs would pose a risk for  
241 ill-being (Hypothesis 1a). This hypothesis is derived from the presumed *essential* and *pervasive*  
242 role of psychological needs in mental health, meaning that their effects should remain  
243 significant even after controlling for security/safety. This hypothesis contrasts with Maslow's  
244 depiction of the needs in a hierarchy, where security/safety is assigned a more fundamental and  
245 basic role than BPNT's needs. On the basis of that hierarchical representation of the needs, it  
246 could be expected that the need for security/safety has the strongest effects at a time when this  
247 need is highly salient (such as the COVID-19 lockdown period) and that this needs even cancels  
248 out effects of psychological needs (Hypothesis 1b).

249         Second, to test SDT's criterion of universality, we examined whether safety/security  
250 satisfaction would interact with autonomy, competence, and relatedness in the prediction of the  
251 mental health outcomes. Based on BPNT's universality principle, safety/security is unlikely to  
252 cancel out the benefits associated with need satisfaction (Hypothesis 2a). Based on Maslow's  
253 interpretation of the prepotency principle, however, the well-being enhancing effects of SDT's

254 psychological needs would be restricted under conditions of high insecurity. According to this  
255 hypothesis, BPNT's needs would play only *a conditional role*. That is, the benefits associated  
256 with psychological need satisfaction would emerge only when individuals feel sufficiently  
257 secure and protected from uncertainty and danger (Hypothesis 2b).

258 **Third**, in line with Rasskazova et al. (2016), we examined whether BPNT's needs could  
259 also be modelled as mediators in associations between felt insecurity and (mal)adjustment.  
260 (Hypothesis 3). Finally, in order to obtain a fine-grained insight in the role of different sources  
261 of insecurity (i.e., health-, situation-, medication-, and finance-related), we aimed to do all  
262 analyses both with a composite score of insecurity and with separate scores for each type of  
263 insecurity instead of a composite score, which can be found in the Appendix. This approach  
264 allows for an examination of the question which type of insecurity matters the most and for an  
265 examination of the generalization of effects across different types of insecurity.

266 These hypotheses were examined in a large, heterogeneous sample of [details removed  
267 for peer review] adults, which was collected during the first ten days of the lockdown in [details  
268 removed for peer review], a time when health threats, concerns about obtaining basic goods,  
269 and economic fears were especially salient. We chose to include a variety of psychological and  
270 health-related outcomes, both positive and negative, that are highly relevant in the context of  
271 the **COVID-19** crisis, including participants' life satisfaction (Zhang et al., 2020), sleep quality  
272 (Xiao et al., 2020), and symptoms of anxiety and depression (e.g., Rajkumar, 2020). **Each of**  
273 **these mental health outcomes were also measured during a follow-up assessment 1 week later**  
274 **among a subsample of participants.**

## 275 **Method**

### 276 **Participants and Procedure**

277 **Starting from March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2020, the [details removed for peer review] government**  
278 **announced a national lockdown, in which citizens were only allowed to go outside for essential**  
279 **matters such as work or to do grocery shopping in the supermarket. Citizens had to avoid**

280 contact with the outside world as much as possible. People could meet outside with one friend  
281 only, thereby keeping a distance of at least 1.5 meters. One day after the start of the lockdown,  
282 a cross-sectional online survey was launched among [details removed for peer review] citizens  
283 in [details removed for peer review] aged 18 years or above. Participants were recruited through  
284 social media using an advertising campaign and by contacting several organizations (e.g., sport  
285 clubs, elderly organizations) who distributed a link to the questionnaire. Participants who filled  
286 out the questionnaire in the first ten days of the lockdown measures in [details removed for peer  
287 review] (between March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2020 and March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020) were included. After filling out an  
288 online built-in informed consent, a total of 5118 citizens ( $M_{\text{age}} = 43.45$ ,  $SD = 16.04$ , range = 18  
289 – 87 years) participated, with 77.2% being female. Of the total sample, 60.5% reported being  
290 in a relationship. A majority of participants had a higher education degree (30.8% bachelor,  
291 39.5% master) and a minority of participants (20%) suffered from one or more chronic diseases,  
292 making them at higher risk for COVID-19 complications.

293 At the end of the cross-sectional survey, participants who took the initial survey during  
294 the first seven days of the lockdown were asked whether they were willing to participate in a  
295 follow-up assessment. Of those participants ( $N = 3284$ ), 1367 citizens (41,63%) agreed to  
296 participate in a follow-up assessment one week later. Of those expressing the willingness in  
297 follow-up measures, 835 participants did so at Time 2 (75.1% female,  $M_{\text{age}} = 41.39$ ,  $SD = 14.8$ ,  
298 range = 18 – 82 years). In the analyses for this paper, we included the participants' scores on  
299 each of the mental health outcomes (i.e., life satisfaction, sleep quality, depressive symptoms,  
300 and anxiety) at this follow-up moment. A comparison of participants willing to participate a  
301 second time with those actually participating at T2 using Little's (1988) MCAR test showed  
302 that this attrition at T2 was completely at random ( $\chi^2(1) = 0.42$ ,  $p = .52$ ). The procedure used in  
303 this study was approved by the ethical committee of [details removed for peer review] (nr.  
304 2020/37).

305 **Measures**

306 Participants completed all the reported measures in [details removed for peer review].

307 **Background variables.** Several demographic variables were assessed: age, marital  
308 status (alone versus in a relationship), number of children, educational level (high school degree,  
309 higher non-university education and university education), comorbidity (not at risk versus at  
310 risk due to medical conditions such as diabetes or a heart condition) and number of days that  
311 had passed since the lockdown was declared.

312 **Insecurity.** Inspired by the measures for environmental and financial safety used in  
313 Chen et al. (2015a), a total of 8 items were developed specifically for this study to assess  
314 experienced insecurity during the lockdown. Following the item stem (i.e., “In the past week  
315 during the corona crisis...”), participants were asked to indicate their worries (e.g., “I was  
316 worried about...”) and feelings of threat and insecurity (i.e., “I felt that ... is under threat”) with  
317 regards to their health, financial situation, the availability of supplies and medication, and how  
318 the situation would evolve. Each item was rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all true*) to 5  
319 (*totally true*) and the internal consistency of the overall scale was good ( $\alpha = .79$ ).

320 **Psychological Needs.** Participants filled out the Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction  
321 and Need Frustration Scale (BPNSNFS; Chen et al., 2015b; 24 items). Items were formulated  
322 with reference to the preceding week and were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all true*)  
323 to 5 (*totally true*). The scale measures both the satisfaction and frustration of psychological  
324 needs for autonomy, relatedness, and competence, with each subscale (3 needs x satisfaction or  
325 frustration) comprising 4 items. Example items are: “I felt that my decisions reflected what I  
326 really wanted” (i.e., autonomy satisfaction), “I had the impression that people I spent time with  
327 disliked me” (i.e., relatedness frustration), and “I felt confident that I could do things well” (i.e.,  
328 competence satisfaction). In the current study, the scale yielded good internal consistencies for  
329 all subscales ( $.72 < \alpha < .85$ ) and for the overall composite scores for need satisfaction ( $\alpha = .85$ )  
330 and need frustration ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

331 **Life Satisfaction.** To measure life satisfaction, the most face valid item of the  
332 Satisfaction with Life Scale (Pavot & Diener, 1993) was selected. Participants were asked to  
333 what extent they were satisfied with their life during the past week, using a scale going from 1  
334 (*seldom or never, less than 1 day*) to 4 (*mostly or all the time, 5 to 7 days*). Such a single item  
335 assessment has been successfully used in the past to measure life satisfaction (e.g., Fujita &  
336 Diener, 2005) and has proven to be equally valid as a multi-item measure (Cheung & Lucas,  
337 2014).

