Gender differences in attachment anxiety and avoidance and their association with psychotherapy use – Examining students from a German university

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Running head: Gender differences in attachment and psychotherapy use

Words (Text): 5'325

Words (Abstract): 302

References: 68

Tables: 1

Figures: 5

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Abstract

Background: Attachment anxiety and avoidance have been insufficiently studied in relation to psychotherapy use. Attachment theory, specifically attachment anxiety and avoidance, might explain gender differences in psychotherapy use, which is generally lower in those identifying as male. In addition, university students are a particularly vulnerable group for mental health problems, and understanding psychotherapy use, especially among mentally distressed male students, is pivotal.

Methods: A total of 44,299 students from a German university were invited to participate in an online survey on the topic of "studying with mental stress", and 4,894 completed the survey (adjusted response rate of 11.04%). The students answered questions regarding psychotherapy use, and they completed the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-D) identifying syndromes of depression, anxiety, alcohol use, somatoform and eating disorders. In addition, the Experiences in Close Relationships – Revised (ECR-RD12) questionnaire, was used to measure attachment anxiety and avoidance.

Results: Significant gender differences for attachment anxiety and avoidance emerged showing higher attachment anxiety in female students and higher attachment avoidance in male students. In addition, male students used psychotherapy significantly less than female students, and they also reported less intention to use psychotherapy in the near future. Male students did not differ from female students with regard to mental distress. When exploring regressions to predict psychotherapy use, male students' attachment anxiety and avoidance predicted use. For female students, only attachment anxiety emerged as a significant predictor. However, when correcting for multiple testing, only attachment anxiety remained a significant predictor of psychotherapy use for male and female students.

Conclusion: Attachment anxiety is positively associated with psychotherapy use and lower attachment anxiety in men may partially explain lower psychotherapy use in male university students. Lower attachment anxiety in male students emerges as a relevant factor explaining lower psychotherapy use in males, which is not balanced by higher attachment avoidance in males.

Key words: *psychotherapy use, attachment, attachment anxiety, attachment avoidance, gender differences, depression, somatoform disorder*

Introduction

Men and women differ with regard to the prevalence of several mental disorders with women showing higher rates in depressive disorders, somatoform disorders, anxiety disorders and eating disorders (Bandelow & Michaelis, 2015; De Waal et al., 2004; Galmiche et al., 2019; Hasin et al., 2018; Jacobi et al., 2014; Salk et al., 2017), while men show higher rates in substance use disorders and especially in alcohol use disorders (Grant et al., 2015, 2016). Although, overall men and women experience similar levels of psychological distress, men use psychotherapy about 30% less than women (Brandstetter et al., 2017; Eggenberger et al., 2021; Rommel et al., 2018; Walther et al., 2021; Walther & Seidler, 2020). Whether this pattern differs with regard to differing psychological syndromes is, however, insufficiently studied.

A person's attachment dimension has further been suggested to influence one's decision to take on psychotherapy or not when facing psychological distress (Dozier, 1990). Furthermore, a commonly discussed reason for lower psychotherapy use in men as compared to women is the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology with the two main foci of "be in control" and "be unlike women" (Eggenberger et al., 2021; Levant et al., 2016; Seidler et al., 2016; A Walther et al., 2021; Wong et al., 2017). It has been shown in several studies that the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology is significantly associated with attachment orientation suggesting a shared potential to explain psychotherapy use (Calzo, 2010; Fitzpatrick, 2016; Saldubehere, 2019; Smiler & Heasley, 2016). Regardless of one's endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology, a person's attachment orientation appears to be critical to the engagement in psychotherapy, as it has a central role in approaching and acting in social relationships and self-disclosure (Dozier, 1990). Attachment orientation is operationalized using a two-dimensional conceptualization namely of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance (Bartholomew et al., 2001; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2005). Anxiously attached individuals generally have a negative view of the self, tend to be dependent on others and are hypervigilant to social and emotional cues from others (Fraley et al., 2006; Gillath et al., 2005; Richards & Schat, 2011). By contrast, individuals exhibiting an avoidant attachment orientation generally perceive others as unavailable, unresponsive, or punitive (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2005; Richards & Schat, 2011). Thus, individuals with an avoidant attachment orientation engage more in deactivation strategies by denying the importance of relationships and avoiding emotional intimacy (Mikulincer et al., 2003). Therefore, individuals

exhibiting low attachment anxiety and avoidance generally view themselves as valuable and perceive others as trustworthy (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2005; Richards & Schat, 2011).

Many individuals who seek psychotherapeutic services exhibit anxious or avoidant attachment orientations, while in psychotherapy, the client-therapist relationship has many characteristics of an attachment relationship (Slade & Holmes, 2019). The therapist is supposed to serve as a secure base, acting as a potential agent of change to support the client in developing his intimate connections, social relationships, and autonomous exploration. A secure attachment organization with the therapist was shown to predict positive working alliance, more compliance and greater engagement in therapy (Diener & Monroe, 2011; Dozier, 1990; Mikulincer et al., 2013). By contrast, stronger attachment avoidance was associated with rejection of treatment providers, reduced self-disclosure, and poorer use of treatment (Dozier, 1990), which are rather typical issues in male clients (Seidler et al., 2021; Walther & Seidler, 2020), highlighting the question whether gender differences in attachment anxiety and avoidance are associated with psychotherapy use.

