

Factors associated with common mental health problems of humanitarian workers in South Sudan

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1 **Abstract**

2 **Background:** The latest data on major attacks against civilian aid operations have identified
3 South Sudan as the most dangerous country for aid workers globally. Exposure to other trau-
4 matic events and chronic stress is also common in this population. No research exists on the
5 mental health of humanitarian workers in South Sudan.

6 **Objectives:** This study examined symptom burden and predictors of posttraumatic stress
7 disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, hazardous alcohol consumption, and burnout among
8 humanitarian workers in South Sudan.

9 **Method:** We conducted a cross-sectional online survey with humanitarian workers (national
10 and international staff, consultants, United Nations volunteers). We applied validated
11 measures useful for this setting. We applied Least Absolute Shrinkage and Selection Operator
12 (LASSO) regression to fit models with high prediction accuracy for each outcome and used
13 ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to obtain final coefficients and perform inference.

14 **Results:** A total of 277 humanitarian workers employed by 45 organizations completed the
15 survey (a response rate in the order of 10%). We estimated prevalence of PTSD (24%), de-
16 pression (39%), anxiety disorder (38%), hazardous alcohol consumption in men (35%) and
17 women (36%), and the burnout components emotional exhaustion (24%) and depersonali-
18 zation (19%). Chronic stress exposure was positively associated with PTSD ($p<.001$), depres-
19 sion ($p<.001$), anxiety ($p<.001$), emotional exhaustion ($p<.01$), and depersonalization
20 ($p<.001$). We found no significant association between emotion focused and problem focused
21 coping and mental health outcomes. Associations between dysfunctional coping and depres-
22 sion ($p<.001$) and anxiety ($p<.01$) were positive. Higher levels of spirituality were associated

23 with lower risk of hazardous alcohol consumption ($p < .001$). Contrary to expectations, work-
24 ing directly with humanitarian aid beneficiaries was significantly associated with lower risk
25 for emotional exhaustion ($p < .01$).

26 **Conclusion:** Our results suggest that humanitarian workers in South Sudan experience sub-
27 stantial levels of mental ill-health. This study points to the need for staff support strategies
28 that effectively mitigate humanitarian workers' chronic stress exposure. The dynamics be-
29 tween coping and mental health among humanitarian workers require further study.

30

31

32 **Introduction**

33 The humanitarian needs in countries affected by crises are at an unprecedented level [\[1\]\[1\]](#),
34 and South Sudan is one of the countries in which the situation is worse than ever [\[2\]\[2\]](#). The
35 ongoing conflict and inter-communal violence accompanied by economic decline and
36 climatic shocks in the world's youngest nation have severe implications for its population
37 [\[3\]\[3\]](#). The severity of the situation also bears a high level of risk for humanitarian workers
38 operating in the country – dedicated professionals with the objective to alleviate the effects
39 of the ongoing crisis. According to latest data from Humanitarian Outcomes [\[4.5\]\[4.5\]](#), there
40 were over thirty major attacks against civilian aid operations in 2015, and this increased to
41 over fifty in 2016. This made South Sudan the most dangerous country for aid workers
42 globally in both years [\[6.7\]\[6.7\]](#). The outbreak of violence in July 2016 in the country's capital
43 Juba exemplifies the magnitude of the situation. Among other atrocities, humanitarian
44 workers have been gang-raped, injured and killed, and embassies and international
45 organizations felt compelled to temporarily evacuate large parts of their civilian personnel
46 [\[8.9\]\[8.9\]](#). The number of deaths of humanitarian workers since independence has just
47 reached 100 [\[10\]\[10\]](#).

48 In addition to physical harm, such exposure to conflict and violence, traumatic events
49 and chronic stress can lead to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Depression and anxiety
50 are among the most common comorbid conditions of PTSD and associated with war-related
51 trauma and daily stressors [\[11.12\]\[11,12\]](#). Hazardous alcohol consumption is another
52 common comorbid condition of PTSD [\[11.13\]\[11,13\]](#). Chronic stress at the workplace leads
53 also frequently to burnout [\[14\]\[14\]](#).

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54 Some humanitarian workers manage life amidst crisis settings without developing
55 symptoms of mental illness; some even seem to thrive in this type of work [\[15\]\[15\]](#). However,
56 as previous studies confirm, PTSD, depression, anxiety, and burnout are indeed widespread
57 among this occupation group; established prevalence rates are mostly similar to or higher
58 than those of reference groups cited in the respective literature [\(e.g., \[16-22\]\[e.g., 16,17-22\]\)](#).
59 Hazardous alcohol consumption received very little attention in the literature on
60 humanitarian workers [\[23\]\[23\]](#).

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61 Regarding predictors, multiple studies confirm the positive association between
62 chronic stress and traumatic event exposure and common mental health problems among
63 humanitarian workers [\(e.g., \[17,18,22,24,25\]\[e.g., 17,18,22,24,25\]\)](#). Similarly, research
64 identifies social support and team cohesion as important resilience factors among this
65 occupation group [\(e.g., \[17,18,20,22\]\[e.g., 17,18,20,22\]\)](#). However, a number of gaps remain
66 in the literature: Several studies analyzed the effect of organizational support, understood as
67 the provision of benefits and services (e.g., medical insurance, counseling), or satisfaction
68 with organizational culture (e.g., encouragement to take vacations). Lopes Cardozo et al.
69 [\[22,26\]\[22,26\]](#) and Eriksson et al. [\[27\]\[27\]](#) found that both national and international staff
70 satisfied with their organizations' culture experience higher risk of mental ill-health. In
71 contrast, neither the provision of benefits and services, nor the satisfaction with
72 organizational culture was significantly associated with the mental health of national staff in
73 the research undertaken by Ager et al. [\[17\]\[17\]](#). Some studies examined coping strategies,
74 again with diverging results: Eriksson et al. [\[19\]\[19\]](#) found avoidance coping to be positively
75 associated with depression, anxiety, and PTSD in their study on pre-deployment mental
76 health and trauma exposure of expatriate humanitarian workers. The results from Lopes
77 Cardozo et al. [\[22\]\[22\]](#) do not support the theory that avoidant coping presents a risk factor