338 **Sleep Quality.** Sleep quality was measured with the subjective sleep quality component  
339 of the Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index (PSQI; Buysse et al., 1989). On a single item participants  
340 rate their overall sleep quality during the past week on a scale ranging from 1 (*very bad*) to 4  
341 (*very good*). Previous research in general populations showed that the sleep quality component  
342 of the PSQI shows the strongest correlation with the total PSQI score (Hinz et al., 2017).

343 **Depressive symptoms.** To assess depressive symptoms, participants filled out a 6-item  
344 version (Van Hiel & Vansteenkiste, 2009) of the Center for Epidemiological Studies –  
345 Depression scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977). Following the item stem (i.e., “During the past  
346 week”), participants rated the items (e.g., “I felt sad”) on a scale ranging from 1 (*seldom or*  
347 *never, less than 1 day*) to 4 (*mostly or all the time, 5 to 7 days*). Internal consistencies were  
348 sufficient ( $\alpha = .79$  at T1 and  $\alpha = .78$  at T2).

349 **Anxiety symptoms.** To measure anxiety symptoms, participants were asked to indicate  
350 on 5 items how anxious they felt using the same rating scale as for depressive symptoms. Four  
351 items were selected from the short form of the State Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI, Marteau  
352 & Bekker, 1992) based on their relevance to the context of the COVID-19 crisis (e.g., “I felt  
353 tense”). In addition, we added one item from the full version of the STAI to tap into anxiety in  
354 a more direct way (i.e., “I felt anxious”). Internal consistencies were good at T1 ( $\alpha = .86$ ) and  
355 T2 ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

356

## Results

### 357 Descriptive Statistics and Preliminary Analyses

358 Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations among the measured variables can be  
359 found in Table 1. The mean scores reveal that participants, on average, experienced a  
360 moderately high level of need satisfaction but also low to moderate levels of need frustration.  
361 **Participants also reported moderate levels of life satisfaction and sleep quality, whereas**  
362 **symptoms of depression and anxiety were rather low.** Results of a repeated measures ANOVA  
363 showed that participants experienced the most insecurity about the unpredictability of the  
364 situation ( $M = 3.56$ ;  $SD = 0.82$ ), followed by insecurity in the domains of health ( $M = 3.24$ ;  $SD$   
365  $= 1.02$ ), finances ( $M = 2.50$ ;  $SD = 1.17$ ), and medication ( $M = 2.29$ ;  $SD = 1.01$ ), with all means  
366 differing significantly from each other;  $F(2.69, 12102.90) = 2295.66$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  
367  $\eta^2 = .34$ . Correlational analyses showed that experiencing higher insecurity in all domains  
368 related to lower levels of need satisfaction, **life satisfaction and sleep quality, and higher levels**  
369 **of need frustration and symptoms of depression and anxiety.** Further, need satisfaction was  
370 positively correlated with life satisfaction and sleep quality and negatively with depressive and  
371 anxiety symptoms, whereas need frustration showed an opposite pattern of relations. Finally,  
372 all four domains of insecurity were highly interrelated.

373 To examine the relation between the assessed background variables and the four  
374 outcome variables, two MANCOVAs were performed (one per time point). Results with the  
375 variables assessed at T1 showed that all seven background variables were significantly related  
376 to the outcomes: age ( $F(4, 4478) = 36.58$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .03$ ), number of crisis days ( $F(4, 4478)$   
377  $= 16.43$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ ), gender ( $F(4, 4478) = 40.14$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ), marital status ( $F(4,$   
378  $4478) = 79.44$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .07$ ), number of children ( $F(4, 4478) = 10.61$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ ),  
379 educational level ( $F(8, 8956) = 9.22$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ ), and comorbidity ( $F(4, 4478) = 7.28$ ,  
380  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ ). A MANCOVA conducted with the outcomes assessed at T2 showed that  
381 only age ( $F(4, 772) = 7.80$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ), gender ( $F(4, 772) = 4.97$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .03$ ),

382 and marital status ( $F(4, 772) = 15.51, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ ) were significantly related to the  
383 outcomes (non-significant  $F$ -values ranged between 0.67 and 2.30,  $\eta^2$  ranged between .00  
384 and .01). Based on these findings, we controlled for all background variables in the main  
385 analyses.

### 386 **Primary Analyses**

387 **Unique and Interactive Roles of Insecurity and Need-based Experiences.** To  
388 examine the first two hypotheses, we performed hierarchical regression analyses per outcome  
389 (i.e., life satisfaction, sleep quality, depressive symptoms, and anxiety symptoms). In Step 1,  
390 we entered all background variables that yielded a significant multivariate effect. In Step 2,  
391 insecurity, need satisfaction and need frustration were entered as predictors to examine whether  
392 these predictors would relate uniquely to mental health (Hypothesis 1a and 1b). In Step 3, we  
393 added the two two-way interactions between insecurity and need satisfaction or need frustration  
394 to investigate whether the effects of need-based experiences were dependent on the level of  
395 insecurity (Hypothesis 2a and 2b). The two interaction terms were created by multiplying the  
396 z-scored variables of insecurity and need satisfaction/ frustration. Diagnostic analyses showed  
397 that the models included no multicollinearities, no influential outliers (Cook's distance) and  
398 that the assumptions for linearity (residual versus fitted plot), normality (Normal Q-Q and  
399 residual distribution plot) and homoscedasticity (residual versus fitted plot) were not violated.

400 The results of these analyses are displayed in Table 2 for life satisfaction and sleep  
401 quality and in Table 3 for depressive and anxiety symptoms<sup>1</sup>. Findings obtained with the  
402 background variables in Step 1 indicated that women scored lower than men on life satisfaction  
403 and sleep quality and higher on depressive and anxiety symptoms. With increasing age,  
404 participants reported better mental health. Participants in a relationship (compared to singles)  
405 reported higher life satisfaction and lower depressive symptoms. Higher educational levels  
406 were generally related to better mental health. After controlling for the other background



407 variables, the number of children in the family and comorbidity were largely unrelated to the  
408 outcome variables.

409 Results of Step 2 showed that felt insecurity, need satisfaction and need frustration were  
410 significantly and uniquely related to all four outcomes in the expected direction. Specifically,  
411 need satisfaction related positively to life satisfaction and sleep quality and negatively to  
412 depressive and anxiety symptoms, whereas need frustration and felt insecurity showed an  
413 opposite pattern of relations. Finally, the interaction terms were not significant in three of the  
414 four models, indicating that the relation between need-based experiences and life satisfaction,  
415 sleep quality and anxiety are not dependent upon the experience of insecurity. As displayed in  
416 Figure 1, insecurity did interact significantly with need satisfaction (Panel A) and need  
417 frustration (Panel B) in the prediction of depressive symptoms. These significant interactions  
418 were further examined by means of standardized simple slope analyses, in which the  
419 significance of the slopes of the regressions at three levels of the moderator were calculated,  
420 that is, at low (i.e.,  $< 1 SD$  below the mean), mean and high (i.e.,  $> 1 SD$  above the mean) levels  
421 of insecurity (Hayes & Matthes, 2009). Concerning need satisfaction, the strength of the  
422 negative association with depressive symptoms increased with individuals reporting high  
423 insecurity ( $\beta = -.27; t = 9.81; p < .001$ ), compared to individuals having average ( $\beta = -.25; t =$   
424  $11.95; p < .001$ ) and low scores ( $\beta = -.22; t = 6.65; p < .001$ ). The opposite was found for need  
425 frustration, with the positive relation between need frustration and depression being stronger  
426 when high in insecurity (low:  $\beta = .32; t = 5.06; p < .001$ ; average:  $\beta = .38; t = 11.94; p < .001$ ;  
427 high:  $\beta = .45; t = 11.63; p < .001$ ).