A significant problem in research on attachment theory is rooted in the fact that different research traditions, each with different questions and measurement methods, lead to different results. For example, the categorical approach of attachment research can be attributed more to a developmental psychological research approach in which observer assessment procedures such as an interview or projective procedures predominate. The dimensional research approach can instead be attributed to the field of personality and social psychology, in which questionnaires (self-assessment procedures) represent the method of choice (Crowell et al., 2016; Kirchmann & Strauß, 2008). This is also evident in the question of gender differences. Gender differences in attachment organization have been reported early on with men being overrepresented in the attachment avoidant category as compared to women when using the adult attachment interview (AAI) (Dozier, 1990). Yet, a meta-analysis examining gender differences in the AAI did not identify consistent gender differences in attachment representations (Bakermans-Kranenburg & van IJzendoorn, 2009). This is contrasted by consistently reported gender differences when using a dimensional approach with self-report questionnaires to assess attachment dimensions, (Del Giudice, 2009; Del Giudice & Belsky, 2010; Petrowski et al., 2020). A meta-analysis examining attachment dimensions measured with psychometric scales (Experience in Close Relationships [ECR]; Experience in Close Relationships - Revised [ECR-R]; Adult Attachment Questionnaire) reveals

that women exhibit higher attachment anxiety, while men exhibit higher attachment avoidance (del Giudice, 2011). This further led to the claim to consistently integrate gender differences between men and women in attachment research (Del Giudice, 2019; Duschinsky et al., 2021).

Potential gender differences in attachment organization in university students are still insufficiently examined and might help to further explain gender differences in psychotherapy use in this population and ultimately inform tailored mental health support systems for male and female students. Till date, no study has investigated whether men and women differ in their choice to take on psychotherapy depending on specific psychological syndromes and their level in attachment anxiety or avoidance. Based on the outlined literature on gender differences in psychotherapy use and attachment organization, we hypothesize that individuals with higher attachment anxiety having a more negative view of the self and being more dependent on others will use psychotherapy more than individuals with low attachment anxiety. For attachment avoidance, the empirical basis leads less unambiguously to distinct hypotheses. Here, two scenarios would be possible. On the one hand, for individuals with high attachment avoidance, who generally perceive others as unavailable, unresponsive, or punitive and deny the importance of relationship and avoid emotional closeness, it can be assumed that these individuals are reluctant to engage in psychotherapy. However, on the other hand, it can be assumed that with high attachment avoidance, major interpersonal problems arise in the life course and that these persons then finally make use of psychotherapy. Therefore, it can be assumed that attachment avoidance is also positively associated with the use of psychotherapy, but that this is less pronounced than in the case of attachment anxiety. Since women are expected to have higher attachment anxiety and men higher attachment avoidance, these gender differences in attachment organization may partly explain gender differences in psychotherapy use.

Methods

Sample and procedure

The study was conducted at the University of Cologne in the winter semester 2014/2015 (December 2014 to February 2015) as part of an online survey (KUMBel; Kölner Umfrage bei Studierenden zu psychischen Belastungen). Description of the study sample and survey procedure are reported in detail elsewhere (Weber et al., 2020). The University of Cologne is

divided into six faculties: the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Philosophy, the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, and the Faculty of Human Sciences. Of the 49,772 students enrolled in the winter semester 2014/2015, a total of 44'299 students at the University of Cologne were invited to participate in the online survey via the overall e-mail distribution list.

With the invitation email, students received a link to an online platform (Leiner, 2019), where the survey could be completed. After four weeks, a reminder email was sent out to potential participants. For survey completion, participants needed about 20-30min. The Ethics Committee of the Medical Faculty of the University of Cologne gave its positive vote after extensive consultation on the issues relevant to data protection.

Measures

Participants were asked several sociodemographic questions (e.g. age, gender, nationality, previous vocational training) and course-related questions (e.g. course of study, subject semesters, ways of financing studies, thoughts of dropping out) were collected. Gender was assessed using a binary response option, where students could indicate to self-identify as “woman” or “man”. In addition, information on current and intended psychotherapy use for mental health problems was obtained. Regarding current psychotherapy use, students were asked directly whether they were currently receiving psychotherapy ("Yes"/"No"), while the question about intention to start psychotherapy asked students whether they had thought about receiving psychotherapy ("Yes"/"No"). In a previous study with German-speaking students, the item on current psychotherapy use showed high reliability (Cohen's kappa $\kappa = .92$) over a one-month period, as well as significant convergent validity with depression symptoms (PHQ-9; point biserial correlation coefficient $r_{pb} = .18, p < .001$) and anxiety symptoms (GAD-7; $r_{pb} = .17, p < .001$) (Eggenberger, 2021). On the other hand, the same study supported the discriminant validity of this item with significant negative correlations between current psychotherapy use and self-esteem ($r_{pb} = -.19, p < .001$), optimism ($r_{pb} = -.10, p = .009$), and resilience ($r_{pb} = -.11, p = .008$) (Eggenberger, 2021). In the present study, convergent validity of the two items was further supported by a significant positive correlation between current psychotherapy use and suicidal ideation (Pearson's phi coefficient $r_{\phi} = .15, p < .001$) as well as between the intention to start psychotherapy and suicidal ideation ($r_{\phi} = .30, p < .001$).

The mental distress of the students was assessed with the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-D; Löwe et al., 2002), the German version of the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ; Spitzer et al., 1999). Designed as a self-report instrument, the PHQ-D is a standard instrument for screening the most common mental disorders. In addition to psychosocial functioning and eight common psychosocial stressors, the complete version (78 items) covers a total of eight psychiatric disorders according to DSM-IV criteria. A previous study reported an internal consistency for the depression module of $\alpha = 0.88$ and for the somatization module of $\alpha = 0.79$ (Löwe et al., 2004). In the present study comparable values for the internal consistency were identified for the depression module of $\alpha = 0.86$ and for the somatization module of $\alpha = 0.76$.