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78 for PTSD among national staff. Few studies analysed the potential effects of healthy lifestyle
79 habits (e.g., healthy eating, caffeine intake, exercising) on humanitarian workers' mental
80 health [19,26][19,26]. While neither of these studies found a significant association between
81 this predictor and mental health outcomes, the wider literature on humanitarian workers
82 emphasizes the importance of healthy lifestyle habits in this context (e.g., [28,29][e.g.,
83 28,29]). Another construct that has gained recent attention in relation to coping is spiritual
84 transcendence (e.g., [30,31][e.g., 30,31]). However, quantitative research on its relation with
85 the mental health of humanitarian workers has to our knowledge not yet been undertaken.

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86 If mental health problems manifest, they come with serious implications for the
87 individual's personal and professional life [32][32]. Humanitarian workers themselves have
88 increasingly spoken out on problems and voiced their urgent need for help (e.g. through
89 public forums such as the Facebook group "Fifty Shades of Aid" and the "Secret Aid Worker"
90 series published by The Guardian (e.g., [33,34][e.g., 33,34]). Humanitarian organizations
91 have taken note of the problem, and increasingly understand compromised mental health of
92 their workforce as an issue that impacts negatively on organizational functioning; they have
93 the obligation to prevent and address mental health problems among their staff, ensure their
94 well-being and sustain organizational effectiveness and efficiency [35,36][35,36]. While
95 these are desirable developments, major barriers in establishing new and adjusting existing
96 staff support services and policies based on needs are the limited availability of evidence-
97 based data and diverse findings on factors shaping the mental health of humanitarian
98 workers: crisis settings differ greatly and staff support is most effective when tailored to the
99 specific context [29][29]. Staff support is largely insufficient and underfunded and
100 awareness building among donors is needed to ensure appropriate allocation of funds [37][37].

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101 This is also acutely the case for South Sudan where humanitarian workers face a unique crisis

102 [\[38\]](#)[\[38\]](#), staff support is in need of improvement [\[39\]](#)[\[39\]](#), and, to the best of our knowledge, no
103 scientific research on the mental health of humanitarian workers (national and international
104 staff, consultants, United Nations [UN] Volunteers) has previously been undertaken.

105 The distinction between national and international staff is commonly made in the
106 humanitarian field on the basis of differences in contract modalities (e.g. access to security
107 support), the nature of work undertaken (e.g. deployment in high-risk contexts), and the
108 level of dependency on jobs in the sector to sustain livelihoods [\[40\]](#)[\[40\]](#). This has resulted in
109 the majority of research in this field to date focusing on either national or international staff

110 [\[16,21\]](#)[\[16,21\]](#). However, national and international staff also have many commonalities in
111 their experience. The motives of both groups have been shown to reflect a complex
112 combination of sense of challenge, humanitarian conviction, and personal interest, such as
113 career advancement [\[41\]](#)[\[41\]](#). Issues of family adjustment and separation are reported by

114 both national and international staff [\[42\]](#)[\[42\]](#). Clearly, humanitarian operations depend on
115 the deployment of both within and integrated workforces. With differential treatment and
116 expectation a noted source of resentment [\[43\]](#)[\[43\]](#), this study applied an inclusive approach
117 and explicitly sought to engage the humanitarian community in South Sudan as a whole.

118 Further, our analysis did not presume being contracted as national or international staff to
119 represent a basis for a priori separation of the sample into two distinct populations. Rather,
120 as with a recent UNHCR study [\[44\]](#)[\[44\]](#) on staff well-being, we saw this as one of a number
121 of variables to be included in statistical analysis.

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124 **Study objectives and hypotheses**

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125 Our study addresses the gap in research on the mental health of humanitarian workers in
126 South Sudan through analyses of cross-sectional online survey data. Specifically, we aimed at
127 establishing the symptom burden of five mental health outcomes – PTSD, depression, anxiety,
128 hazardous alcohol consumption, and burnout – among this occupation group. We also aimed
129 at fitting models with high predictive accuracy to assess relationships between predictor
130 variables and mental health outcomes.

131 The Job Demands-Resources (JDR) model is a comprehensive and highly flexible
132 model that is widely used to assess employee health, especially in the context of cross-
133 sectional research [\[45,46\]](#)[\[45,46\]](#). It assumes that employee health results from a balance of
134 negative job characteristics (demands) and positive job and personal characteristics
135 (resources) [\[46\]](#)[\[46\]](#). Based on the JDR, job demands included in our models should be
136 significantly positively related with the mental health outcomes under examination. Job and
137 personal resources should be significantly negatively related with these.