428 We repeated these series of regression analyses in the subsample of participants who  
429 completed the follow-up assessment ( $N = 835$ ), this time including the T2 measures as outcomes  
430 while controlling for the outcome at T1. The results are displayed in Table 4 for life satisfaction  
431 and sleep quality and in Table 5 for depressive and anxiety symptoms. In spite of the high rank  
432 order stability in all outcomes, felt insecurity contributed significantly positively to the

433 prediction of depressive and anxiety symptoms, but not to the prediction of life satisfaction and  
434 sleep quality. Need satisfaction did not predict changes in the outcomes at T2, whereas need  
435 frustration was uniquely related to changes in all outcomes. Finally, none of the interactions  
436 between insecurity and need-based experiences were significant in Step 3. To gain more insight  
437 into the domain-specific effects of insecurity, all above reported hierarchical regression  
438 analyses were repeated, this time including the four domain-specific scores of insecurity instead  
439 of the global score. Results of these analyses can be found in the Appendix.

440 **The Mediating Role of Need-based Experiences.** To test the mediational hypothesis  
441 (Hypothesis 3), Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) was performed using Mplus 8.3 (Muthén  
442 & Muthén, 2017) with Robust Maximum Likelihood as estimator. The full information  
443 maximum likelihood procedure was employed to estimate missing data (Schafer & Graham,  
444 2002). We employed several indices to evaluate the fit of these path models, namely the  $\chi^2$  test,  
445 the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Standardized Root Mean Square residual (SRMR), and  
446 the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). An acceptable fit was indicated by  
447  $\chi^2/df$  ratio of 2 or below, CFI values of .95 or above, SRMR values of .08 or below, and RMSEA  
448 values of .06 or below (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2005). To control for background variables,  
449 all variables were first regressed on the background variables and the unstandardized residual  
450 scores derived from these regressions were used as variables in the SEM models.

451 In a first path model, we entered insecurity as a predictor of need satisfaction and need  
452 frustration which, in turn, were modelled as predictors of outcomes assessed at T1. Because we  
453 expected that need-based experiences would play a partially mediating role, direct effects from  
454 insecurity to the four outcomes were allowed. As the model was fully saturated, the model  
455 initially had a perfect fit ( $\chi^2/df = 0$ ; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = 0; RMSEA = 0). As displayed in  
456 Figure 2 (coefficients appearing before the slash), insecurity related negatively to need  
457 satisfaction and positively to need frustration, with need-based experiences in turn relating  
458 significantly and in expected directions to all four outcomes. Insecurity also related directly to

459 the outcomes, displaying negative associations with life satisfaction and sleep quality and  
460 positive associations with depressive and anxiety symptoms. To test the significance of indirect  
461 effects, we used bootstrapping (using 1000 draws), a nonparametric resampling procedure that  
462 is currently recommended (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). All indirect effects were found to be  
463 significant. That is, insecurity was related indirectly via need satisfaction (NS) and need  
464 frustration (NF) to life satisfaction (NS: 95% CI [-.093, -.069]; NF: 95% CI [-.120, -.089]),  
465 sleep quality (NS: 95% CI [-.038, -.018]; NF: 95% CI [-.088, -.056]), depressive symptoms  
466 (NS: 95% CI [.053, .075]; NF: 95% CI [.148, .182]), and anxiety symptoms (NS: 95% CI  
467 [.037, .055]; NF: 95% CI [.091, .121]).

468 We repeated this mediational model in the longitudinal subsample, this time including  
469 T2 outcomes while controlling for T1 outcomes. Specifically, insecurity (T1) was entered as a  
470 predictor of need-based experiences (T1) which, in turn, were modeled as predictors of the  
471 outcomes at T2 while controlling for levels of the outcomes at T1. This model had a good fit  
472 ( $\chi^2/df = 2.06$ ; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = .03; RMSEA = .03). As displayed in Figure 2 (coefficients  
473 appearing after the slash), insecurity related to both need-based indicators. However, only need  
474 frustration (but not need satisfaction) was related to changes in the outcomes, with higher levels  
475 of need frustration predicting a decrease in life satisfaction and sleep quality and an increase in  
476 symptoms of depression and anxiety. Different from the concurrent path model, only one direct  
477 effect was significant: insecurity related positively to increases in anxiety symptoms. Finally,  
478 the indirect effects from insecurity via need frustration to life satisfaction (95% CI [-.120,  
479 -.067]), sleep quality (95% CI [-.105, -.053]), depressive symptoms (95% CI [.074, .124]), and  
480 anxiety symptoms (95% CI [.077, .129]) were all significant. To gain more insight into the  
481 domain-specific effects of insecurity, the two above stated path models were repeated, this time  
482 including the four domain-specific scores of insecurity instead of the global score. Results of  
483 these analyses can be found in the Appendix.

484

## Discussion

485           The worldwide COVID-19 pandemic poses major challenges for individual citizens and  
486 for society at large. It is critically important to address the question how to support individuals'  
487 mental health and resilience in times of threat. To the extent that predictors of well-being can  
488 be identified, they can be targeted during interventions as to help citizens replenish their mental  
489 resources. The present study, conducted during the first ten days of the lockdown period in  
490 [details removed for peer review], offered a unique opportunity to study the separate and  
491 combined roles of felt security, as emphasized by Maslow (1955), and the psychological needs  
492 for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, as studied within Basic Psychological Need Theory  
493 (Ryan & Deci, 2017), in the prediction of citizens' mental health. Although Maslow's ideas  
494 regarding the role of different needs in well-being have been heavily popularized and appear in  
495 almost every basic textbook on psychology (e.g., Pawlik & Rosenzweig, 2000), there is a lack  
496 of systematic research on this theory. In contrast, the topic of psychological needs as proposed  
497 within BPNT has been researched avidly over the past two decades (Vansteenkiste et al., 2020).  
498 The present study sought to examine the unique roles and interplay of these psychological needs  
499 during times of distress as elicited by the COVID-19 crisis, both from a cross-sectional as well  
500 as a longitudinal perspective.

### 501 **Felt Insecurity**

502           The lockdown required a flexible and resilient response from citizens. From one day to  
503 the other, all [details removed for peer review] citizens were obliged to stay at home, to  
504 minimize social contacts, to keep physical distance when doing essential displacements (e.g.,  
505 grocery shopping), to take extra care of personal hygiene (e.g., washing hands), and to engage  
506 in teleworking as much as possible. This sudden rupture in people's daily routine elicited  
507 considerable insecurity. The present findings suggest that the situational insecurity, that is, the  
508 lack of clarity and predictability of the situation at large, was the most salient concern. At the  
509 beginning of the lockdown, [details removed for peer review] citizens were required to adhere

510 to a set of intrusive measures, but no information could be given at that point about how long  
511 the measures would apply. Because the government communicated in a scattered and  
512 fragmented way, some individuals may even have perceived the situation as chaotic [details  
513 reference removed for peer review]. As an increasing number of COVID-19 virus infections  
514 were identified in the first weeks, citizens also were worried about getting infected themselves.  
515 These factors help explain why health-related insecurity was also peaking at that moment.