We used the Experiences in Close Relationship - Revised (ECR-RD12) to measure attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance (Ehrental et al., 2008; Fraley et al., 2011). The 12-item scale measures the two dimensions of attachment: anxiety (6 items) and avoidance (6 items). Sample items are "I worry quite a bit about losing connection with other people" (anxiety) and "I don't feel comfortable opening up to other people" (avoidance). Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree.". Previously, high internal consistency was reported for the German translation of the ECR-R with Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.91$ and 0.92 for the two scales. In the present study, the two scales revealed an internal consistency of $\alpha = 0.82$ for attachment anxiety and for attachment avoidance of $\alpha = 0.78$.

Statistical analysis

The statistical analysis was conducted in the R software environment (R Core Team, 2020), including the additional R-packages "psych" (Revelle, 2020; calculation of internal consistencies), "car" (Fox & Sanford, 2019; calculation of variance inflation factors), "rcompanion" (Mangiafico, 2021; maximum likelihood estimates of pseudo R^2 and p -values in the logistic regression setting), and "ggplot2" (Wickham, 2016; visualizations). The analysis consisted of the four steps described in the following, with the covariates age and nationality included in all calculations. To test significance of the results, an initial alpha-level of $\alpha = 0.05$ was used for each step. Subsequently, the results were checked for robustness using the Holm-Bonferroni correction for multiple testing. Furthermore, for all calculations where the ECR-RD12 was involved a slightly reduced sample of $N = 4705$ was used due to some missing values.

In a first step, the sample characteristics were analyzed by calculating mean scores for the continuous variables and relative percentages for the categorical variables, once for the total sample and once for men and women separately. In a second step, group differences between men and women in regards to attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance, screened psychiatric syndromes, and psychotherapy use were analyzed using two-sided *t*-tests for the continuous variables and two-sided Wald-tests for the categorical variables. In a third step, binary logistic regression models were fitted to assess the predictive value of attachment orientation for the likelihood to use or the intention to start psychotherapy, once in the total sample, once for men and women separately, and once for all individual subgroups consisting of participants screened positive for a psychiatric syndrome. In a fourth and last step, moderation analyses were conducted using Hayes' (2013) regression-based approach to test for possible moderating effects of attachment orientation on the association between the likelihood to use or the intention to start psychotherapy and the positive screening for different psychiatric syndromes.

Assumptions for the previously described analyses and statistical tests were assessed by using Levene's median-based test for equal variances (Brown & Forsythe, 1974; testing homoscedasticity for the *t*-tests), Cook's distance (Cook, 1977; detecting influential points in the logistic regression models), and the generalized variance inflation factor proposed by Fox and Monette (1992; detecting collinearity of predictor variables in the logistic regression models).

Results

Sample characteristics

As presented in Table 1, the total sample of the study consisted of 4894 participants, of which 1207 were men (24.7%) and 3687 were women (75.3%). The vast majority were of German nationality (94.7%). About one-fifth of the students had previously completed another degree program (19.4%), and while about one-quarter had previously dropped out of another degree program (24.2%), nearly half the students were currently thinking about dropping out of their current program (45.6%). The majority of participants received financial support either from their relatives (70.5%) or through an additional job alongside their studies (67.8%). Though most of the students previously had contact with a counseling service (71.2%) and about one-quarter previously used psychotherapeutic treatment (26.0%), fewer than every tenth student was currently using psychotherapy (8.7%). Nonetheless, about every fourth student expressed

the intention to use psychotherapy in the future (28.4%). Furthermore, about one-fifth of the students previously required medical care (21.4%) and a small minority was currently undergoing medical treatment (6.9%). Additionally, about one-tenth of the students reported to suffer from a physical impairment (9.4%), about one-twentieth was currently taking psychiatric medication (6.0%), and a minority previously experienced physical or sexual abuse (3.5%).

Regarding psychological distress, more than half the students screened positive for at least one psychiatric syndrome (58.4%). Most students screened positive for a depressive syndrome (34.9%), followed by a somatoform syndrome (23.6%) and an alcohol use syndrome (19.1%). Roughly the same number of students suffered from an anxiety syndrome (12.5%) as suffered from an eating disorder syndrome (11.8%).

Group comparisons

As presented in Figure 1 and Table 1, women had a significantly higher mean score for attachment anxiety compared to men, while men had a significantly higher mean score for attachment avoidance as compared to women. These differences also remained significant after applying the Holm-Bonferroni correction for multiple testing.

In terms of positive psychiatric syndrome screenings with the PHQ-D (Figure 2, Table 1), significantly more women than men were screened positive for any depressive syndrome (minor and/or major depression), any anxiety syndrome (panic and/or generalized anxiety), and generalized anxiety syndrome. And while significantly more men than women were screened positive for an alcohol use syndrome, significantly more women than men were screened positive for a somatoform syndrome and any eating disorder syndrome (bulimia nervosa and/or binge eating). However, after applying the Holm-Bonferroni correction for multiple testing, the gender differences for any depressive syndrome and any eating disorder syndrome did no longer reach statistical significance. Regarding psychotherapy use, men were about 26.9% less likely to use psychotherapy compared to women and men were also about 23.8% less likely to have the intention to start psychotherapy in the future compared to women. These differences remained significant after a Holm-Bonferroni correction.

