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# Cascading Effects of BPT for Child Internalizing Problems and Caregiver Depression

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#### **Abstract**

Behavioral Parent Training (BPT) is the standard of care for early onset (3 to 8 years old) disruptive behavior disorders (DBDs). Preliminary evidence suggests that BPT may also produce cascading treatment effects for comorbid and interrelated symptomatology in children, primarily internalizing problems, as well as symptomatology in multiple systems of the family, including caregiver depressive symptomatology. What is less well understood, however, is *why* and *how* BPT functions to impact these multiple symptom clusters within and between family members. Accordingly, this manuscript aims to serve as a conceptual and theoretical consideration of the mechanisms through which BPT may produce generalized treatment effects among children with early onset DBDs and internalizing problems, as well as the psychosocial difficulties among their caregivers. It is our intention that the hypothesized mechanisms highlighted in this review may guide advances in clinical research, as well as assessment and practice.

#### **Keywords**

Behavioral Parent Training; Disruptive Behaviors; Internalizing; Depression

Early-onset (3 to 8 y.o.) disruptive behavior disorders (DBDs), oppositional defiant disorder and conduct disorder (which often co-occur with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder or ADHD), are among the most common mental health referrals for children (Merikangas, Narkamura, & Kessler, 2009). Behavioral Parent Training (BPT) is the standard of care for early onset DBDs; indeed, robust evidence shows significant post-treatment improvement in disruptive behaviors, which is hypothesized to occur via improvements in the parent-child relationship (e.g., Chorpita et al., 2011; Eyberg, Nelson, & Boggs, 2008; McMahon, Wells, & Kotler, 2006). Yet, preliminary data suggests BPT for DBDs may also yield changes in comorbid internalizing problems and caregiver depression (e.g., Carpenter, Pulifico, Kurtz, Pincus, & Comer, 2014; Timmer et al., 2011; Webster-Stratton & Herman, 2008). Greater understanding of *how* and *why* BPT has such cascading effects is consistent with calls for testing manual-based treatments with comorbid children (Jensen Doss, 2005) and cost-effective first-line treatments targeting clusters of symptoms within and across family systems (NIMH, 2015). To this end, this paper reviews: 1) the epidemiology, etiology, and

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treatment of early onset DBDs and their co-occurrence with internalizing problems and caregiver depression; 2) how and why BPT is hypothesized to impact these additional symptom clusters; and 3) future research and clinical directions.

# Epidemiology, Etiology, and Treatment of Early Onset Disruptive Behavior Disorders

The prevalence of youth mental disorders worldwide is approximately 20 percent (WHO, 2011), with prevalence rates in the United States suggesting that up to 15 million children are affected (Burns, Hogwood, & Mrazek, 1999; Kazak et al., 2010). In turn, children are referred to mental health care for DBDs (and comorbid symptomatology) more than any other presenting issue, except for anxiety (Merikangas, Narkamura, & Kessler, 2009). What makes early intervention for early starters so pressing is that, compared to adolescent-onset, early-starters show a more chronic and stable trajectory of behavior problems into and through childhood, adolescence, and adulthood (e.g., Aguilar, Sroufe, Egeland, & Carlson, 2000; Olson, Bates, Sandy, & Lanthier, 2000; Moffitt et al., 2008; Shaw & Gross, 2008). Left untreated, early onset DBDs, in turn, yield up to a ten-fold increase in costs (e.g., education, health, criminal justice) before the age of 30 and associated instability in family and peer relationships, as well as employment (e.g., Pelham, Foster, & Robb, 2007; Scott, Knapp, Henderson, & Maughan, 2001; O'Connell, Boat, & Warner, 2009; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1998; Reinke, Eddy, Dishion, & Reid, 2012; Schaeffer et al., 2006).

Yet, behavior problems are also more malleable to intervention during early, rather than late, childhood (Reid, Webster-Stratton, & Baydar, 2004). Given that young children depend on parents physically and psychologically, as well as their rapid rate of physical and social maturation, it is not surprising that parenting has been the focus of DBD intervention research and practice (Shaw & Gross, 2008). For example, Baumrind's (1966) early work, which was conducted with largely Caucasian, middle class, intact families resulted in three parenting styles characterized by varying levels of warmth/support and monitoring/control: Authoritative or a balance of warmth/support and monitoring control and linked to optimal child outcomes; Authoritarian or a style characterized by higher levels of monitoring/control and lower levels of warmth; and, finally, lax or permissive parenting, characterized by higher levels of warmth/support and lower levels of monitoring/control. To increase generalizability, Maccoby and Martin (1983) advocated for a re- assessment of parenting styles to include only two dimensions, responsiveness and demandingness. Although not entirely unrelated to Baumrind's (1966) authoritative (i.e., higher responsiveness & demandingness) and authoritarian (i.e., higher demandingness, lower responsiveness) styles, Baumrind's lax or permissive parenting could be characterized by indulgent (higher responsiveness, lower demandingness) and neglecting (lower responsiveness and demandingness) parenting (Darling & Steinberg, 1999; McKee, Jones, Forehand, & Cuellar, 2013). Finally, Darling and Steinberg (1993) elucidated the relation between parenting style, which can shape how and if specific parenting behaviors are used, and parenting behaviors which may, in turn, be more or less effective depending on parenting style.