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140 **Methods**

141 **Procedure and participants**

142 One hundred forty-five humanitarian organizations were identified based on their
143 participation in the 2017 South Sudan Humanitarian Response Plan and/or membership in
144 the 2017 Humanitarian Country Team. Based on the availability of contact details, 124
145 organizations were contacted by email in April 2017 and requested to support an online
146 survey. This support entailed designating a focal point within the organization who liaised
147 with the researchers and disseminated the survey link, relevant information and two

148 reminder emails to the workforce. To be included in the survey, organizations were required
149 to have 10 or more staff employed in South Sudan and to have operated in the country for
150 one year or longer. Those eligible for survey participation were national and international
151 staff, consultants and UN Volunteers from supporting organizations whose official duty
152 station was located in South Sudan.

153 _____ The online survey was constructed in English (the working language in South Sudan),
154 pilot tested on humanitarian workers with work experience in South Sudan and/or other
155 major humanitarian crises, and adjusted based on the feedback received. The survey took
156 approximately 45 minutes to complete, was launched in May 2017 and open for completion
157 for one month.

158

159 **Ethical considerations**

160 The study protocol was reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Committee of Queen
161 Margaret University, Edinburgh. Approval was granted on the basis of employing
162 organizations being required to grant written permission following review of study goals and
163 methods as outlined in the study information sheet. Informed consent was obtained from all
164 survey participants. Given that the study involved surveying employees (rather than
165 patients) and no personal identifying information, and given the evidence of the lack of a
166 currently functioning national research ethics committee ~~[47]~~[47], this was considered the
167 most appropriate means of securing necessary local approval consistent with country
168 regulations.

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171 **Measures**

172 **Mental health outcomes**

173 We measured five common mental health outcomes: PTSD, depression, anxiety, hazardous
174 alcohol consumption, and burnout. The validity and reliability of the tools used to measure
175 these outcomes were established in many countries and occupation groups (e.g., [48-51], [e.g.,
176 48,49-51]).

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177 PTSD symptoms: We used the PTSD Checklist for Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental
178 Disorders-Fifth Edition (PCL-5) to measure PTSD symptoms [52][52]. The PCL-5 consists of
179 a list of 20 problems ($\alpha = .93$) and requires participants to rank how much they have been
180 bothered by these in the past month on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 0 ('not at all')
181 to 4 ('extremely'). The established cutoff for provisional PTSD diagnosis established with
182 PCL-5 is 33 [52][52].

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183 Depression/anxiety: The Hopkins Symptoms Checklist-25 (HSCL-25) was used. This tool
184 comprises symptoms of strain that people sometimes have, whereby 10 items focus on
185 anxiety ($\alpha = .92$), and 15 items on depression ($\alpha = .92$) as defined in the Diagnostic and
186 Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV) [53][53]. Participants rate how much each
187 symptom has bothered them in the last month on a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1
188 ('not at all') to 4 ('extremely'). Mean scores of 1.75 and higher on the HSCL-25 are commonly
189 recognized as predictive of clinical risk for depression and anxiety [54][54].

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190 Hazardous alcohol consumption: This was measured with the Alcohol Use Disorder
191 Identification Test for Consumption (Audit-C) [55][55]. This brief three-item alcohol screen
192 focuses on the frequency and quantity of alcohol consumption ($\alpha = .64$). Audit-C test scores

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193 of 3 or more for women and 4 or more for men are considered positive, indicating a height-
194 ened risk for hazardous drinking/alcohol use disorder [56][56].

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195 Burnout: We adopted the Maslach Burnout Index Human Services Survey [57][57]. Through
196 a seven-point Likert scale, participants indicate how often they have job-related feelings re-
197 lated to emotional exhaustion (EE) ($\alpha = .85$) and depersonalization (DP) ($\alpha = .83$). Established
198 cutoffs for high levels of burnout are 27 points and above on the EE subscale, and 13 points
199 and above on the DP subscale [57][57]. We excluded from analysis the responses for the sub-
200 scale of personal accomplishment (PA), due to its marginal internal consistency as shown by
201 Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .67$) and due to its marginal relevance to the burnout syndrome [58][58].

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203 **Predictor variables**

204 We collected data on socio-demographic characteristics and nine main constructs based on
205 their relevance in previous research on the mental health of humanitarian workers [17-
206 20,22,24,26][17-20,22,24,26]. These are stress levels and trauma exposure (job demands);
207 perceived organizational work experience, organizational support, team cohesion (job re-
208 sources); and perceived social support, spiritual transcendence, coping, and health habits
209 (personal resources).

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210 Stress Levels: These were measured through a list of 18 chronic stressors. Based on Ager et
211 al. [17][17] and adjusted to cover stressors specific to the South Sudan context, these include
212 'uncertainty about political stability', 'traffic difficulties', 'excessive heat', and 'separation
213 from close relatives'. Participants reported if they are currently experiencing these stressors,
214 and the levels of stress each item currently causes them on a scale ranging from 0 ('no stress')

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215 to 4 ('extreme stress'). A continuous variable was computed to reflect participants' overall
216 exposure to chronic stress.

217 Trauma Exposure: We assessed this through a list of 25 traumatic events based on the Har-
218 vard Trauma Questionnaire, [59][59] and adjusted by covering events specific to the South Sudan
219 context. This list included events such as 'being expelled from the country', 'being shot at',
220 'serious road/vehicle accident', and 'unexpected or premature death of family member or
221 colleague'. Participants indicated if they have witnessed, experienced, or not been exposed
222 to these events in the past 10 years. The number of traumatic events witnessed and experi-
223 enced was summed up to a composite score of trauma exposure ranging from 0 to 25.