Analyzing individual subgroups screened positive for a psychiatric syndrome in regards to gender differences in current psychotherapy use (Figure 3A) it emerged that men screened positive for at least one psychiatric syndrome (9.0%) were significantly less likely to currently

use psychotherapy compared to women screened positive for at least one psychiatric syndrome (11.5%; $z[2851] = -2.33$, $p = .020$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .022$, AIC = 1947.9). However, this result was no longer significant after applying the Holm-Bonferroni correction. Examining the same subgroups for gender differences in the intention to start psychotherapy (Figure 3B) revealed that significantly fewer men screened positive for any syndrome (32.0%) were intending to start psychotherapy in the future compared to women screened positive for any syndrome (39.9%; $z[3777] = -3.72$, $p < .001$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .008$, AIC = 3787). Similarly, fewer men screened positive for major depression (48.3%), alcohol use syndrome (27.6%), and any eating disorder syndrome (28.5%) were intending to start psychotherapeutic treatment in the future compared to women screened positive for major depression (57.7%), alcohol use syndrome (36.0%), and any eating disorder syndrome (47.8%). (major depression: $z[1002] = -2.42$, $p = .015$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .010$, AIC = 1385.9; alcohol use syndrome: $z[929] = -2.77$, $p = .006$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .014$, AIC = 1185; any eating syndrome: $z[751] = -2.34$, $p = .019$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .023$, AIC = 763.3). After correcting these findings for multiple testing, the only difference that remained significant was the gender difference in the subgroup screened positive for any psychiatric syndrome.

Logistic regressions

Fitting binary logistic regression models to predict current psychotherapy use based on attachment orientation in different subgroups (Figure 4, S-Table 1), showed that higher attachment anxiety predicted higher odds to currently use psychotherapy in the total sample (Figure 4A), as well as in all other examined subgroups (Figures 4B - 4I). These results remained significant even after applying a Holm-Bonferroni correction. On the other hand, higher attachment avoidance did predict higher odds for current psychotherapy use in male students (Figure 4B) and in students screened positive for alcohol use disorder (Figure 4G). However, these results for attachment avoidance became nonsignificant after applying the Holm-Bonferroni correction for multiple testing. Similarly, attachment avoidance did not have any predictive value for current psychotherapy use for the total sample (Figure 4A), for female students (Figure 4C), or any of the other subgroups screened positive for a psychiatric syndrome (Figures 4D - 4F, 4H, 4I).

Examining the same subgroups but predicting the intention to start psychotherapy as an outcome based on attachment orientation (Figure 5, S-Table 2), showed that higher

attachment anxiety was a significant predictor for higher odds of intending to start psychotherapy in the total sample (Figure 5A), as well as in all other subgroups that were analyzed (Figure 5A – 5I). Again, these results remained significant after correcting for multiple testing. Similarly, higher attachment avoidance would predict higher odds of intending to start psychotherapy in the total sample (Figure 5A) and in all subgroups except in students screened positive for any eating disorder syndrome (Figure 5I). Yet, after applying the Holm-Bonferroni correction, attachment avoidance was only significantly associated with the intention to start psychotherapy in the total sample (Figure 5A), in female students (Figure 5B), in students screened positive for any psychiatric syndrome (Figure 5D), and in students screened positive for any depressive syndrome (Figure 5E). Further analyses, where the positively-screened subgroups were additionally separated by gender, can be found in the supplementary (S-Figure 1 – S-Figure 4).

As purely exploratory analyses reported in the Supplementary, moderation analyses were carried out investigating possible moderating effects of attachment orientation on the association between individual psychiatric syndromes and psychotherapy use (see S-Figure 5).

Discussion

Summary of results

In the present study, a significant gender difference was observed in the two attachment dimensions of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance. Male university students showed significantly lower attachment anxiety and significantly higher attachment avoidance. Furthermore, male students reported to engage significantly less in psychotherapy as compared to female students and also reported lower intentions to use psychotherapy in the near future as female students. Male and female students did not differ in general psychological distress, while male students tend to show lower rates in positive syndrome screenings with the PHQ-D for all syndromes except for the alcohol use disorder syndrome, where for more male students than female students a positive screening was observed. In male students, current psychotherapy use was predicted by attachment anxiety and avoidance, while only the association between attachment anxiety and psychotherapy use survived correction for multiple testing. In female students only attachment anxiety emerged as a significant predictor of psychotherapy use. In exploratory analyses (see Supplementary), attachment anxiety emerged as a significant moderator of the association between suffering

from a depressive or somatoform syndrome and current psychotherapy use in female, but not male, students, with higher attachment anxiety leading to increased psychotherapy use. However, moderation effects did not remain significant after correction for multiple testing.

Integration of findings

As widely established (Rosenfield, 1999; Rosenfield & Smith, 2010; Vos et al., 2017), also in the present study men and women and more precisely, male students and female students, did not differ in overall psychological distress as measured by the PHQ-D any syndrome. However, as presented in Figure 2 and in accord with large multi-national investigations and meta-analyses, male students showed a reduced rate of any anxiety syndrome, general anxiety syndrome, and somatoform syndrome as compared to female students, while the alcohol use syndrome was the only syndrome, for which male students showed significantly higher rates than female students (Bandelow & Michaelis, 2015; De Waal et al., 2004; Galmiche et al., 2019; Grant et al., 2015; Hasin et al., 2018; Salk et al., 2017; World Health Organisation (WHO), 2017). Lower rates for male students in any depression syndrome or any eating syndrome did not remain statistically significant after correction for multiple testing.