Parenting behaviors most relevant to early-onset (3 to 8 y.o.) children can be divided into three domains, warmth, behavioral control, and hostility (McKee et al., 2013). Broadly, warmth is an umbrella term that characterizes a variety of parenting constructs including acceptance, caring, involvement, positive affect, positive behavior, positive support, and withdrawal (i.e., absence of warmth). Behavioral control also encompasses a variety of constructs, such as behavioral directives, firm control, monitoring, rules, as well as the lack of behavior control or laxness. Finally, hostility is reflected in behaviors such as aggression, anger, criticism, disapproval, intrusiveness, irritability, negative affect, and/or verbal punishment.

Beyond parenting style and parenting behaviors, others have focused primarily on the patterns of interactions between parents and their young children. In the DBDs literature in particular, the primary focus has been on the coercive cycle or a parent-child interaction style in which the child's disruptive behavior is reinforced by the parent's inconsistent (e.g., threatening a consequence, but not following through) and ineffective (e.g., repeated attention, even if negative attention, to the behavior) discipline (McMahon & Forehand, 2003; Forgatch & Patterson, 2010). Building upon this coercive cycle, frameworks variously described as the early-starter, child-onset type, and/or the cascade model (e.g., Dodge, Greenberg, & Malone, 2009; Moffitt et al., 2008; Shaw, 2013), describe the consequences of a coercive cycle of parent-child interaction in which there is increased vulnerability for harsh parenting (e.g., yelling, spanking) with little opportunity for positive behavior change. In addition, the development and maintenance of DBDs is also linked to the "positive reinforcement trap" (Wahler, 1976), whereby parents respond to "not ok" behavior with increased (e.g., engaging and/or reasoning with the child), rather than decreased or no attention (Forgatch & Patterson, 2010). Consistent with a social learning perspective, coercion theory conceptualizes DBDs as a pattern that originates in the context of maladaptive parent-child interactions and then generalizes to the child's interactions with teachers, peers and others (Reid, Patterson, & Synder, 2002).

Building upon the power of parenting and parent-child interactions in the etiology of DBDs, *Behavioral Parent Training* (BPT; also called *Parent Management Training or PMT*) evolved through the work of Gerald Patterson at the Department of Psychology at the University of Oregon (and later the Oregon Social Learning Center), Robert Wahler at the Department of Psychology at the University of Tennessee, and Constance Hanf at the University of Oregon Medical School (now the Oregon Health and Science University). For this review, we will rely on the contemporary Hanf-Model programs in particular, given that their common history, theory, and practice elements provide representative examples (Kaehler, Jacobs, & Jones, 2016; Reitman & McMahon, 2012): Communication Parent Training (*COPE*; Cunningham, Bremner, Secord, & Harrison, 2009), Defiant Children (*DC*; Barkley, 2013), Helping the Noncompliant Child (*HNC*; McMahon & Forehand, 2003), Incredible Years (*IY*; Webster-Stratton, 2008), and Parent-Child Interaction Therapy (*PCIT*; Eyberg & Funderburk, 2011).

In general, Hanf-Model BPT programs can be characterized as an intervention approach in which the aim to ameliorate or at least reduce child DBDs is accomplished by shaping parental behavior via a series of skill intended to increase parental positive attention to the

child's "okay behavior" or behaviors the parent wants to see or see more, as well as clear and consistent consequences for the child's "not okay" behavior or behavior the parent wants to see less or not at all. In turn, BPT skills helps parents to better navigate the balance of warmth/support in combination with behavioral control first in sessions, then increasingly throughout the course of the family's daily life. Taken together, the findings from the Hanf-Model programs, as well as those who have replicated and extended their formative work, suggest that BPT, more robustly than any other approach, disrupts the maladaptive interactions implicated in early onset DBDs and, in turn, decreases the risk for protracted disturbances of behavior (e.g., Chorpita et al., 2011; Leijten, Raaijmakers, de Castro, & Matthys, 2013; Reyno & McGrath, 2006).

# BPT, DBDs, Internalizing Problems and Caregiver Depression

Building upon the aforementioned work, an understanding of link between parenting and the etiology and maintenance of DBDs may have cascading implications for other symptom clusters in the family as well. In the case of child anxiety, some posit that the link between anxiety and DBDs in particular is indeed a function of inconsistent and coercive parenting, including a tendency to vacillate between permissive and hostile parenting, which induces anxiety in children and, in turn, aggression as a strategy for regulating anxiety (Granic & Lougheed, 2016). Coercive parenting also has implications for child depression. For example, parenting characterized by lower levels of warmth/support and higher levels of hostility and control may increase a child's risk for negative thoughts about themselves, their environment, and the future, all symptoms of depression (e.g., Khaleque, 2013; Rohner, 1999; Rudolph, Flynn, & Abaied, 2008). Coercion theory is also relevant to caregiver depression. That is, whereas coercive parenting may be implicated in the development of child internalizing and externalizing problems, the aversive nature of coercive processes within parent-child interactions are also thought to compromise the self-efficacy of caregivers and, in turn, perpetuate or exacerbate dissatisfaction and depression (Patterson & MacCoby, 1980).