224 Organizational Work Experience: Taken from previous work by Ager et al. [17][17], four six-
225 point scale items ranging from 1 ('strongly disagree') to 6 ('strongly agree') were used to
226 assess participants' perceptions of work within their organization. Examples are 'my organi-
227 zation encourages me to take vacation and sick leave', and 'my organization helps to manage
228 team conflicts effectively' ($\alpha = .72$).

229 Organizational Support: We used two sets of questions from Ager et al. [17][17] and adjusted
230 these to match the South Sudan context: The first set asked about the provision of 14 support
231 items and benefits, such as communication equipment and health insurance. The second set
232 asked about the provision of briefings and trainings on 11 topics, including stress manage-
233 ment and security risks and protocols. Two composite scores were calculated reflecting the
234 total sum of items and benefits, and trainings and briefings received.

235 Team Cohesion: Two scales were established to assess relationships among co-workers and
236 with management based on four and six 5-point Likert scale questions, respectively [60][60].
237 While the items on team cohesion among co-workers ($\alpha = .84$) focused on aspects such as
238 spending time together outside office hours and considering colleagues friends, team

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239 cohesion with management ($\alpha = .86$) addressed topics such as micromanagement and
240 interest in personal welfare. Scores on these scales ranged from 5-20 and 5-30.

241 Social Support: The selection of 12 4-point Likert scale questions extracted from the Social
242 Provisions Scale used by Ager et al. ~~[17][17]~~ was adopted. Ranging from 1 ('strongly
243 disagree') to 4 ('strongly agree'), a composite score was computed reflecting participants'
244 perceived social support ($\alpha = .80$).

245 Spiritual Transcendence: We took four questions from the Spiritual Transcendence Index de-
246 veloped by Seidlitz et al. ~~[61][61]~~ to measure this concept. Participants indicated whether they
247 are religious and/or spiritual and their level of agreement with statements such as 'my spir-
248 ituality gives me a feeling of fulfillment', and 'I experience a deep communication with God',
249 with 1 indicating 'strong disagreement' and 6 'strong agreement' ($\alpha = .96$).

250 Coping: The Brief COPE was used to assess coping strategies as suggested by Cooper et al.
251 ~~[62][62]~~. These are emotion-focused strategies ($\alpha = .78$), problem-focused strategies ($\alpha =$
252 $.81$), and dysfunctional strategies ($\alpha = .80$). The Brief COPE has been validated in many
253 cross-cultural settings ~~[e.g., [63,64][e.g., 63,64]]~~.

254 Health Habits: A health habits index was created based on previous work by Eriksson et al.
255 ~~[19][19]~~ and adjusted to the study at hand (i.e., items accounted for by other measures were
256 excluded from this index to avoid duplication). This index summed positive responses for the
257 following four items: consuming 10 or more servings of fruits, vegetables or their juices per
258 week; less than seven servings of junk food per week; less than two servings of caffeinated
259 beverages per day; and engaging in physical exercise three times or more per week. The score
260 for this index ranged from 0-4.

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263 **Data analysis**

264 To select predictors with the highest predictive power, we applied Least Absolute Shrinkage
265 and Selection Operator (LASSO) regression. LASSO is a type of machine learning that per-
266 forms more stable and accurate variable selection than other commonly used methods, such
267 as best subset selection, forward selection, backward elimination, and stepwise regression;
268 it is the superior alternative [\[65-67\]](#)~~[65-67]~~. LASSO is especially suitable for large p small n
269 datasets [\[68\]](#)~~[68]~~ and selects fewer noise predictors than commonly used variable selection
270 methods [\[69\]](#)~~[69]~~. Given its unique features, LASSO is increasingly applied in mental health
271 research, for instance on PTSD [\[70\]](#)~~[70]~~ and substance use [\[71\]](#)~~[71]~~.

272 As required for LASSO, we established six sub-sets of data, each including complete
273 cases of one mental health outcome and all predictor variables. We randomly split these into
274 training and test sets (50:50). Models for each mental health outcome were trained on the
275 respective training set. To assess performance regarding prediction accuracy, we calculated
276 mean squared errors (MSEs) for these models on the test sets. The MSEs of all sparse models
277 established through LASSO were smaller than those of the models including all predictor var-
278 iables. This confirms their better performance regarding prediction accuracy. To obtain final
279 coefficients and perform inference we then ran linear regression analyses ('OLS post LASSO')
280 on each data sub-set with the predictors selected through LASSO [\[72,73\]](#)~~[72,73]~~. Regression
281 analyses were undertaken with the package "glmnet" in R 1.0.143.

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285 Results

286 Survey participation

287 Forty-five organizations out of the 124 that were contacted confirmed their willingness to
288 support of the survey. This included 21 national NGOs (NNGOs), 20 international NGOs (IN-
289 GOs) and 4 UN entities, all of which fulfilled the eligibility criteria. One organization clarified
290 being currently inactive in South Sudan, one anticipated being denied funding through the
291 HRP, four declined the request, and 73 did not respond.

292 Based on information received from supporting organizations, the number of humani-
293 tarian workers who had access to the survey was estimated to be between 2672 and 3238. A
294 total of 277 humanitarian workers completed the survey (a response rate in the order of
295 10%). This rate is in line with comparable research undertaken through online surveys in
296 conflict-affected states (e.g., [74][e.g., 74]) and the estimated average response rate for external
297 online surveys [75][75].