Furthermore, male students showed a significantly lower current psychotherapy use and also a lower intention to use psychotherapy in the near future as compared to female students (see Table 1, Figure 2), which further corroborates previous reports from Germany or Switzerland (Brandstetter et al., 2017; Eggenberger et al., 2021; Rommel et al., 2018). However, when investigating gender differences in psychotherapy use by syndrome, only for the category *any syndrome* a significant difference was initially detected, which did not remain significant after correction for multiple testing. While for panic disorder syndrome proportionally more male students use psychotherapy than female students when affected, for all other syndromes, female students use psychotherapy proportionally more (see Figure 3A). Examining the intention to use psychotherapy in those affected by any syndrome, male students reported significantly lower intention to take on psychotherapy. This, however, was also detected on syndrome level for major depressive syndrome, alcohol use syndrome, and any eating syndrome. Yet, after correcting for multiple testing only the category *any syndrome* remained statistically significant (see Figure 3B). As there are no gender-specific comparisons with regard to current or intended psychotherapy use by syndrome, these results provide

important insights for future research on gender differences in psychotherapy use for specific disorders.

In order to answer the question about the predictive potential of attachment dimensions with regard to psychotherapy use, it is first necessary to clarify whether there are also gender differences in attachment dimensions in the present study. Confirming previous findings (Del Giudice, 2019), gender differences in attachment dimensions were corroborated (see Figure 1). Gender differences in attachment organization have been reported already thirty years ago (Dozier, 1990). However, due to imprecise use of attachment terminology and two different research backgrounds (developmental psychology [AAI] and personality psychology [ECR]), there is much confusion with respect to gender differences in attachment research. These two research approaches to quantifying attachment are entirely different methods, which is why the outcomes obtained cannot be compared in terms of gender differences in attachment organization in general. Nevertheless, when assessing attachment dimensions with self-report measures, men generally exhibit lower attachment anxiety and higher attachment avoidance (del Giudice, 2011). Insofar our study corroborates these results and highlights gender differences in attachment orientation as potential explanatory factor for lower psychotherapy use in men. Furthermore, it seems arguably necessary to additionally examine gender differences in attachment dimensions at the subgroup level and in a culture-specific manner (del Giudice, 2011; Li et al., 2009), with university students from Germany representing one such subgroup (Weber et al., 2020).

As shown in Figure 4, for the male and female sample, attachment anxiety emerged as significant predictor of current psychotherapy use. In the male sample attachment avoidance also emerged initially as significant predictor, but after correcting for multiple testing the association faded. However, for attachment anxiety a generally larger effect emerged suggesting attachment anxiety to be the more relevant behavior-regulating construct with regard to psychotherapy use. However, with regard to intention to use psychotherapy, in the total and the female sample attachment anxiety and avoidance significantly predicted intended psychotherapy use, while in the male sample only attachment anxiety was a significant predictor after correcting for multiple testing (see Figure 5). Again, attachment anxiety seems to be the more behavior-regulating construct in respect to intended psychotherapy use with consistently higher odds ratios, although the difference in effect size became less clear especially in the female subsample. When examining gender differences in

the relationship between attachment organization and psychotherapy use (current & intended), it is striking that a similar association appears to exist for all syndromes examined. However, it must be added here that due to power reduction in these specific subsample analyses, several associations no longer became statistically significant especially for the male sample by specific syndromes with regard to attachment avoidance (see S-Figure 1).

Many people seek psychotherapeutic support because of interpersonal problems caused by high attachment anxiety or avoidance. Insecure attachment operationalized as either high attachment anxiety or avoidance has consistently been associated with various psychiatric diagnoses (Bakermans-Kranenburg & van IJzendoorn, 2009; Kirchmann et al., 2012). There are several studies further showing an association between insecure attachment and worse affect regulation (Bosquet & Egeland, 2006), worse social skills (Belsky & Fearon, 2002), more negative self-evaluations (Ann Easterbrooks & Abeles, 2000), and worse problem solving competencies (Schieche & Spangler, 2005). Therefore, it follows theoretically that these two constructs are positively associated with psychotherapy utilization. However, till date this has never been investigated and reported in a gender separate manner. Thus, this is the first study to show psychotherapy use to be positively associated with attachment anxiety and avoidance in a gender-specific manner.

In psychotherapy, the client-therapist relationship resembles an attachment relationship (Slade & Holmes, 2019). Therefore, the finding that attachment avoidance is less strongly associated with psychotherapy use than attachment anxiety is plausible. Avoidantly attached individuals expect relevant others to be unavailable, unresponsive, or punitive (Mikulincer et al., 2013; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2005). This causes insecurities for the potential psychotherapy clients, which are either overcome with courage and willpower, or are at a certain point no longer relevant enough due to the increasing psychological distress. This leads to the question of whether individuals with predominantly avoidant attachment issues, compared to individuals with predominantly anxious attachment issues, tend to enter psychotherapy at later stages of a disease course and exhibit correspondingly higher levels of distress. Indicative for this is that stronger attachment avoidance was associated with rejection of treatment providers, reduced self-disclosure, and poorer use of treatment (Dozier, 1990), while more securely attached individuals seem to benefit more from psychotherapy (Meredith et al., 2007). A secure attachment orientation with the therapist is

associated with a better working alliance, more compliance and greater engagement in therapy (Diener & Monroe, 2011; Dozier, 1990; Mikulincer et al., 2013).

Anxiously attached individuals, however, tend to depend on others for help with uncertainties and therefore tend to consider psychotherapy even when experiencing only minor psychological symptoms. In addition, anxiously attached people often have a negative view of themselves, so that they are generally more insecure whether they are “good” and “okay” as they are and might secretly wish to address this insecurity in psychotherapy when psychological symptoms arise (Mikulincer et al., 2013). This line of argumentation fits perfectly with the observed effect size difference in the predictive effect of the two attachment orientations on psychotherapy use with attachment anxiety being the more behavior-regulating construct.