As such, parenting style and parenting behaviors, as well as the reciprocal and coercive interactions which take place between parents and young children, will be used to describe the mechanisms through BPT for DBDs is posited to impact internalizing problems in children and depression in caregivers. Specifically, three types of mechanisms are discussed throughout: (1) practice or core elements of BPT (e.g., skills taught to caregivers); 2) parenting behaviors (e.g., parental warmth) directly targeted by BPT; and (3) psychosocial processes (e.g., child or parental self-regulation) not directly targeted by BPT per se, but that may evolve as a result of the BPT skills and associated changes in parent and child behavior. Given that prior work has detailed the practice elements characteristic of BPT (e.g., Chorpita et al., 2011; Garland et al., 2008; Kaminksi et al., 2008), we will not detail the full range here. Rather, we focus on practice elements hypothesized to be most central to the potential cascading effects of BPT, primarily parent use of BPT skills and the context in which they are asked to practice those skills.

#### BPT, DBDs, and Internalizing Problems in Children

Although it is true that the risk for internalizing problems increase with age, 9% of preschoolers experience an anxiety disorder and approximately 2% a depressive disorder (e.g., Carpenter et al., 2014; Egger & Angold, 2006; Wichstrøm et al., 2012). Similar to the course of DBDs, early onset internalizing problems are associated with more protracted disturbances of mood and behavior over time (e.g., Carpenter et al., 2014; Luby, Si, Belden, Tandon, & Spitznagel, 2009; Ramsawh et al., 2011), a fact made worse by the knowledge that comorbidity affects nearly half (45%) of those with any psychiatric disorder with severity strongly related to comorbidity (NIMH, 2012). Moreover, externalizing and internalizing problems in particular co-occur among youth at a rate greater than would be expected by chance, regardless of how comorbidity is conceptualized (e.g., Albano et al., 2003; Hammen & Rudolph, 2003; Hinshaw & Lee, 2003). In their study of children (N = 199) children with ADHD, Armstrong and colleagues (2014) reported that over half (56%) also had Conduct Disorder and approximately one-third (36%) had both an internalizing and externalizing disorder. Such comorbidity has, in turn, been linked to compromises in family relations, school, treatment outcomes, and more global functioning (Cummings, Caporino, & Kendall, 2014; Vance et al., 2002).

There is some disagreement regarding the extent to which comorbidities are generally excluded from treatment outcome research as a general practice and, if so, the impact of doing so for clinical practice (e.g., Addis, Wade, & Hughes, 1999; Jensen Doss, 2005; Rizvi & Harned, 2013). That said, a review of the literature suggests that BPT has indeed focused primarily on the amelioration of disruptive behavior disorders, with research on the treatment of internalizing problems evolving separately and studies of DBDs excluding comorbidities or failing to examine changes in the comorbidities as a function of treatment when they are included (e.g., Cosgrove et al., 2011; Forehand, Parent, & Jones, 2013; Quay & Werry, 1979). Such an approach has not only resulted in a proliferation of disorder-specific treatments in general (Chorpita et al., 2011; Rizvi & Harned, 2013), but also a relative lack of guidance for clinicians as to if and how to use evidence-based treatments such as BPT when children present with comorbid symptoms (Jensen Doss, 2005). This is true despite theory to suggest that internalizing and externalizing problems may both be linked, at least to some extent, to the parent-child relationship.

#### The Role of the Parent-Child Relationship in Internalizing and Externalizing Problems

Several studies, for example, have reported significant relations between high levels of parental warmth and low levels of child externalizing and internalizing behaviors, and, conversely, low levels of warmth and high levels of externalizing and internalizing problems (e.g., Garber, Robinson, & Valentiner, 1997; Hammen et al., 1998; Hammen, Shih, & Brennan, 2004). With regard to the relation between warmth and externalizing problems, one model hypothesizes that parenting characterized by lower warmth (e.g., lack of support or involvement) inhibits a child's ability to regulate arousal (Tronick & Gianino, 1986). In turn, a child may be less capable of anticipating the consequences of actions and abstaining from disruptive behaviors (Brody, Dorsey, Forehand, & Armistead, 2002). As for the link between warmth and internalizing problems, Tronick and Gianino (1986) suggest that children learn to withdraw to evade caregiver's insensitive or unresponsive parenting (i.e.,

lack of warmth). As withdrawal is believed to dull the arousal system, such disengagement may become the child's primary coping strategy and over time place the child at risk for developing symptoms internalizing sympatomology (Field, 1995).