298 About three quarters of survey participants were male (78%). Approaching half (48%)
299 of participants were aged between 30-39 and 40% had a Bachelor degree as their highest
300 level of education. A slight majority of participants were based in Juba (54%), classified them-
301 selves as national staff (52%), and were employed by INGOs (64%). Thirty-five per cent of
302 participants worked as Managers/Coordinators, the largest job category for those complet-
303 ing the survey. These and further socio-demographic characteristics are presented in Table
304 1.

305
306 **Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of the cohort.**

Variable	N	%
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<i>Duty station</i>	Capital (Juba)	149	53.8
	Field	128	46.2
<i>Gender</i>	Female	61	22.0
	Male	216	78.0
<i>Age</i>	<30	51	18.4
	30-39	134	48.4
	40-49	67	24.2
	50+	25	8.1
<i>Civil status</i>	Single/separated/divorced/widowed	52	18.8
	In a committed relationship/married	223	80.5
<i>Level of education</i>	Secondary school / High school	19	6.9
	Higher vocational education/technical training	41	14.8
	University (BA)	112	40.4
	Postgraduate (MA, MSc, PhD)	105	37.9
<i>Type of organization</i>	National NGO	58	20.9
	International NGO	176	63.5
	UN entity	41	14.8
	Other	2	0.7
<i>Contract type</i>	National staff	144	52.0
	International staff	119	43.0
	Consultant	9	3.3
	UN Volunteer	5	1.8
<i>Job function</i>	Country Director / Head of Mission	18	6.5
	Manager/Coordinator (Programme or Operations)	96	34.7
	Technical/Programme	63	22.7
	Logistics	12	4.3
	Administrative	21	7.6
	Human Resources	15	4.3
	Other	52	18.8
<i>Working directly with beneficiaries</i>	No	93	33.6
	Yes	184	66.4
<i>Previous humanitarian field assignments</i>	10 or more	25	9.0
	5-9	49	17.7
	2-4	130	46.9
	1	46	9.7
	None	27	9.7
<i>Years spent in South Sudan as humanitarian worker</i>			

<1	39	14.1
1-2	41	14.8
2-3	42	15.2
3-4	27	9.7
4-5	23	8.3
5-6	23	8.3
>6	82	29.6

Mental health history (received counseling or medication for emotional problem)

No	225	81.2
Yes	46	16.6

307 Note: Effective n ranges from 271 to 277.

308

309 **Chronic stress exposure**

310 Participants were exposed to chronic stress; the average number of chronic stressors experienced was 16.31 (SD = 3.47), and the overall mean score on the stress level scale was 29.37 (SD = 14.04). The three stressors most frequently identified by participants as causing extreme stress related to the uncertainty about the political stability in the country (41%); travel difficulties, restrictions on movements, threatening checkpoints, and rough roads (38%); and the separation from close relatives due to work responsibilities (23%) (Table 2).

316

317 **Table 2: Percentage of participants reporting extreme stress**

Stressors	%
Uncertainty about the political stability	40.9
Travel difficulties, restrictions on movements, threatening checkpoints, rough roads	37.9
Separation from close relatives due to work responsibilities	22.9
Armed security, needing to have armed guards at work or living place	18.8
Feeling powerless to change the situation of the beneficiary community	16.5
Excessive heat, cold, or noise	15.9
Economic/financial problem	15.5
Workload expected by organization is too high	14.5

Feeling powerless to change one's own situation	13.9
Feeling hostility from others due to one's affiliation to a certain group (e.g. tribe, nationality, religion)	13.8
Lack of recognition from organization management for work accomplishment	13.1
Tension due to expatriate and national staff not treated equally by organization management	11.6
Being asked to perform duties that are outside of one's professional training or terms of reference	11.3
Lack of recognition from the beneficiary community for work accomplished	8.8
Conflicts or misunderstandings between co-workers	7.9
Criticism of work by media or beneficiary community members	7.2
Lack of direction from organizational management	6.5
Criticism of work by organization management	5.1

318
319 Effective n ranges from 273-277.
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321 Coping strategies

322 Cooper et al. [62][62] established three coping strategies: emotion focused coping, involving
323 the use of emotional support, positive reframing, acceptance, religion, and humor; problem
324 focused coping, involving active coping, planning, and use of instrumental support; and dys-
325 functional coping, involving venting, denial, substance use, behavioral disengagement, self-
326 distraction, and self-blame. Table 3 shows coping strategy mean scores of survey partici-
327 pants.

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329 **Table 3: Coping strategy**

Coping strategy	M	SD	Range
Emotion focused	25.23	5.99	10-40
Problem focused	17.39	4.20	6-24
Dysfunctional	23.19	6.35	12-48

330

331 M = mean; SD = standard deviation. Effective n ranges from 253-261.

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335 **Mental health outcomes**

336 Applying the established cutoff for provisional PTSD diagnosis, 24% of all survey participants
337 experienced symptoms indicative of high risk of post-traumatic stress. Disaggregated by con-
338 tract type, 36% of national and 13% of international staff met symptom thresholds associ-
339 ated with a diagnosis of PTSD; this difference was significant [$\chi^2(1, N=231) = 16.51, p < .001$].

340 Just over one-third (39%) of survey participants scored at or above the established cutoff
341 suggestive of depression, and 38% scored at or above the cutoff suggestive of anxiety disor-
342 der. We found a higher proportion of national staff meeting symptom thresholds associated
343 with disorder than international staff: for the former 45% and 52% reached scores sugges-
344 tive of depression and anxiety disorder, respectively; for the latter 35% and 24% reached
345 these thresholds. While no significant association was found between contract type (na-
346 tional/international staff) and provisional depression diagnosis [$\chi^2(1, N=244) = 2.62, p =$
347 .11], the association between contract type (national/international staff) and anxiety disor-
348 der was significant [$\chi^2(1, N=247) = 20.65, p < .001$].