Finally, we investigated in an explorative manner potential moderating effects of attachment anxiety and avoidance on the relation between suffering from a mental health syndrome and psychotherapy use (S-Figure 5A-C). In the total sample, initially significant moderation effects were detected indicating that attachment anxiety moderated the association between any depressive syndrome and current psychotherapy use with higher attachment anxiety levels being associated with an increased likelihood of using psychotherapy. A similar effect was identified for the relation between somatoform syndrome and current psychotherapy use moderated by attachment anxiety. However, effects did not hold after correction for multiple testing. For the outcome intended psychotherapy, only in the female sample attachment avoidance emerged as significant moderator in combination with any depressive syndrome as predictor, which also did not remain significant after correction for multiple testing. In summary, with regard to the moderation analyses, it can be concluded that the findings provide an inconsistent picture, small effect size results, and therefore should be interpreted with caution.

Limitations

There are several limitations of the study when interpreting the results. First, the cross-sectional nature of the study does not allow any conclusions about causality and large longitudinal designs are required to examine time-dependent associations. Second, gender was assessed only in a binary manner (Woman/Man). Although this was regular at the time the study was conducted, future studies would need to further separate the gender variable

into the following categories: woman, man, transgender, cisgender, non-binary, other, or people preferring not to answer this question. Third, although the PHQ-D is a valid and reliable instrument for identifying mental disorders at the syndrome level, a clinical diagnostic interview would be preferable. Due to the lack of differential diagnostics in this instrument, it is not possible to determine conclusively whether for example a person with a positive screen for "any depression" is not primarily suffering from another mental disorder, e.g. anxiety disorders or substance use disorders, or even from a somatic disease, e.g. hypothyroidism. Fourth, the study was specifically mentioning mental stress in its title potentially biasing participation towards a convenience sample with comparably more mental health problems. Fifth, although widely discussed in the context of psychotherapy reluctance, the present study did not include a measure for traditional masculinity. Sixth, in terms of survey completion, 189 individuals did not complete the ECR-RD12. If it were assumed that these dropouts did not occur at random, they could possibly differ in a systematic way in attachment anxiety and avoidance due to the underlying group membership. However, the sensitivity analysis showed no differences in the results when only the reduced sample was used.

Conclusion

Lower attachment anxiety among male students compared with female students provides new insights with regard to lower psychotherapy use among mentally distressed male students. Since anxiously attached individuals suffer from a more negative view of the self rendering them more prone to hyperactivating strategies such as being overdependent on others and more often seeking reassurance or guidance, female students exhibiting overall higher levels in attachment anxiety use psychotherapy more often than men also because of this reason. As shown by logistic regressions, overall attachment anxiety is more behavior regulating than attachment avoidance with regard to psychotherapy use. Avoidantly attached individuals generally perceive others as unavailable, unresponsive, or punitive, which is associated with more deactivating strategies (e.g. avoiding emotional intimacy, denial of importance of emotional relationships). Therefore, higher attachment avoidance in male students cannot balance psychotherapy use between male and female students due to significantly higher attachment anxiety in female students and its stronger association with psychotherapy use. Public health campaigns to increase psychotherapy use among men should integrate these findings and general practitioners should be aware of this and support

attachment avoidant men with mental health issues to overcome reluctance toward psychotherapy. Likewise, psychotherapy practitioners should consider and address their male clients' attachment organization due to an increased risk of psychotherapy dropout in avoidantly attached men.

Declaration of interest

All authors declare no conflicting interests.

Acknowledgement

We would like to thank all participants for participating in the study.

Author contributions

Design of study: RW; Participant recruitment: RW, CS; Data analysis and visualization: LE; Data interpretation: LE, AW, RW, CS; Writing of first draft: LE, AW; Editing subsequent versions of the manuscript: RW, AW, LE

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for the Sample

	Total (N = 4894)		Men (N = 1207)		Women (N = 3687)		test statistic (df)	p	p (corr.)
	N (%)	M (SD)	N (%)	M (SD)	N (%)	M (SD)			
Age		24.3 (4.9)		25.1 (5.2)		24.1 (4.8)	6.43 (4890)	< .001***	< .001***
Nationality									
German	4637 (94.7)		1150 (95.3)		3487 (94.6)		1.55 (4890)	.122	.224
Non-German	339 (6.9)		82 (6.8)		257 (7.0)		1.22 (4890)	.222	.224
Study situation									
Previous degree	950 (19.4)		226 (18.7)		724 (19.6)		-2.69 (4889)	.007**	.021*
Previous dropout	1182 (24.2)		324 (26.8)		858 (23.3)		1.44 (4889)	.149	.149
Thinking about dropout	2233 (45.6)		583 (48.3)		1650 (44.8)		1.87 (4889)	.062	.124
Financed by									
Relatives	3450 (70.5)		845 (70.0)		2605 (70.7)		1.25 (4889)	.211	.422
Job	3319 (67.8)		814 (67.4)		2505 (67.9)		-1.49 (4889)	.137	.411
BAföG	1185 (24.2)		244 (20.2)		941 (25.5)		-3.37 (4889)	< .001***	.004**
Scholarship	217 (4.4)		68 (5.6)		149 (4.0)		2.58 (4889)	.001**	.039*
Other means	456 (9.3)		123 (10.2)		333 (9.0)		0.15 (4889)	.882	.882
Counseling / Therapy									
Contact with counseling service	3485 (71.2)		895 (74.2)		2590 (70.2)		3.41 (4889)	< .001***	.001**
Previous psychotherapy	1273 (26.0)		272 (22.5)		1001 (27.1)		-4.50 (4889)	< .001***	< .001***
Current psychotherapy	425 (8.7)		83 (6.9)		342 (9.3)		3.06 (4889)	.002**	.002**
Intention psychotherapy	1388 (28.4)		278 (23.0)		1110 (30.1)		4.79 (4889)	< .001***	< .001***
Medical Conditions									
Previous medical care	1049 (21.4)		218 (18.1)		831 (22.5)		4.09 (4889)	< .001***	< .001***
Current medical care	337 (6.9)		64 (5.3)		273 (7.4)		2.91 (4889)	.004**	.016*
Physical impairment	459 (9.4)		103 (8.5)		356 (9.7)		1.67 (4881)	.095	.117
Physical / sexual abuse	173 (3.5)		53 (4.4)		120 (3.3)		1.93 (4770)	.053	.117
Medication	295 (6.0)		60 (5.0)		235 (6.4)		-2.07 (4770)	.039*	.117