516 Financial worries and insecurity with respect to the availability of food and medical care  
517 were also prevalent, albeit to a lesser extent. Interestingly, for all types of insecurity assessed,  
518 the standard deviation around the mean was substantial, indicating that some individuals felt  
519 overwhelmed by the sudden change and others perceived the situation as less threatening,  
520 perhaps even as a welcome change of their daily routines. Most likely, these differences in  
521 appraised insecurity do not merely reflect *perceived* differences, as if they would exist only in  
522 the eye of the beholder. Instead, perhaps some individuals were exposed to more *objective*  
523 threats than others, with the crisis involving a direct loss of income for some or a confrontation  
524 with the virus in one's immediate or distant social network for others. With a stronger  
525 accumulation of actually threatening life events, people are likely to experience more subjective  
526 insecurity.

527 After controlling for various sociodemographic characteristics, felt insecurity at T1 was  
528 found to predict individuals' life satisfaction (T1) as well as their symptoms of depression and  
529 anxiety (T1 and T2). Insecurity was related particularly strongly to symptoms of anxiety, which  
530 is logical as strong worries and concerns easily translate into anxiety. Interestingly, the cost  
531 associated with felt insecurity was also visible through reduced sleep quality (T1). This suggests  
532 that physical security, located by Maslow on the second tier of the need pyramid, relates to  
533 lower satisfaction of the biological need for sleep, which is situated at the first tier of Maslow's  
534 need pyramid.

535           These findings are congruent with previous studies in specific populations that suffered  
536 from specific types of threats, including South-African adults growing up in an unsafe  
537 neighborhood, Chinese labor worker immigrants living in poor circumstances (Chen et al.,  
538 2015a), and Russian workers occupying precarious jobs (Razzkazova et al., 2016). In the  
539 present study, the threats examined were not sample-specific, but population-wide as all [details  
540 removed for peer review] citizens were confronted with a range of different insecurities.

#### 541 **Interplay between Basic Psychological Needs and Felt Insecurity**

542 In addition to felt insecurity, the basic psychological needs were found to uniquely predict  
543 individuals' (mal)adjustment. Both the satisfaction as well as the frustration of the  
544 psychological needs related uniquely to individuals' mental health, above and beyond the role  
545 of felt insecurity. In the longitudinal analyses, need frustration appeared the most robust  
546 predictor, accounting for shifts in (mal)adjustment over a 1-week period. **These findings**  
547 **confirm Hypothesis 1a and suggest that the effects of need-based dynamics cannot be explained**  
548 **away by felt insecurity. These findings speak to the robust character of the basic psychological**  
549 **needs and contradict predictions derived from Maslow's hierarchical needs model that 'growth'**  
550 **needs play a minimal role on a moment when felt insecurity is peaking.** These findings converge  
551 with similar evidence for the role of BPNT's psychological needs obtained in prior studies  
552 (Chen et al., 2015a; Sheldon et al., 2001). Also, congruent with the dual-pathway model, need  
553 frustration was the more systematic predictor of ill-being (Bartholomew et al., 2011) and poor  
554 sleep quality (Campbell et al., in press). Although need satisfaction uniquely predicted  
555 concurrent life satisfaction, as has been documented in prior cross-sectional work (e.g., Chen  
556 et al., 2015a), it did not predict shifts in life satisfaction. Perhaps, experiences of need frustration  
557 may have been most salient in the beginning of the sudden lockdown, thereby affecting people's  
558 life satisfaction more strongly.

559           Further, no systematic evidence was obtained for the hypothesis that felt security would  
560 moderate effects of either the satisfaction or frustration of BPNT's needs (Hypothesis 2b). Out

561 of the eight examined interaction effects, only two were found to be significant, each time in  
562 the prediction of depressive symptoms. In neither of both cases did insecurity cancel out the  
563 effects of need-based dynamics, as can be expected on the basis of Maslow's pre-potency  
564 principle (1955). **Instead, the costs associated with experienced need frustration or a lack of**  
565 **need satisfaction were amplified at high levels of insecurity. Said differently, when two risk**  
566 **factors are present simultaneously, individuals are extra vulnerable for symptoms of depression.**  
567 **In addition, the association between need satisfaction and depressive symptoms was magnified**  
568 **at high levels of insecurity.**

569 Overall, in the present study we found little evidence for an interactive relation between  
570 insecurity and BPNT's needs. We also examined a different type of interplay, whereby the  
571 effects of felt insecurity on mental health would be partially mediated by the basic  
572 psychological needs. This possibility of mediation implies that insecurity may hamper  
573 opportunities for need satisfaction and may even come with more need frustrating experiences  
574 (Rasskazova et al., 2016). To illustrate, the unpredictability and rapidly changing character of  
575 the pandemic may lead individuals to question their competencies to effectively handle the  
576 situation, may require individuals to re-organize their lifestyle in non-desired directions, or may  
577 elicit relational tension between individuals in their way of coping with adversity. Evidence for  
578 the hypothesized partial mediational model was obtained, with felt insecurity relating both  
579 directly and indirectly to (mal)adjustment via need-based dynamics. **In contrast, anxiety**  
580 **remained directly related to adjustment outcomes, both concurrently and longitudinally, a**  
581 **plausible result given that felt insecurities may be a direct source of anxiety.** Strikingly, need  
582 frustration continued to play a systematic mediating role, even in the longitudinal analyses and  
583 in spite of the strong linkage between the predictor and outcome. **Similar evidence has been**  
584 **reported for a mediating role of need satisfaction in the relation between job insecurity and job-**  
585 **related well-being (Van der Elst et al., 2012).**

## 586 **Theoretical and Practical Implications**

587 **The present study has important theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically,**  
588 Maslow (1943) called for the study of individuals' motivations and needs in an integrative  
589 fashion, thereby highlighting the role of biological, physical and psychological needs that were  
590 theorized to operate in a hierarchical-sequential way. To evolve towards a broader need theory,  
591 current psychological theories, like BPNT, would do well to additionally study other needs, like  
592 the need for physical security.

593 In this context, it is important to be precise about the specific conceptualization of  
594 psychological needs within Maslow and BPNT. From a Maslowian perspective, psychological  
595 needs are growth needs (e.g., love, self-esteem, self-actualization), meaning that their functional  
596 role becomes salient when lower-order deficiency-needs are met first. Yet, from a BPNT  
597 perspective, the needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness are not just growth-oriented  
598 in nature. Instead, they are basic in nature. The term "basic" implies that their functional role is  
599 not dependent upon the satisfaction of other needs. Much like organisms need sufficient food  
600 and water to survive and to grow physically (termed basic needs by Maslow), the satisfaction  
601 of BPNT's basic psychological needs represent essential ingredients of adjustment across  
602 contexts and cultures. As a result, from a BPNT-perspective, no hierarchical ordering in the  
603 functional role of felt insecurity and psychological need dynamics would be argued for.

604 Having said this, we concur with Maslow's assumption that physical security and  
605 psychological needs are dynamically related. Within this study, we aimed to contribute to  
606 insight in the nature of this dynamic interplay, thereby testing both the possibility of an  
607 interactive interplay and a sequential, mediational interplay. Future work on this important  
608 theme would do well to adopt a longitudinal design with multiple assessments of all measured  
609 constructs to examine how different needs affect each other across time. This would allow for  
610 the examination of reciprocal dynamics. For example, studies have shown that people who were



611 deprived from sleep experience less need satisfaction over time, in part because they do have  
612 less energy to proactively seek need-fulfilling activities (Campbell et al., 2017a).