Just as warmth has been inversely associated with youth internalizing and externalizing problems, hostility, defined broadly to include aggression, anger, criticism, disapproval, intrusiveness, irritability, negative affect, over-reactivity, and harsh punishment, is also implicated. First, high levels of hostility have been associated with child externalizing behaviors in a number of studies (e.g., Conger, Conger, Elder, Lorenz, Simmons, & Whitbeck, 1992; Conger, Conger, Elder, Lorenz, Simmons, & Whitbeck, 1993; Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz, & Simmons, 1994). For example, Patterson (1982) and colleagues have studied the coercive processes between child and caregiver that lead to disruptive behaviors. As delineated earlier, irritable, hostile exchanges between parents and children often contain a negative reinforcement mechanism that perpetuates parental harshness and child externalizing problems (e.g., Dodge et al., 2009; Granic & Patterson, 2006; McMahon & Forehand, 2003). Children socialized in a coercive context are also more likely to use similar strategies outside the family, perpetuating their problem behavior (e.g., Conger et al., 1994; Forehand & Wierson, 1993; Patterson et al., 1982). Although parental hostility has most often been studied with externalizing problems, some researchers have proposed that repeated hostile confrontations with irritable parents represent a daily stressor that increases the child's distress, diminishes their sense of self, and heightens feelings of hopelessness and worthlessness, all of which are internalizing symptoms (e.g., Burge & Hammen, 1991; Downey & Coyne, 1990; Ge, Best, Conger, Simmons, 1996).

Behavioral control, which includes directives, limit setting, firm control, monitoring, rules, supervision, and low levels of laxness, has been implicated in the development and maintenance of externalizing problems. In fact, lower levels of behavioral control have been associated with child externalizing symptoms, whereas higher levels appear to confer protection (e.g., Dishion, Patterson, Stoolmiller, & Skinner, 1991; Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Pettit, Laird, Dodge, Bates, & Criss, 2001). Such findings suggest that parents who implement firm and consistent limits help nurture self-regulation and compliance in their children; whereas, lax behavioral control and inconsistent limit-setting hinder children from learning valuable lessons regarding behavioral expectations that are necessary for the development of emotional and behavioral control (Hart, Newell, & Olsen, 2003). Although not as extensive and at times inconsistent (Garber et al., 1997; Pettit et al., 2001), some data suggests that lower behavioral control is linked with more internalizing symptoms (e.g., Barber, 1996; Galambos, Barker, & Almeida, 2003; Kurdek & Fine, 1994). Inconsistent parenting, characterized by recurrent and unpredictable breakdowns of behavioral control, may teach children to resolve conflict by withdrawing, which may facilitate the development or exacerbation of internalizing symptoms (Downey & Coyne, 1990).

#### Preliminary Research on BPT and Internalizing Problems

Building upon the aforementioned work, it follows that treatments targeting the parent-child relationship in children with DBDs may have cascading effects as well. It is interesting then to note that parents have historically played a less substantive role in the treatment of

internalizing problems than externalizing problems in general and evidence for whether or not their inclusion bolsters treatment remains mixed (e.g., Dowles & Ogles, 2010; Forehand, Parent, & Jones, 2013; Weisz et al., 2004). Yet, it is also true that evidence-based treatments for internalizing problems have tended to focus primarily on relatively older children and adolescents (e.g., Ollendick & Jarrett, 2009; Ollendick & Shirk, 2011; Silverman, Pina, & Viswesvaran, 2008), with younger children (i.e., 3 to 8 year olds in the early-onset DBDs age-range), who generally lack the somewhat sophisticated emotional and cognitive skills to engage in individual treatment, only more recently included in this work (e.g., Carpenter et al., 2014; Dowell & Ogles, 2010; Forehand, Parent, & Jones, 2013). In turn, while research is less definitive regarding treatments for internalizing problems in young children (e.g., Carpenter et al., 2014; Murray & Cartwright-Hatton, 2006, Silverman et al., 2008), some work suggests that BPT has promise.

Of note, there are examples of research to date examining the relevance of BPT for internalizing problems, which have used extended or adapted BPT models (Carpenter et al., 2014). In particular, Carpenter et al. (2014) describe several lines of preliminary research with various modifications of one Hanf-Model BPT program, PCIT (Eyberg & Funderburk, 2008), for internalizing problems (e.g., separation anxiety) and related symptoms (e.g., behavioral inhibition). For example, the authors described a study conducted by Pincus and colleagues (in preparation) that tested an adapted version of PCIT, including a predetermined number of sessions, rather than using the more standard mastery-based criteria, as well as the addition of a treatment component targeting separation anxiety in particular (e.g., anxiety hierarchy and exposure), with 38 families. The majority (73%) of families randomized to adapted PCIT no longer met diagnostic criteria for separation anxiety disorder at post-treatment, while all of the families in the wait-list control continued to meet criteria. That said, other work suggests that standard BPT holds promise for the treatment of children with comorbid DBDS and internalizing problems. For example, Webster-Stratton and Herman (2008) tested the impact of the standard version of another Hanf-Model BPT intervention, IY (Webster-Stratton, 2008), on child internalizing symptoms. One hundred eighty-one children were randomly assigned to receive IY or a wait-list control group. Children who received IY were more likely to have lower motherrated mood and internalizing symptoms at post-treatment, compared with those in a wait-list control. The effect size for internalizing problems in the treatment group was .37.