Psychiatric Syndromes

Any syndrome	2856 (58.4)	678 (56.2)	2178 (59.1)	-1.72 (4889)	.085	.399
Any depressive	1710 (34.9)	392 (32.5)	1318 (35.7)	-2.05 (4887)	.040*	.322
Minor depression	703 (14.4)	156 (12.9)	547 (14.8)	-1.51 (4887)	.130	.399
Major depression	1007 (20.6)	236 (19.6)	771 (20.9)	-1.10 (4887)	.271	.542
Any anxiety	614 (12.5)	109 (9.0)	505 (13.7)	-4.51 (4889)	< .001***	< .001***
Anxiety-panic	114 (2.3)	21 (1.7)	93 (2.5)	-1.75 (4889)	.080	0.3985
Anxiety-generalized	549 (11.2)	101 (8.4)	448 (12.2)	-3.82 (4889)	< .001***	.001**
Alcohol use syndrome	934 (19.1)	340 (28.2)	594 (16.1)	-9.52 (4889)	< .001***	< .001***
Somatoform syndrome	1157 (23.6)	128 (10.6)	1029 (27.9)	-11.71 (4889)	< .001***	< .001***
Any eating disorder	576 (11.8)	123 (10.2)	453 (12.3)	-2.01 (4889)	.044*	.322
Eating-bulimia	136 (2.8)	29 (2.4)	107 (2.9)	-0.85 (4541)	.398	.542
Eating-binge	441 (9.0)	94 (7.8)	347 (9.4)	-1.84 (4889)	.065	.391

ECR-RD12^a

Attachment anxiety	2.86 (1.41)	2.69 (1.39)	2.92 (1.41)	-4.80 (4700)	< .001***	< .001***
Attachment avoidance	2.47 (1.23)	2.69 (1.25)	2.40 (1.22)	6.88 (4700)	< .001***	< .001***

Note. *N* = number of participants, *M* = mean, *SD* = standard deviation, *df* = degrees of freedom, *p* = p-value, *test statistic* = *t*-value for continuous and z-score for categorical variables. *corr.* = Holm-Bonferroni adjustment for multiple testing.

^a ECR-RD12 = Experiences in Close Relationship – Revised

Figure 1. Gender Differences regarding Attachment Dimensions

Note. *p*-values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

*** = $p < .001$

Figure 2. Gender Differences regarding Screened Psychiatric Syndromes and Psychotherapy Use

Note. Depr. = Depression, Anx. = Anxiety, General. = Generalized, Eating. = Eating disorder, PT = Psychotherapy. *p*-values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Figure 3. Gender Differences regarding Psychotherapy Use in different Syndromic Subgroups
Note. Depr. = Depression, Anx. = Anxiety, General. = Generalized, Eating. = Eating disorder, PT = Psychotherapy. *p*-values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

** = $p < .01$

Figure 4. Odds Ratios for Attachment Dimensions and Current Psychotherapy Use

Note. OR = Odds Ratio. p -values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Figure 5. Odds Ratios for Attachment Dimensions and the Intention to Start Psychotherapy
Note. OR = Odds Ratio. p -values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Gender differences in attachment anxiety and avoidance and their association with psychotherapy use – Examining students from a German university

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Supplementary material

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S-Table 1. Logistic Regression Models predicting current Psychotherapy Use

Subsample	Predictor	β (SE)	p	p (corr.)	R^2	AIC
Total	Attachment Anxiety	0.39 (0.04)	< .001***	< .001***	.13	2619
	Attachment Avoidance	0.07 (0.04)	.135	.942		
Men	Attachment Anxiety	0.47 (0.08)	< .001***	< .001***	.16	538
	Attachment Avoidance	0.19 (0.10)	.046*	.370		
Women	Attachment Anxiety	0.37 (0.04)	< .001***	< .001***	.12	2082
	Attachment Avoidance	0.05 (0.05)	.328	1		
Any syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.32 (0.04)	< .001***	< .001***	.13	1801
	Attachment Avoidance	0.06 (0.05)	.202	1		
Any depressive syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.27 (0.05)	< .001***	< .001***	.10	1199
	Attachment Avoidance	0.07 (0.06)	.218	1		
Any anxiety syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.28 (0.07)	< .001***	.001**	.09	554
	Attachment Avoidance	0.03 (0.08)	.761	1		
Alcohol use syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.36 (0.08)	< .001***	< .001***	.14	487
	Attachment Avoidance	0.20 (0.10)	.039*	0.349		
Somatoform syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.24 (0.07)	< .001***	.003**	.11	757
	Attachment Avoidance	-0.04 (0.08)	.650	1		
Any eating disorder	Attachment Anxiety	0.49 (0.10)	< .001***	< .001***	.28	373
	Attachment Avoidance	-0.08 (0.11)	0.471	1		

Note. β = estimated regression coefficient, SE = standard error, p = p -value, R^2 = Nagelkerke's maximum-likelihood estimation for pseudo R -squared, AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. All calculations were controlled for age and nationality. *corr.* = p -values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