613         Additionally, the present study confirms that both the satisfaction and frustration of  
614 psychological needs matters, both in terms of affecting wellness outcomes, but also in playing  
615 a directional role in our functioning (Vansteenkiste et al., 2020). Much like deficiency needs  
616 begin to dominate the organism when unfulfilled, also experiences of need frustration can steer  
617 individuals towards more need-conducive choices [details reference removed for peer review].  
618 Yet, even when satisfied, the needs continue to guide people's functioning, as they influence  
619 the aims a person volitionally pursues. In this way, the above results show that citizens' basic  
620 psychological needs could potentially serve as a lever for mental health in times of threat. From  
621 a practical perspective, people receive ideally contextual support for their psychological needs  
622 from close others (e.g., family members and friends). At a macro-level, individuals' need-based  
623 experiences also depend to some extent upon governmental policy and, in particular, the  
624 government's capacity to systematically use a motivating communication style such that  
625 citizens more willingly endorse the measures (Martela et al., 2021), while also taking  
626 sufficiently risk-reducing measures to keep citizens' feelings of worry and insecurity under  
627 control.

628         In addition to such contextual support for the needs, citizens may proactively seek and  
629 engage in need satisfying activities, an approach that has been referred to as need crafting in  
630 recent research (De Bloom et al., 2020; Laporte et al., 2021). An important prerequisite for need  
631 crafting is awareness of the activities, contexts and relational partners that are conducive to  
632 one's psychological need satisfactions (Laporte et al., 2021). By acting upon this awareness,  
633 people can then maximize opportunities for need satisfaction in their life (Laporte et al., 2021).  
634 Congruent with the idea that need crafting may serve as a factor of resilience in stressful  
635 conditions, Weinstein et al. (2016) showed in a study with Syrian refugees residing in a fugitive  
636 camp that seeking out need satisfying activities was associated with less need frustration and

637 lower distress. Next to interventions targeting an agentic and proactive focus on the basic  
638 psychological needs, citizens could benefit from adequate emotion regulation as a more reactive  
639 resource because they inevitably also encounter need frustrating and emotionally troubling  
640 episodes. Support for emotion regulation could be offered for instance in an E-health  
641 intervention that informs people about how to cope better with feelings of insecurity and need  
642 frustration. Experimental research has shown that integrative emotion regulation is linked with  
643 less anxiety and stress in stressful conditions (e.g., Roth et al., 2014). As such, integrative  
644 emotion regulation, which involves an active interest in one's emotions and a tendency to use  
645 these emotions as informational input for one's behavior (Roth et al., 2019), could be a target  
646 for interventions.

#### 647 **Limitations**

648 Several limitations need to be acknowledged when interpreting the results. First, all  
649 constructs were measured via self-reports, and using single items for some outcomes (e.g., sleep  
650 quality and life satisfaction). Although this approach has been used in previous studies (e.g.  
651 Fujita & Diener, 2005), future research would do well to use multiple items or objective markers  
652 of mental health and sleep quality (e.g., actigraphy; Morgenthaler et al., 2007) to reduce same-  
653 source and shared method variance. Moreover, a broader set of outcomes that are more  
654 observable could be examined, including acting-out behaviors and self-medication. In the  
655 context of the restrictions imposed by the government to contain the coronavirus, oppositional  
656 defiance to follow the rules might be an important outcome to include. Second, the  
657 generalizability of the results may be hampered because our sample was predominantly female  
658 and highly educated, thus forming a rather homogeneous group. In addition, the participants at  
659 wave 2 may represent a selective subset of the total population. Participating at Wave 2 was  
660 voluntary and a fairly large percentage of those being willing to participate at Wave 2 eventually  
661 did not do so. As a counterargument, attrition analyses indicated that dropout was completely  
662 at random with respect to the demographics and study variables of interest. **Third, given the**

663 cross-sectional nature of some results, caution is needed when interpreting the findings.  
664 Although the longitudinal component was a strength of the study, future research would do well  
665 to include three waves of data withing a longer timeframe in order to more fully examine  
666 mediation mechanisms. In that respect, a baseline assessment before the COVID-19 crisis  
667 would have been ideal to examine possible changes in mental health due to COVID.

## 668 **Conclusion**

669 The results of the present study shed a new light on the interactive interplay between  
670 the physical need for security from a Maslowian perspective and the basic psychological needs  
671 from an SDT perspective. Both felt insecurity and need-based experiences explained unique  
672 variance in citizens' mental health, with need frustration being a particularly strong predictor.  
673 Apparently, need frustration – which represents the 'dark side' of individuals' need-based  
674 experiences – plays a more prominent role in mental health during challenging and troubling  
675 times such as the COVID-19 crisis. In addition, some evidence for a sequential relationship was  
676 obtained, with some of the associations between felt insecurity and mental health problems  
677 being mediated by need-based experiences, and need frustration in particular. Overall, the  
678 present research has both practical and theoretical importance. Practically, observing that  
679 BPNT's need satisfaction matters above and beyond felt insecurity/safety in the prediction of  
680 well-being suggests that, even in destabilizing times, it remains critical to foster psychological  
681 need satisfaction. Theoretically, the study of felt physical insecurity and psychological needs  
682 provides a deeper insight in the interrelation between different types of needs and offers the  
683 possibility to test different key assumptions about the BPNT needs (i.e., their essential  
684 importance, universality, and pervasiveness) in a conservative fashion. In this way, the present  
685 study may serve as a point of reference for future longitudinal studies examining the complex  
686 and dynamic interplay between the need for security and BPNT's psychological needs.

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**Footnote**

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1. One of the items to assess anxiety focused on worrying, which could increase the association between insecurity (of which worrying is also an essential component) and anxiety. We therefore repeated the hierarchical regression analysis with anxiety as an outcome, where we left out this item involving worrying. Results were highly similar to the original model, with all main effects of insecurity and need-based experiences being significant and none of the interaction terms being significant.

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Table 1

*Descriptives of and Correlations between the Study Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Insecurity	-														
2. Health	.72	-													
3. Financial	.67	.21	-												
4. Situational	.68	.44	.25	-											
5. Medication	.72	.39	.30	.33	-										
6. Need satisfaction	-.27	-.12	-.18	-.34	-.15	-									
7. Need frustration	.43	.24	.26	.47	.27	-.65	-								
8. Life satisfaction (T1)	-.33	-.18	-.23	-.36	-.18	.53	-.52	-							
9. Life satisfaction (T2)	-.30	-.17	-.19	-.35	-.15	.47	-.47	.64	-						
10. Sleep quality (T1)	-.30	-.23	-.19	-.26	-.18	.27	-.32	.30	.28	-					
11. Sleep quality (T2)	-.28	-.14	-.20	-.26	-.19	.30	-.37	.32	.36	.57	-				
12. Depressive symptoms (T1)	.40	.26	.24	.43	.21	-.57	.65	-.57	-.51	-.36	-.34	-			
13. Depressive symptoms (T2)	.37	.20	.25	.43	.19	-.50	.57	-.55	-.63	-.29	-.42	.75	-		
14. Anxiety symptoms (T1)	.58	.49	.27	.57	.35	-.47	.56	-.57	-.48	-.44	-.36	.66	.55	-	
15. Anxiety symptoms (T2)	.54	.41	.25	.53	.34	-.46	.56	-.54	-.61	-.38	-.47	.60	.70	.75	-
<i>M</i>	2.90	3.24	2.50	3.56	2.29	3.52	2.24	2.95	3.03	2.84	2.99	1.68	1.60	2.23	2.07
<i>SD</i>	0.70	1.02	1.17	0.82	1.01	0.55	0.65	0.96	0.92	0.73	0.66	0.60	0.55	0.78	0.80
Missing values (%)	12.20	12.20	12.20	12.20	12.20	12.20	12.20	10.90	0.60	3.40	0.00	10.90	0.60	10.90	0.60

*Note.* T = Timepoint.  $N(T1) = 5118$ .  $N(T2) = 835$ . All correlations were significant at the  $p < .001$  level.