#### Mechanisms through which BPT Impacts Internalizing Problems

Such work, albeit preliminary, is promising, highlighting the importance of considering how and why BPT may impact young children's internalizing symptoms (see Figure 1 for an overarching framework). To this end, we turn to the common practice elements characterizing the Hanf-Model programs to generate hypotheses regarding the potential mechanisms through which BPT may ameliorate symptoms of depression and anxiety in children. For example, skills such as McMahon and Forehand's (2003) *Helping the Noncompliant Child's* (HNC) "Attends" (also called "Behavior Description" in PCIT and "Descriptive Commenting" in IY, for example) and "Rewards" (also called "Praise" in PCIT), which have theoretically and functionally similar "cousins" in the other Hanf-Model Programs, were designed to encourage caregivers to give positive attention to behaviors they

want to see or see more; however, these skills also increase warmth by increasing positive affect, involvement, and support for their child. It follows then that increasing parental warmth via the use of "Attends" and "Rewards" may facilitate positive engagement in the parent-child relationship to prevent or disrupt coping strategies that the child may have developed in response to maladaptive parenting. For example, "Attends" and "Rewards" may help a child to more effectively regulate both the behavior and emotion that may accompany insensitive or unresponsive parenting and, in turn, ameliorate the progression of anxiety or depression (Tronick & Gianino, 1986).

Similarly, "Ignoring," an HNC skill (McMahon & Forehand, 2003), which is also taught in other Hanf-Model programs (e.g., "Effortful Ignoring" in PCIT) or the removal of caregiver attention for inappropriate child behavior, not only helps parents escape the "positive reinforcement trap", but it may also serve to promote behavioral control by establishing rules and expectations for acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. In addition, helping parents exercise "Ignoring" indirectly reduces the number of chances parents have to respond to disruptive behavior with hostility. The final skills we will mention here, including HNC's (McMahon & Forehand, 2003) "Clear Instructions" and "Time-Out,", emphasize more effective instructions and consequences for noncompliance, which have a similar emphasis across Hanf-Model programs, may also increase behavioral control and reduce hostile behavior. Indeed, when parents are using "Clear Instructions" and "Time-Out", they are increasing their behavioral directives, firm control, establishing rules of conduct, and implementing effective, yet non-harsh, punishment. By implementing these skills, parents are responding to children in more supportive, yet firm ways rather than in confrontations characterized by hostility, which may present as salient daily stressor that increases the child's psychological distress, diminishes the child's sense of self, and heightens feelings of hopelessness and worthlessness, all of which are symptoms of internalizing problems (e.g., Burge & Hammen, 1991; Downey & Coyne, 1990; Ge et al., 1996).

Lastly, the synergistic effect of using the skills in tandem, again a hallmark of the Hanf-Model programs, improves parent-child relationship quality overall (McMahon et al., 2006). The quality of the parent-child relationship is thought to be important for preventing child internalizing symptoms (Cummings & Cicchetti, 1990) and the evidence for concurrent associations between parent-child relationship quality and child internalizing symptoms is robust (Heaven, Newbury, & Mak, 2004; Pavlidis & McCauley 2001; Sheeber et al. 2001). Parent-child relationship difficulties have been identified as a risk for the development of internalizing symptoms. According to theories of attachment (Bowlby 1988), the connectedness-individuation link (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986), and parenting practices (Baumrind, 1966), lower levels of internalizing symptoms more often occur when children have close relationships with their parents. It has been theorized that poor parent-child relationship quality may lead to more internalizing symptoms, because children in such relationships experience inadequate levels of parental support (Cobb, 1976). In addition, the sense of being accepted and valued may boost esteem and efficacy, which protects against internalizing problems (Windle, 1992).

# **BPT, DBDs, and Caregiver Depressive Symptoms**

An abundance of work highlights that youth residing with a depressed caregiver are at substantial risk for a variety of psychosocial adjustment difficulties from infancy through adulthood, including an increased risk for internalizing problems, such as depression, and externalizing problems characteristic of DBDs (e.g., Cummings & Davies, 1994; Downey & Coyne, 1990; Goodman & Gotlib, 1999). Depressed individuals, who may be more likely to be negative, critical, unresponsive, helpless, and passive toward others, including their children, are more likely to use parenting practices characterized by low levels of warmth and behavioral control and higher levels of unresponsiveness and hostility. Such parenting, in turn, has been linked to the development of disruptive behaviors, as well as internalizing symptoms, in preschool and school age children (e.g., Goodman & Gotlib, 1999; Shaw, Keenan, & Vondra, 1994; Shaw, Dishion, Supplee, Gardner, & Arnds, 2006).