S-Table 2. *Logistic Regression Models predicting Intention to Start Psychotherapy*

Subsample	Predictor	β (SE)	p	p (corr.)	R^2	AIC
Total	Attachment Anxiety	0.36 (0.02)	< .001***	< .001***	.15	5330
	Attachment Avoidance	0.14 (0.03)	< .001***	< .001***		
Men	Attachment Anxiety	0.44 (0.05)	< .001***	< .001***	.18	1162
	Attachment Avoidance	0.14 (0.06)	.017*	.087		
Women	Attachment Anxiety	0.32 (0.03)	< .001***	< .001***	.14	4150
	Attachment Avoidance	0.16 (0.03)	< .001***	< .001***		
Any syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.29 (0.03)	< .001***	< .001***	.14	3499
	Attachment Avoidance	0.13 (0.03)	< .001***	< .001***		
Any depressive syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.27 (0.04)	< .001***	< .001***	.13	2198
	Attachment Avoidance	0.15 (0.04)	< .001***	.002**		
Any anxiety syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.23 (0.06)	< .001***	< .001***	.11	804
	Attachment Avoidance	0.13 (0.06)	.047*	.147		
Alcohol use syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.36 (0.05)	< .001***	< .001***	.14	1098
	Attachment Avoidance	0.13 (0.06)	.039*	.147		
Somatoform syndrome	Attachment Anxiety	0.25 (0.04)	< .001***	< .001***	.12	1502
	Attachment Avoidance	0.1 (0.05)	.037*	.147		
Any eating disorder	Attachment Anxiety	0.23 (0.06)	< .001***	< .001***	.26	663
	Attachment Avoidance	0.11 (0.07)	.119	.147		

Note. β = estimated regression coefficient, SE = standard error, p = p -value, R^2 = Nagelkerke's maximum-likelihood estimation for pseudo R -squared, AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. All calculations were controlled for age and nationality. *corr.* = p -values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

S-Figure 1. Odds Ratios for current Psychotherapy Use for Male Students

Note. OR = Odds Ratio. The error bars indicate a 95% confidence interval and the blue highlightings mark significant changes as compared to the total sample (Figure 4). All calculations were controlled for age and nationality. p -values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

S-Figure 2. Odds Ratios for current Psychotherapy Use for Female Students

Note. OR = Odds Ratio. The error bars indicate a 95% confidence interval. There were no significant changes compared to the total sample (Figure 4). All calculations were controlled for age and nationality. *p*-values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

S-Figure 3. Odds Ratios for Intention to Start Psychotherapy for Male Students

Note. OR = Odds Ratio. The error bars indicate a 95% confidence interval and the blue highlightings mark significant changes as compared to the total sample (Figure 5). All calculations were controlled for age and nationality. *p*-values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

S-Figure 4. Odds Ratios for Intention to Start Psychotherapy for Female Students

Note. OR = Odds Ratio. The error bars indicate a 95% confidence interval and the orange highlightings mark significant changes as compared to the total sample (Figure 5). All calculations were controlled for age and nationality. *p*-values were adjusted for multiple testing using the Holm-Bonferroni method.

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Exploratory moderation analysis – Results

Explorative moderation analyses were further conducted to detect possible moderating effects of attachment orientation on the association of individual syndromes and psychotherapy use. Moderation analyses were conducted using Hayes' (2013) regression-based approach to test for possible moderating effects of attachment orientation on the association between the likelihood to use or the intention to start psychotherapy and the positive screening for different psychiatric syndromes. Subsequently described significant moderation effects did not survive correction for multiple testing, suggesting that the results should be considered preliminary findings providing a basis for future research and a call for replication.

In a first part, where current psychotherapy use was the outcome, the only two significant interaction effects were observed for attachment anxiety on the association between current psychotherapy use and any depressive syndrome ($z[4697] = 2.35, p = .019$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .136$, AIC = 2601.6) and somatoform syndrome ($z[4697] = -2.51, p = .012$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .135$, AIC = 2603.1), respectively (S-Figure 5A – 5B). Both interactions indicate that students screened negative for any depressive or somatoform syndrome are more likely to currently use psychotherapy when exhibiting higher attachment anxiety as compared to students screened negative for any depressive or somatoform syndrome who exhibit lower attachment anxiety. The same interactions were also be observed in the female subsample (any depressive syndrome: $z[3542] = 2.10, p = .036$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .129$, AIC = 2069.3; somatoform syndrome: $z[3542] = -2.13, p = .033$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .129$, AIC = 2069.9), but not in the male subsample (any depressive syndrome: $z[1147] = 0.87, p = .387$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .168$, AIC = 538.5; somatoform syndrome: $z[1147] = -0.50, p = .611$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .166$, AIC = 539.8).

In a second part, where the intention to start psychotherapy was used as an outcome, the only significant interaction (S-Figure 5C) could be observed in the female subsample for attachment avoidance on the association between the intention to start psychotherapy and any depressive syndrome ($z[3542] = -1.99, p = .047$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .191$, AIC = 4003.1). This interaction indicates that female students screened positive for any depressive syndrome would be more likely to intend starting psychotherapy when exhibiting higher attachment avoidance as compared to female students screened positive for any depressive syndrome with lower attachment avoidance. Conversely, these results were not found in the total sample ($z[4697] = -1.95, p = .051$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .191$, AIC = 5164.1) nor in the male subsample ($z[1147] = -0.11, p = .910$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .210$, AIC = 1141.9).

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Figure 5. Significant Interactions regarding Attachment Dimensions, Psychiatric Syndromes, and Psychotherapy Use

Note. *tot.* = total sample, *f.* = female subsample, *p*-values were not adjusted for multiple testing.

* = $p < .05$