349 A third of both female (36%) and male (35%) participants reached positive Audit-C test
350 scores. Prevalence of reported hazardous drinking/alcohol use disorder was significantly
351 higher amongst male international staff than male national staff [$\chi^2(1, N=205) = 13.68, p <$
352 .001]: Twenty-five percent of male national staff and 50% of male international staff reached
353 Audit-C thresholds. Amongst women there was a similar trend, with 21% of female national
354 staff and 41% of female international staff reporting drinking at levels suggestive of disorder.
355 However, this difference was not significant [$\chi^2(1, N=58) = 2.27, p = .13$].

356 Based on the established cutoffs, 24% of all survey participants fulfilled the criteria
357 for high burnout on the EE sub-scale, and 19% on the DP sub-scale. International staff re-
358 ported higher rates of difficulty than national staff: 29% and 23% of international staff
359 reached scores suggestive of burnout case on the EE and DP sub-scales respectively com-
360 pared with 19% and 18% of national staff on these same sub-scales. The associations be-
361 tween contract type (national/international staff) and EE [χ^2 (1, N=237) = 3.72, p = .05] and
362 contract type (national/international staff) and DP [χ^2 (1, N=250) = 1.03, p = .31] were not
363 significant.

364

365 **Regression analyses**

366 Higher levels of chronic stress (p<.001) and trauma exposure (p<.01) were risk factors for
367 PTSD, with those participants experiencing higher levels of stress and trauma being signifi-
368 cantly more likely to report PTSD symptoms.

369 Dysfunctional coping was significantly positively associated with depression
370 (p<.001). Further, participants experiencing higher levels of chronic stress were significantly
371 more likely to experience symptoms of depression than those who felt less stressed (p<.001).

372 The risk for anxiety increased with being a woman (p<.05). The number of years spent
373 in South Sudan as humanitarian worker was significantly positively associated with anxiety
374 symptomatology (p<.05). Anxiety was also significantly positively related with dysfunctional
375 coping (p<.01) and exposure to stress (p<.001).

376 Hazardous alcohol consumption was significantly associated with duty station
 377 ($p < .01$); humanitarian workers based in the capital were at greater risk of engaging in haz-
 378 arduous drinking than those based in the field. Spiritual transcendence was negatively related
 379 to hazardous alcohol consumption ($p < .001$) (Table 4).

380

Table 4: Linear regression models for PTSD, depression, anxiety, and hazardous alcohol consumption

Outcome	PTSD (n= 105)		Depression (n= 108)		Anxiety (n= 109)		Hazardous alcohol consumption (n= 111)	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Gender					-0.16*	0.08	0.15	0.08
Duty station							-0.22*	0.08
Years in South Sudan					0.18*	0.08		
Mental health history					-0.02	0.08	0.14	0.08
Spiritual transcendence							-0.32***	0.09
Perceived social support					-0.15	0.09	0.02	0.09
Organizational support - benefits/ items							0.21	0.09
Team cohesion - management							0.01	0.09
Organizational work experience					0.08	0.08		
Coping - problem focused					0.06	0.09		
Coping - dysfunctional			0.37***	0.07	0.28**	0.09	0.14	0.08
Chronic stress	0.48***	0.08	0.52***	0.07	0.34***	0.08		
Trauma exposure	0.29***	0.08			0.16	0.09		

PTSD = Posttraumatic Stress Disorder; Years in South Sudan = Years spent in South Sudan as humanitarian worker; PTSD adjusted $R^2 = .39$; Depression adjusted $R^2 = .46$; Anxiety adjusted $R^2 = .36$; Hazardous alcohol consumption adjusted $R^2 = .31$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; B = standardized beta; An additional 12 predictors were included in LASSO regressions but had coefficients of zero for all outcomes. These predictors are age, education, civil status, contract type, organization

type, job function, number of previous humanitarian field assignments, working directly with beneficiaries, coping – emotion focused, organizational support – trainings/briefings, team cohesion – co-workers, and health habits.

381
 382 In terms of burnout (Table 5), working directly with beneficiaries was associated with
 383 lower levels of EE (p<.01), while greater risk of EE was associated with higher levels of
 384 chronic stress (p<.01). Higher scores on DP were associated with chronic stress (p<.001).
 385 While higher levels of team cohesion with co-workers were associated with lower levels of
 386 DP (p<.05), higher levels of team cohesion with management were associated with higher
 387 levels of DP (p<.05).
 388

Table 5: Linear regression models for burnout

Outcome	Emotional exhaustion (n= 104)		Depersonalization (n= 108)	
	B	SE	B	SE
Predictors				
Education	0.06	0.09	-0.15	0.10
Civil status	-0.05	0.09		
Contract type			0.14	0.09
Organization type	-0.16	0.09		
Duty station			0.03	0.10
Working directly with beneficiaries	-0.26**	0.09	-0.15	0.10
Mental health history			0.04	0.09
Spiritual transcendence	-0.18	0.10		
Perceived social support	-0.08	0.09		
Organizational support – trainings/ briefings	-0.15	0.09		
Organizational work experience	-0.07	0.10		
Team cohesion – co-workers			-0.21*	0.09
Team cohesion – management			0.20*	0.09
Coping – dysfunctional	0.11	0.09		
Chronic stress	0.30**	0.09	0.39***	0.10
Trauma exposure			0.18	0.10

EE adjusted $R^2 = .27$; DP adjusted $R^2 = .20$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; B = standardized beta; An additional nine predictors were included in LASSO regressions but had coefficients of zero for all outcomes. These predictors are gender, age, job function, number of previous humanitarian field assignments, years spent in South Sudan as humanitarian worker, organizational support – benefits/ items, coping – problem focused, coping – emotion focused, and health habits.