In addition, literature is shedding light on the potential reciprocal models, which suggest parenting and child behaviors are recurrent and transactional over time, where both parties affect the other (e.g., Bell & Harper, 1977; Gross, Shaw, Moilanen, Dishion, & Wilson, 2008; Sameroff, 1995). Although the literature on such reciprocal effects between child disruptive behavior and parenting is extensive (Bell & Harper, 1977; Danforth, Barkley, & Stokes, 1991), few have focused on potential bidirectional effects between child disruptive behavior and parental mental health, such as depressive symptoms. In fact, high rates of child behavior problems and irritability have been associated with the persistence and onset of maternal clinical depression (Ghodsian, Zajicek, & Wolkind, 1984; Murray et al., 1996). Similar findings have been supported in experimental work, in which adults who interact with defiant youth show more depressive symptoms than those who interact with non-defiant children (Pelham et al., 1997). Finally, other work has tested reciprocal models of child behavior and maternal depressive symptoms. For example, research with low income families found significant child effects on subsequent maternal depression which, in turn, were associated with subsequent externalizing problems (Gross, Shaw, Burwell, & Nagin, 2009; Gross et al., 2008).

#### **Preliminary Research on BPT and Caregiver Depression**

It is important to note that ours is not the first discussion of family-focused treatments for adult psychopathology in general and depression in particular (Baucom, Shoham, Mueser, Daiuto, & Stickle, 1998; Beach, Jones, & Franklin, 2009). Building upon such a tradition, as well as the interrelationship of parenting, child behavior, and parent depression, it is perhaps then not surprising then that there is some evidence that BPT may hold promise for alleviating caregiver depressive symptomatology as well. Again, similar to the child-outcomes research, one line of work in this area has focused on adaptations or extensions of standard BPT for caregiver mood. For example, Rajwan and colleagues (2014) tested adaptations to a "traditional BPT program" to enhance engagement of single mothers of children with ADHD. Although the authors do not name the specific BPT program they use, they describe it as a group-based program, which would be most consistent with the standard versions of the IY (Webster-Stratton, 2008) or COPE (Cunningham, Bremner, Secord, & Harrison, 2009) Hanf-Model Programs; however, they also describe a child-focused social

skills piece conducted in parallel, which would be less consistent with traditional Hanf-Model programs or standard BPT more generally. The adapted BPT group then also received additional material targeting the parent (e.g., problem solving around barriers to engagement, social support, time management), as well as for the children [parent-child interactions, which would be more consistent with the Hanf-Models HNC (McMahon & Forehand, 2003) and PCIT (Eyberg & Funderburk, 2008), as well as child incentives for attendance]. In spite of these adaptations, the authors reported no clinically significant benefit for parents (including depression) or children (behavior problems; of note, the authors did not examine internalizing symptoms) over and above "standard BPT".

Although, again, the aforementioned study included a "standard" BPT that was actually less standard or traditional (i.e., inclusion of child social skills component), other work indeed confirms the promise of BPT "proper" for caregiver depression. For example, a study conducted by Timmer and colleagues (2011) investigated the efficacy of *PCIT* (Eyberg & Funderburk, 2011) in reducing children's behavior problems [i.e., clinical elevations on the Externalizing Subscale of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 2001) and clinical elevations on the Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory (ECBI; Eyberg, 1999)] in families in which the primary caregiver reported clinical levels of depressive symptoms [i.e., clinical elevations on depression subscales of two clinical symptom inventories: Symptom Checklist 90-R (SC-90R; Derogotis, 1994) and Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; Derogotis, 1993)]. Results revealed significant pre- to post-treatment effects on the CBCL and ECBI for problem behavior for children of depressed and non-depressed mothers. In addition, most (79.3%) mothers experience clinically and statistically significant reductions in mood pre- to post-treatment (effect size = 2.2).

Other work has compared Hanf-Model BPT programs' effects on caregiver depression to other treatments that more explicitly are intended to target depressive symptomatology in the context of parenting. Chronis-Tuscano and colleagues (2013), for example, examined how one Hanf-Model Program, in this case *Defiant Children (DC*, Barkley, 2013), produced changes in maternal depression from pre-to-post treatment with 98 mothers experiencing at least mild depressive symptoms evident by a minimal score of 10 on the Beck Depression Inventory-II (BDI-II; Beck, Steer, & Brown 1996). Mothers were then randomized to one of two treatment conditions: Defiant Children (DC, Barkley, 2013), or to Integrated Parenting Intervention for ADHD (IPI-A; Chronis-Tuscano & Clark, 2008), a cognitive behavioral treatment for depressed caregivers of children with ADHD, which included parenting components. In addition to self-report measures of depression, researchers also collected observational and parent-reported data regarding child disruptive behavior. While both IPI-A and DC produced a moderate pre-to post treatment effect size on maternal depressive symptoms (Hedges' g = -.40) and on both measures of child disruptive behavior (Hedges' g= -.56 and Hedges' g = -.52), DC produced a large effects size on positive parenting at follow-up (Hedges' g = -.75), highlighting the potential for BPT to equally (or even more optimally), albeit indirectly, address caregiver depression.