**Table 2**

*Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Life Satisfaction and Sleep Quality at T1 by Background Variables, Insecurity, Psychological Need Satisfaction and Need Frustration and Interactions*

	Life satisfaction (T1)			Sleep quality (T1)		
	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 3 β	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 3 β
<b>Background variables</b>						
Age	.11***	-.07***	-.07***	.12***	.01	.01
Gender <sup>1</sup>	-.07***	-.02	-.02	-.10***	-.06***	-.06***
Marital status <sup>2</sup>	.16***	.09***	.09***	.04*	.00	.00
Number of children	.01	.02	.02	-.11***	-.10***	-.10***
Education (D1)	.05**	.01	.01	.06**	.02	.02
Education (D2)	.09***	.02	.02	.13***	.07***	.07***
Comorbidity <sup>3</sup>	-.02	.01	.01	-.03*	-.00	-.00
Number of crisis days	.03	.06***	.06***	-.02	-.02	-.02
<b>Main predictors</b>						
Insecurity		-.13***	-.13***		-.19***	-.19***
Need satisfaction (NS)		.32***	.32***		.11***	.11***
Need frustration (NF)		-.26***	-.26***		-.18***	-.18***
<b>Interactions</b>						
Insecurity x NS			.01			-.01
Insecurity x NF			.01			.00
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.06	.36	.36	.03	.17	.17
$\Delta R^2$	.06***	.31***	.00	.03***	.13***	.00

*Note.* T = Timepoint. D1 = High school education versus other educational levels. D2 = University education versus other educational levels.

<sup>1</sup> Women vs. men. <sup>2</sup> Together versus alone. <sup>3</sup> One or more comorbid diagnoses versus none. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .



**Table 3**

*Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Symptoms of Depression and Anxiety at T1 by Background Variables, Insecurity, Psychological Need Satisfaction and Need Frustration and Interactions*

	Depressive symptoms (T1)			Anxiety symptoms (T1)		
	Step 1 $\beta$	Step 2 $\beta$	Step 3 $\beta$	Step 1 $\beta$	Step 2 $\beta$	Step 3 $\beta$
<b>Background variables</b>						
Age	-.22***	-.01	-.02	-.21***	-.03*	-.03*
Gender <sup>1</sup>	.11***	.05***	.06***	.18***	.11***	.11***
Marital status <sup>2</sup>	-.21***	-.13***	-.13***	-.02	.03**	.03**
Number of children	-.01	-.04*	-.03*	.02	-.00	.00
Education (D1)	-.10***	-.04**	-.04**	-.09***	-.02	-.02
Education (D2)	-.12***	-.05***	-.05***	-.10***	.01	.01
Comorbidity <sup>3</sup>	.06***	.02	.02*	.08***	.02	.02
Number of crisis days	.04*	.01	.01	-.06**	-.05***	-.05***
<b>Main predictors</b>						
Insecurity		.14***	.14***		.41***	.41***
Need satisfaction (NS)		-.24***	-.25***		-.18***	-.18***
Need frustration (NF)		.40***	.39***		.25***	.25***
<b>Interactions</b>						
Insecurity x NS			-.03*			-.03
Insecurity x NF			.06***			-.01
$R^2$	.13	.51	.52	.09	.49	.49
$\Delta R^2$	.13***	.38***	.01***	.09***	.41***	.00

*Note.* T = Timepoint. D1 = High school education versus other educational levels. D2 = University education versus other educational levels.

<sup>1</sup> Women vs. men. <sup>2</sup> Together versus alone. <sup>3</sup> One or more comorbid diagnoses versus none. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

**Table 4**

*Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Life Satisfaction and Sleep Quality at T2 by Background Variables, Insecurity, Psychological Need Satisfaction and Need Frustration and Interactions*

	Life satisfaction (T2)			Sleep quality (T2)		
	Step 1 $\beta$	Step 2 $\beta$	Step 3 $\beta$	Step 1 $\beta$	Step 2 $\beta$	Step 3 $\beta$
<b>Background variables</b>						
Age	.00	-.06	-.05	.04	-.03	-.03
Gender <sup>1</sup>	-.06*	-.05	-.05	-.01	.00	.00
Marital status <sup>2</sup>	.04	.03	.03	.01	-.01	-.01
Number of children	.03	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05
Education (D1)	.05	.03	.03	.09*	.07	.07
Education (D2)	.05	.03	.03	.06	.04	.04
Comorbidity <sup>3</sup>	-.05	-.05	-.05	-.00	-.00	-.01
Number of crisis days	-.02	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.01
Outcome at T1	.63***	.51***	.51***	.56***	.49***	.49***
<b>Main predictors</b>						
Insecurity		-.06	-.05		-.06	-.07*
Need satisfaction (NS)		.05	.06		.02	.01
Need frustration (NF)		-.15***	-.15**		-.17***	-.17***
<b>Interactions</b>						
Insecurity x NS			.05			-.04
Insecurity x NF			.04			-.04
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	.43	.45	.45	.32	.36	.36
<b><math>\Delta R^2</math></b>	.43***	.03***	.00	.33***	.04***	.00

*Note.* T = Timepoint. D1 = High school education versus other educational levels. D2 = University education versus other educational levels.

<sup>1</sup> Women vs. men. <sup>2</sup> Together versus alone. <sup>3</sup> One or more comorbid diagnoses versus none. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

**Table 5**

*Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Symptoms of Depression and Anxiety at T2 by Background Variables, Insecurity, Psychological Need Satisfaction and Need Frustration and Interactions*

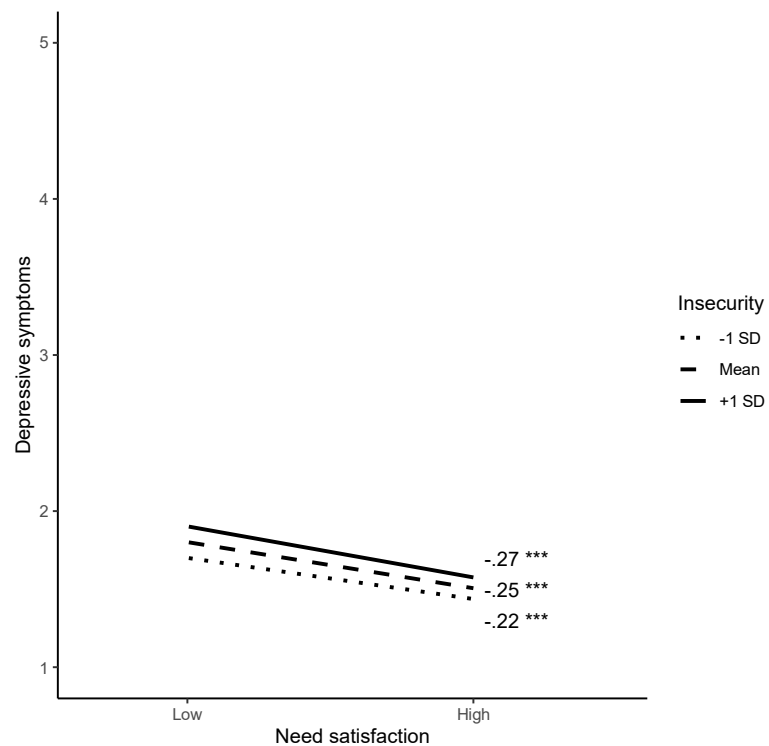
	Depressive symptoms (T2)			Anxiety symptoms (T2)		
	Step 1 $\beta$	Step 2 $\beta$	Step 3 $\beta$	Step 1 $\beta$	Step 2 $\beta$	Step 3 $\beta$
<b>Background variables</b>						
Age	-.01	.02	.02	-.03	.01	-.00
Gender <sup>1</sup>	.06*	.05*	.05*	.01	.02	.02
Marital status <sup>2</sup>	-.06*	-.07**	-.07**	-.04	-.01	-.01
Number of children	-.05	-.06	-.06	.00	-.01	-.01
Education (D1)	-.03	-.02	-.02	-.04	-.02	-.02
Education (D2)	-.03	-.01	-.01	-.02	.01	.01
Comorbidity <sup>3</sup>	.05*	.05*	.05*	.07**	.07**	.08**
Number of crisis days	.01	.01	.01	.00	-.01	-.00
Outcome at T1	.73***	.63***	.63***	.74***	.57***	.57***
<b>Main predictors</b>						
Insecurity		.06*	.06*		.12***	.13***
Need satisfaction (NS)		-.01	-.01		-.02	-.02
Need frustration (NF)		.11**	.11**		.17***	.15***
<b>Interactions</b>						
Insecurity x NS			-.00			-.02
Insecurity x NF			.01			.06
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	.59	.61	.60	.57	.60	.61
<b><math>\Delta R^2</math></b>	.60***	.01***	.00	.58***	.03***	.01**