389 Discussion

390 Symptom burden of mental health outcomes

391 Our results suggest that humanitarian workers in South Sudan experience substantial levels
392 of symptom burden of PTSD, depression, anxiety, hazardous alcohol consumption and burn-
393 out. Differences in the prevalence rates established for national and international staff were
394 significant only for PTSD, anxiety, and hazardous alcohol consumption among male staff.

395 It is challenging to identify reference groups for meaningful comparison of the estab-
396 lished prevalence rates. Further, comparing health measures across groups within a society
397 and across different societies is – as well-known – problematic [76][76]. Nonetheless, the
398 prevalence of symptoms indicative of high risk of post-traumatic stress we found among na-
399 tional staff (36%) is higher than the rates for mild or moderate forms of PTSD among South
400 Sudanese refugees in northern Uganda (15-20%) [77][77]. It is lower than the prevalence
401 consistent with PTSD diagnosis found among civilians from multiple locations across South
402 Sudan (41%) [78][78]. The prevalence we found (36%) is also lower than that found among
403 respondents based in Malakal Protection of Civilians site (53%) [78][78]. The proportion of
404 South Sudanese national staff reaching scores above thresholds for anxiety (52%) is as high
405 as that of Ugandan national staff operating in neighboring Gulu assessed with the same tool
406 (53%) [17][17].

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407 Regarding international staff, the prevalence rates we found for PTSD and anxiety gen-
408 erally exceed those of western adult populations [\[79-81\]](#)~~[79-81]~~. Likewise, they exceed the
409 proportion of expatriate humanitarian workers in Kosovo who scored above cutoffs for PTSD
410 (13% and 1% respectively) and anxiety (24% and 9% respectively) [\[20\]](#)~~[20]~~. The anxiety
411 prevalence we found among international staff based in South Sudan also exceeds the rate
412 established by Cardozo et al. [\[26\]](#)~~[26]~~ for post-deployment anxiety (12%) among humanitar-
413 ian workers across countries.

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414 Few studies looked at alcohol consumption. The recent study by Jachens, Houdmont
415 and Thomas [\[23\]](#)~~[23]~~ investigated alcohol consumption among humanitarian workers, including
416 national and international staff. Using the same measure that we used, this study found that
417 18% of all female and 10% of all male participants engaged in hazardous drinking [\[23\]](#)~~[23]~~. Lopes
418 Cardozo et al. [\[20\]](#)~~[20]~~ report prevalence of hazardous alcohol consumption for national and in-
419 ternational staff (3% and 16% respectively) but neglect disaggregation by gender. The prev-
420 alence rates we found among female humanitarian workers in South Sudan and male national
421 and international staff (36%, 25% and 50% respectively) all exceed the rates established by
422 these studies.

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424

425 **Trauma and chronic stress exposure**

426 Although experience of traumatic events was associated with higher reportage of
427 symptoms of PTSD, it was chronic stress that was most consistently associated with mental
428 health problems. This confirms our hypothesis from consideration of the JDR model that job
429 demands are significantly positively associated with mental health problems. Our finding is

430 in line with results from other research on the impact of stress versus major life events in
431 adult population samples, [82][82]. It also reinforces the results of previous work that emphasizes
432 the cumulative effect of daily stress in contexts of conflict and instability, [12,17,19][12,17,19]. Previous
433 research on humanitarian workers' mental health has a strong concentration on trauma ex-
434 posure (and PTSD as the corresponding "signature" disorder) (e.g., [20,21,83][e.g., 20,21,83]). Future stud-
435 ies should consider integrating an increased focus on the effects of chronic stress.

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436 Exposure to traumatic events and especially chronic stress is inevitably a characteris-
437 tic of the operating environments of humanitarian workers. Nevertheless, there is a clear case
438 for preventive measures addressing security and work conditions on the basis of our finding.
439 With regards to South Sudan, developing and disseminating thorough security and evacua-
440 tion protocols and re-confirming with staff that they are covered in case of need is one rem-
441 edy that may help mitigate top-ranked stressors such as uncertainty about the political sta-
442 bility. Investments in comprehensive briefings prior to deployment on the implications of
443 humanitarian work on staff's personal life, and in staff support services that promote work-
444 life balance (e.g., rest and recuperation) may help address stress caused by family separation
445 and high workloads.

446

447 **Coping and spiritual transcendence**

448 Surprisingly, we found no significant association between emotion focused and problem fo-
449 cused coping strategies and mental illness. This is contrary to expectations from studies with
450 other population groups using the same measure that found significant relationships be-
451 tween one or both coping strategies and depression or anxiety, [84,85][84,85]. The positive relation-
452 ship we found between dysfunctional coping and depression and anxiety is in line with these

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453 studies [\[62,86\]](#)~~[62,86]~~. Specifically with expatriate humanitarian workers, Eriksson et al. found a
454 significant positive association between avoidant coping and PTSD, anxiety, and depression.
455 Lopez Cardozo et al. [\[22\]](#)~~[22]~~ found using an avoidant coping style significantly associated with
456 more anxiety among national humanitarian workers. These findings suggest potential for ad-
457 dressing coping strategies adopted by humanitarian workers. However, establishing appro-
458 priate, protective forms of coping in humanitarian settings may be challenging. Coping strat-
459 egies in situations of conflict may, as suggested by recent work in conflict-affected popula-
460 tions [\[87\]](#)~~[87]~~, require distinct adaptation to be effective.