Lastly, some work suggests BPT may be most likely to yield changes in parental mood among those families most vulnerable to both caregiver depression and child behavior problems, including low-income families; yet, it is notable that low income families are not

the typical focus of treatment outcome research on BPT in general or those studies testing the cascading effects for parents in particular (Colalillo & Johnston, 2016);. As an exception, Lees and Ronan (2008) preliminarily ssessed the effectiveness of IY (Webster-Stratton, 2008), with a small (N = 4) sample of low-income, single mothers using and single and multiple baseline analyses. Mothers with a child between the ages of six and nine with a diagnosis of ADHD attended weekly group sessions for twenty weeks with pre-treatment assessment of parent-reported family functioning, child behavior, parenting confidence, stress, and depression. Trends at post-treatment showing an increase in family functioning and parenting confidence, as well as reductions in child behavior, stress, and maternal depression.

#### Mechanisms through which BPT Impacts Caregiver Depression

Again, capitalizing on the cascading effects of BPT for caregiver depression in clinical practice depends on clinicians having a conceptual understanding of how BPT affects parental mood (see Figure 1 for an overarching framework). We turn our attention first to the likely mediating role of parenting self-efficacy as a function of parental engagement in BPT and, in turn, increased use of BPT skills, including Attends, Reward, Ignoring, Clear Instruction, and Time-Out. Defined as the "beliefs a parent holds of their capabilities to organize and execute the tasks related to parenting a child" (de Montigny & Lacharite, 2005, p. 390), parenting-efficacy is rooted in general self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1977) and has been linked with a number of important parental and child outcomes, notably parental depression and youth conduct problems (e.g., Campbell et al., 2000; Coleman & Karraker, 2003; Shaw & Gross, 2008). For example, Coleman and Karraker (2003) found that 2-yearold children's observed compliance, negativity, and avoidance of caregiver were associated with concurrent ratings of parenting-efficacy, while higher levels of efficacy were associated with less emotionally reactive and more sociable behavior (i.e., 12% of variance in child behavior accounted for by caregiver efficacy). Furthermore, mothers of clinically-referred children (2 to 8 v.o.) with conduct problems reported lower efficacy relative to a comparative community sample (Sanders & Woolley, 2004). Given that the hallmarks of depression are feelings of helplessness and worthlessness, it is not surprising that caregiver depression and a lack of efficacy are related (e.g., Bor & Sanders, 2004; Haslam, Pakenham, & Smith, 2006; Teti & Gelfand, 1991).

Rather than direct causal pathways between parenting efficacy and depression or between efficacy and child conduct problems, a dynamic and transactional relationship between parent and child variables is likely to be a more accurate (Jones & Prinz, 2005). For example, coping with a difficult child may lead to a gradual erosion of a parent's sense of efficacy; but low efficacy may also mean that the parent is less likely to use positive parenting, and is more likely to give up, make internal attributions for failure, and experience anxiety and/or depression in response to challenge (Bandura, 1982). In turn, the child may be more likely to respond in "difficult" ways (e.g., tantrum more, attempt to get more attention, become more noncompliant, etc.) (Beck, 1995). BPT, which teaches parents a specific series of skills to increase child compliance and reduce disruptive behaviors, may lead to an increased sense of efficacy among caregivers and, in turn, alleviate parental depressive symptoms. Parents are confident in their use each of the BPT skills in

combination may begin to feel less helpless and make more positive attributions about their ability to parent and overall self-concept as a parent.

A second path by which BPT may help alleviate caregiver depressive symptomology rests on the notion that BPT and its characteristic practice elements function to some extent as a form of behavioral activation (Dimidjian, Barrera, Martell, Munoz, & Lewinsohn, 2011). Broadly defined, behavioral activation is based on operant conditioning principles and suggests that depression results from a change in environmental context that alters the person's access to sources of positive reinforcement. For example, Brief Behavioral Activation Treatment for Depression (BATD; Lejuez, Hopko, & Hopko, 2001), focuses on activity monitoring and scheduling with a values-driven framework. Recipients of BATD are asked to (a) identify positive and negative reinforcers that maintain or strengthen depressive behavior and (b) identifying positive reinforcers of high, personal value that maintain or strengthen healthy behavior across multiple life areas. If depressed caregivers are experiencing transactional and reciprocal relations between child conduct problems and maternal depressive symptoms, the resulting distressed parent-child relationship may reinforce caregiver depressive symptoms. By engaging in BPT and experiencing improvements in child compliance and other appropriate behaviors, BPT skills may actually serve as a positive reinforcer as caregivers begin to feel better. Although BPT is not characterized by scheduling pleasant activities, as is the case in BATD, BPT programs generally require caregivers to engage in daily (e.g., 15-minutes in HNC) activities (e.g., "Child's Game" in HNC or "Child Directed Play" in PCIT) with their children in order to practice skills, which essentially mirrors the essence of BATD scheduled activities.