*Note.* T = Timepoint. D1 = High school education versus other educational levels. D2 = University education versus other educational levels.

<sup>1</sup> Women vs. men. <sup>2</sup> Together versus alone. <sup>3</sup> One or more comorbid diagnoses versus none. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Figure 1. Significant Interactions between Need-based Experiences and Insecurity on Depressive Symptoms.

Panel A



Panel B

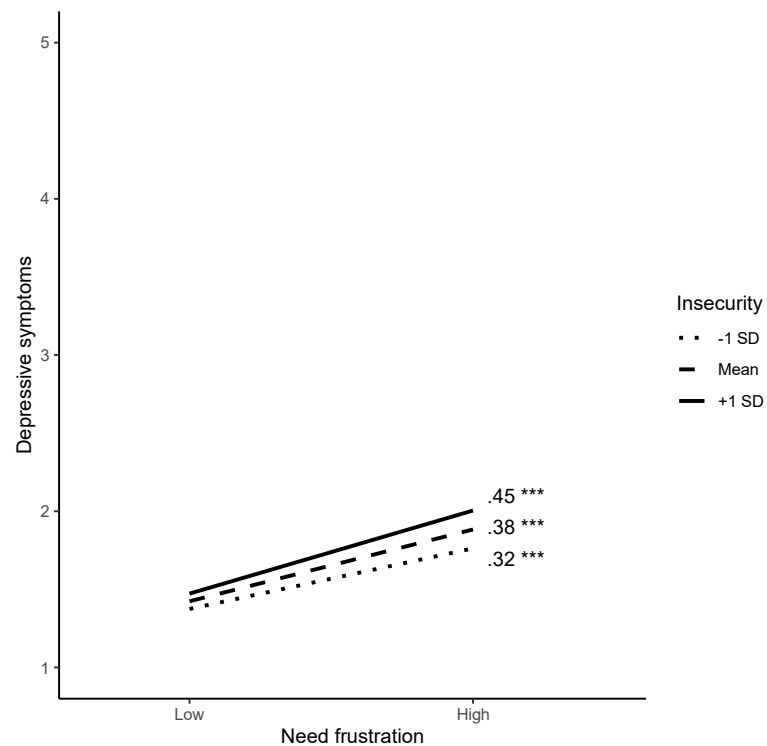
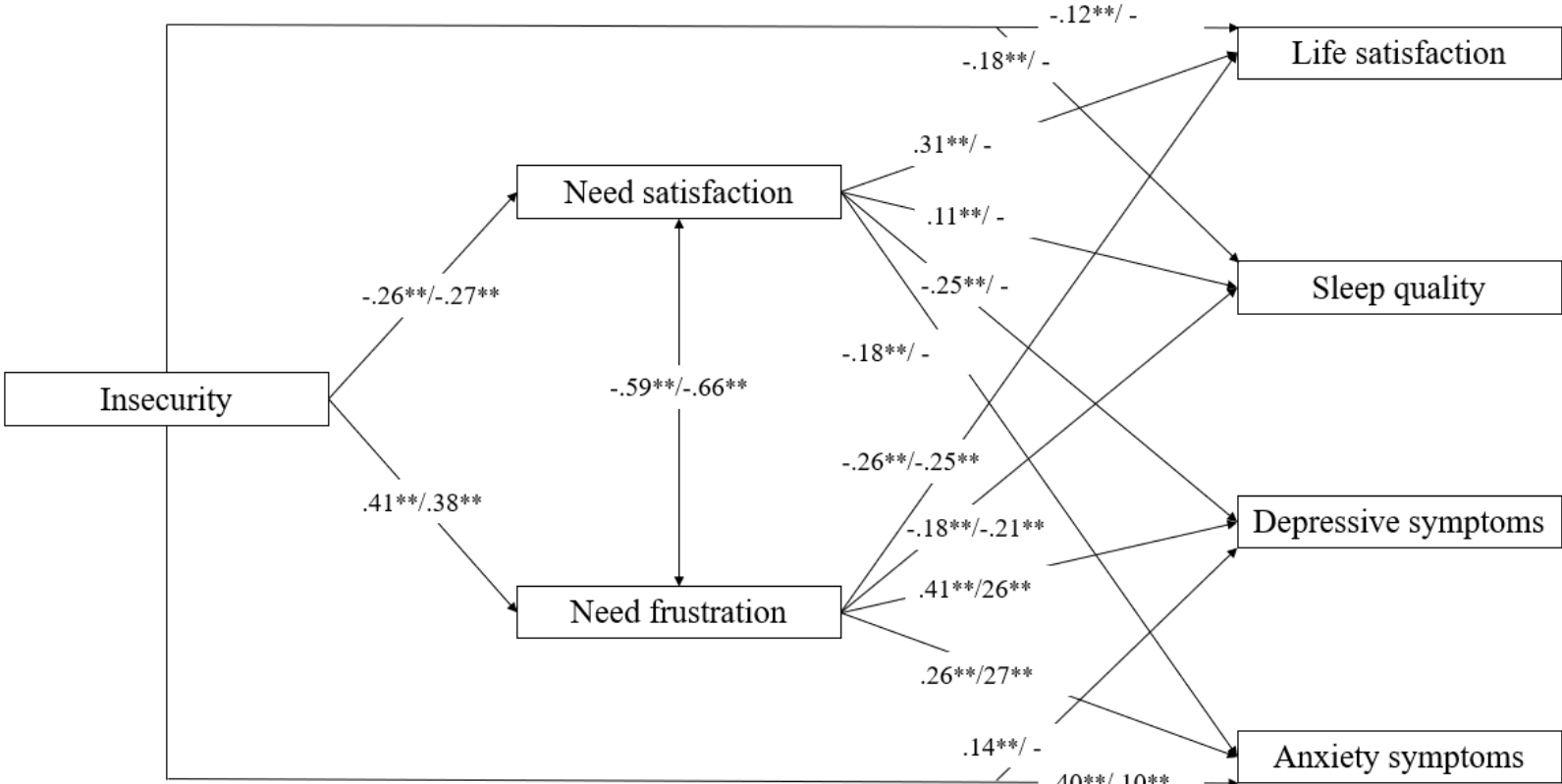


Figure 2. Structural Path Model Depicting the Relation between Insecurity, Need-based Experiences, and Outcomes.