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461 We found the concept of spiritual transcendence [\[88\]](#)~~[88]~~ to be negatively associated
462 with hazardous alcohol consumption, indicating that humanitarian workers with higher spir-
463 ituality are less likely to engage in such harmful behavior. This finding matches outcomes
464 from similar occupation groups [\[89\]](#)~~[89]~~. Our hypothesis that personal resources are significantly
465 negatively associated with mental health problems holds for this construct.

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466

467 **Team cohesion and working with beneficiaries**

468 The association of higher levels of team cohesion with co-workers with lower levels of de-
469 personalization reinforces the value of establishing effective team working in high-stress en-
470 vironment suggested in other work [\(e.g., \[17\]](#)~~[e.g., 17]~~). However, it was unexpected that higher team
471 cohesion with management was associated with higher rather than lower levels of deperson-
472 alization. A possible explanation is that in the humanitarian worker sample at hand, deperson-
473 alization was most prevalent among Managers/Coordinators. It is well known that burn-
474 out has a spillover effect and aspects associated with depersonalization, such as pessimistic
475 attitudes towards beneficiaries, can spread from managers to team members [\[90\]](#)~~[90]~~. Our

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476 hypothesis derived from the JDR model that job resources are negatively associated with
477 mental health problems is thus partially fulfilled.

478

479 **Socio-demographic factors**

480 The observation that working directly with humanitarian aid beneficiaries was associated
481 with lower not higher levels of emotional exhaustion points to the stresses in this environ-
482 ment associated with managerial and coordination functions, too. The fact that duty station
483 was associated with hazardous alcohol consumption can most readily be attributed to the
484 fact that Juba – the capital – provided far easier physical and social access to alcoholic beverages
485 (e.g., [91][e.g., 91]). On the basis of studies in other humanitarian settings (e.g., [17,19,20,92][e.g., 17,19,20,92]),

486 we had anticipated further socio-demographic characteristics to explain variance in the men-
487 tal health outcomes. However, while this study found some of the differences in the estab-
488 lished prevalence rates for national and international staff to be significant during bivariate
489 analyses, contract type was not a significant predictor during multiple regression analyses.

490 Risk factors for common mental health problems specific to gender, especially gender-based
491 violence and sexual harassment, are widespread within humanitarian communities (e.g.,

492 [93,94][e.g., 93,94]), yet gender was only significantly associated with anxiety. In light of this and previ-
493 ous studies with humanitarian workers that have been inconstant in their findings regarding
494 gender differences (e.g., [17][e.g., 17]), we are especially interested in rates of reported mental ill-

495 health between men and women. In the absence of such findings, the factors that influence
496 the relationship between gender and mental health among humanitarian workers remains
497 unclear [16][16].

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499 **Limitations**

500 This study has four main limitations. Firstly, the cross-sectional survey design does not
501 provide a basis for establishing cause-effect relationships. Secondly, we could not conduct
502 clinical interviews to establish psychiatric diagnosis. Instead, we used screening tools that
503 have exhibited strong psychometric properties in many settings and have been shown to be
504 suggestive of rates of clinical disorder [\(e.g., \[48-51\]\[e.g., 48,49-51\]\)](#). Thirdly, our sample may
505 not be fully representative of the humanitarian community in South Sudan. Although data on
506 the composition of the humanitarian community in South Sudan are scarce, recent estimates
507 suggest that national staff make up 92% of the NGO staffing [\[95\]\[95\]](#), in line with the global
508 estimate of 90% of the humanitarian workforce in field locations [\[40\]\[40\]](#). By contrast, our
509 sample comprises of 52% national and 43% international staff. However, our sample re-
510 flected the humanitarian community well in other regards, such as the greater proportion of
511 male humanitarian workers and level of education: men made up the majority of the sample
512 and most had a University degree, in line with related studies on humanitarian workers [\(e.g.,](#)
513 [\[20,21,24\]\[e.g., 20,21,24\]\)](#). Lastly, the low survey response rate clearly raises cautions regarding the gener-
514 alizability of the study results, and further research is required to confirm our findings. Or-
515 ganizations repeatedly identified limited Internet access as a hurdle, especially for field-
516 based staff. The English language in which the survey was conducted may have presented an
517 additional barrier for participation for some staff. However, the response rate is well in line
518 with response rates typically received by online surveys [\[75,96\]\[75,96\]](#).

519

520 **Conclusion**

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521 Our results suggest that humanitarian workers in South Sudan experience substantial rates
522 of mental health problems. This study highlights that chronic stress plays a dominant role in
523 understanding mental health problems. It points to the need for organizational staff support
524 strategies that mitigate humanitarian workers' chronic stress exposure. Dysfunctional cop-
525 ing was associated with higher risk for mental disorder, indicating an important role for ed-
526 ucation of humanitarian workers regarding stress management. However, strategies that
527 may be adaptive in other contexts may not be effective in high stress environments such as
528 that studied here.

529

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