Note. Coefficients appearing before and after the slash refer, respectively to the T1 and T2 model. For reasons of parsimony, correlations between the outcome variables are not displayed.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ .

## Appendix: Effects of Domain-specific Insecurity

**Unique and Interactive Role of Domain-specific Insecurity and Need-based Experiences.** To gain more insight into the domain-specific effects of insecurity, we performed four additional hierarchical regression analyses, this time including the four domain-specific scores of insecurity (i.e., health, financial, situation, medication) instead of the total insecurity score as predictors of the four outcomes at T1. When entering insecurity and need-based experiences, result showed that insecurity about finance ( $\beta = -.07, p < .001$ ) and the situation ( $\beta = -.11, p < .001$ ) as well as need satisfaction ( $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ) and need frustration ( $\beta = -.25, p < .001$ ) related to a lower level of life satisfaction. Insecurity about health ( $\beta = -.02, p = .13$ ) and medication ( $\beta = -.00, p = .81$ ) was unrelated to life satisfaction. Both sleep quality ( $\beta$  ranging between  $-.12$  and  $-.07, p < .001$ ), depressive symptoms ( $\beta$  ranging between  $.04$  and  $.11, p < .001$ ) and anxiety symptoms ( $\beta$  ranging between  $.04$  and  $.28, p < .001$ ) were predicted by insecurity about health, finance, and the situation at large. Only anxiety symptoms were related to insecurity about medication ( $\beta = .05, p < .001$ ). Similar to the models with the general score of insecurity, both need satisfaction and need frustration unique predicted all four outcomes in the expected direction. With regard to the interactions between the domain-specific scores of insecurity and need-based experiences, 6 out of the 32 tested interaction terms (ca. 19%) were significant with most of these involving situational insecurity ( $\beta$ s of the non-significant interaction terms ranged between  $-.03$  and  $.04$ ). Specifically, insecurity with respect to the situation interacted with need satisfaction in the prediction of life satisfaction ( $\beta = .05, p = .01$ ), whereas insecurity with respect to the supply of medication interacted with need frustration in the prediction of life satisfaction ( $\beta = -.04, p = .03$ ). Further, situational insecurity interacted with both need satisfaction ( $\beta = -.05, p = .002$ ) and need frustration ( $\beta = .05, p = .004$ ) in the prediction of depressive symptoms, whereas financial insecurity also interacted with need frustration in the prediction of depressive symptoms ( $\beta = .04, p = .01$ ). Finally, situational insecurity interacted with need frustration in the prediction of anxiety symptoms ( $\beta = .05, p$



= .003). All interactions indicated that the effects of both need satisfaction and need frustration were stronger for individuals experiencing a higher level of insecurity (within a specific domain), although the main effects of need-based experiences on the outcomes remained present across individuals differing in their level of insecurity.

We repeated these series of regression analyses in the subsample of participants who completed the follow-up assessment, this time including the T2 measures as outcomes while controlling for the outcome at T1. Results showed that **insecurity about health and medication did not predict changes in the outcomes ( $\beta$  ranging between  $-.03$  and  $.06$ ).** Financial insecurity predicted changes in sleep quality ( $\beta = -.08, p = .01$ ) and depressive symptoms ( $\beta = .05, p = .03$ ), whereas situational insecurity related to changes in anxiety symptoms ( $\beta = .08, p = .01$ ). Changes in life satisfaction were not predicted by any domain of insecurity ( $\beta$  ranging between  $.05$  and  $.01$ ). Furthermore, need frustration related to all outcomes (life satisfaction:  $\beta = -.14, p = .001$ ; sleep quality:  $\beta = -.17, p < .001$ ; depressive symptoms:  $\beta = .11, p = .002$ ; anxiety symptoms:  $\beta = .16, p < .001$ ), whereas the effects of need satisfaction were non-significant ( $\beta$  ranging between  $-.01$  and  $.05$ ). In Step 3, across the four hierarchical regression analyses, only one interaction term was significant: health insecurity interacted with need satisfaction in the prediction of life satisfaction ( $\beta = .10, p < .05$ ). We found that health insecurity related negatively to changes in life satisfaction among individuals scoring low on need satisfaction ( $\beta = -.24; t = -2.45; p = 0.01$ ), but was unrelated to life satisfaction among individuals scoring average ( $\beta = -.05; t = -1.08; p = .28$ ) or high ( $\beta = .12; t = 0.99; p = .32$ ) on need satisfaction. Other interaction terms were not significant ( $\beta$  ranging between  $-.08$  and  $.07$ ).

**The Mediating Role of Need-based Experiences.** To gain more insight into the domain-specific effects of insecurity, in an additional path model we replaced the overall score for insecurity with the four domain-specific scores of insecurity as predictors of need-based experiences and the outcomes in our mediational model (all variables assessed at T1). As insecurity with respect to health was found to be unrelated to the need-based experiences and

medication insecurity was unrelated to need satisfaction, these paths were removed from the model. This model yielded a good fit ( $\chi^2/df = 3.47$ ; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = .01; RMSEA = .02). Results showed that all included sources of insecurity related negatively to need satisfaction (financial:  $\beta = -.10, p < .001$ ; situational:  $\beta = -.28, p < .001$ ) and positively to need frustration ( $\beta$  ranging between .09 and .35,  $ps < .001$ ), with situational insecurity having the strongest effects. Relations between need-based experiences and outcomes were highly similar to the path model including the overall score of insecurity (when predicting T2 outcomes). Several direct effects were also significant. Specifically, insecurity with respect to health related to sleep quality ( $\beta = -.11, p < .001$ ), depressive symptoms ( $\beta = .08, p < .001$ ), and anxiety symptoms ( $\beta = .28, p < .001$ ). Situational and financial insecurity also related directly to life satisfaction ( $\beta = -.11, p < .001$ ;  $\beta = -.07, p < .001$ ), sleep quality ( $\beta = -.07, p < .001$ ;  $\beta = -.07, p < .001$ ), depressive symptoms ( $\beta = .11, p < .001$ ;  $\beta = .03, p = .01$ ), and anxiety symptoms ( $\beta = .22, p < .001$ ;  $\beta = .04, p = .004$ ), respectively. Finally, insecurity with respect to medication related to anxiety symptoms ( $\beta = .05, p < .001$ ). With respect to the correlations, the four domain-specific insecurity scores were significantly related to each other ( $\beta$  ranging between .21 and .44,  $ps < .001$ ), as were all outcome variables ( $\beta$  ranging between -.37 and .44,  $ps < .001$ ). Finally, all indirect effects were found to be significant.

In a second path model, we included the four domain-specific scores of insecurity (T1) in the prediction of need-based experiences (T1) and outcomes (T2), while again controlling for levels of the outcomes at T1. This model yielded a good fit ( $\chi^2/df = 1.70$ ; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = .02; RMSEA = .02). Results showed that the relations between the four scores of domain-specific insecurity and need-based experiences were highly similar to the previous model, whereas relations between need-based experiences and the outcomes were highly similar to the model with the global measure of insecurity. One direct effect was significant: insecurity with respect to health related to anxiety symptoms ( $\beta = .09, p < .001$ ). Additionally, the four domain-specific insecurity scores were significantly related to each other ( $\beta$  ranging between .20 and .45,

$p < .001$ ), as were all outcome variables ( $\beta$  ranging between  $-.44$  and  $.56$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Finally, all indirect effects were found to be significant, except for the relations from health and medication insecurity to sleep quality via need satisfaction.