# **Summary, Future Directions, and Clinical Implications**

The goal of this manuscript was to integrate several interrelated lines of research to extrapolate how and why BPT may have cascading effects for internalizing symptoms among children with DBDs, as well as depressive symptomology in their caregivers. Specifically, three types of mechanisms were identified, including practice or core elements of BPT (e.g., skills taught to caregivers), parenting behaviors (e.g., parental warmth) directly targeted by BPT, and psychosocial processes (e.g., child or parental self-regulation) not directly targeted by BPT, but evolve as a result of the BPT skills and associated changes in parent and child behavior. In the case of cascading effects of BPT for child internalizing symptoms, we provided theory and preliminary data to implicate increased parental skill utilization (i.e., Attends, Rewards, Ignoring, Clear Instructions, and Time-Out) and, in turn, changes in parent behaviors (i.e., warmth, control, hostility). For caregiver depression, we talked explicitly about psychosocial processes, including parental self-efficacy and behavioral activation, that are not directly targeted by BPT, but may occur as a function of parental engagement and skill utilization. Taken together, these findings are consistent with calls for treatment models that target multiple symptom clusters, given the co-occurrence of DBDs, internalizing problems, and caregiver depression, as well as a potentially costeffective, first-line treatment for clusters of mood, anxiety, and behavior problems in multiple family systems. Yet, research and clinical questions remain.

Consistent with Kazdin's (2009) recommendations for research aimed at understanding the bases of therapeutic change, we have identified candidate mechanisms which theory suggests may account for how and why BPT has the capacity to effect change in multiple symptom clusters within and between family members. That said, empirical research is needed in order to validate the mechanisms that we propose here. For example, metaanalyses have revealed that the variance accounted for by parenting in child internalizing (8% for depression and 4% for anxiety) and externalizing (6%) problems is much more modest than our theoretical models would suggest (McLeod, Wood, & Weisz, 2007; Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994). The authors of this work acknowledge, however, that their work in based on correlational, rather than longitudinal designs, as well an absence of applied, intervention research that examines how changes in parenting are associated with changes in symptomatology. Yet, the majority of studies on interventions in general and parenting interventions in particular do not statistically test the hypothesized mechanism through which the treatment is expected to work (e.g., Forehand, Parent, & Jones, 2013; Kazdin, 2007; Kazdin, 2009). Moreover, those that do tend to rely on tests of mediation or analyses of how a particular intervening variable accounts for the link between intervention and outcome; however, as highlighted by Kazdin (2007) mediation analyses do not necessarily provide information regarding "how" the intervening process or processes unfold in the context of interventions (i.e., mechanisms). As such, studies of the mechanisms proposed here should be conducted in such a way to maximize the knowledge gleaned, including testing multiple mechanisms in a single study in order to cost-effectively evaluate likely plausibility of one versus others within and between studies (Kazdin, 2009). In addition, such studies should be able to establish that the mechanism is indeed changing before and, in turn, causing changes in the outcome, a scenario that may rely on more frequent assessments than typical pre-to-post treatment designs (Kazdin, 2009).

Such nuanced understanding will be critical to building upon the preliminary theoretical and empirical data presented here and, as such, may require new methods to identify and disentangle the mechanisms by which BPT may have cascading effects within and between family members. For example, research in this area could capitalize on innovations in research design and analysis, such as ecological momentary assessment (EMA) or assessing events as they occur and within the natural environment in which they are occurring (Stone & Shiffman, 2002) would provide an opportunity to track patterns of changes in both caregiver depressive symptoms and youth internalizing symptoms as they progress through each BPT skill. Such data intensive methods would, in turn, lend themselves well to personoriented data analytic approaches (von Eye, Bergman, & Hsieh, 2015), which would move the plan of analyses beyond a linear examination of covariation among variables in a population (e.g., effect of BPT on child internalizing symptoms mediated via a particular skill among families of children with early onset DBDs) to the examination of profiles (i.e., relative level and shape of trajectories) of subgroups of families (e.g., depressed caregivers) to afford the opportunity to capture the proposed mechanisms as dynamic and multidimensional processes. That said, more traditional variable oriented approaches to the study of mechanisms in BPT could also be maximized by capitalizing on advances in the analysis of simple mediation (e.g., BPT predicts child internalizing symptoms via caregiver use of skills), as well as serial or multiple mediation (e.g., BPT predicts child internalizing

symptoms via caregiver use of skills and, in turn, changes in parent-child relationship quality) (Koning et al., 2015; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). With regard to study design, Leijten and colleagues (2015) have advocated for the use of microtrials in BPT in particular, with the aim of isolating for whom and under what conditions particular practice elements of BPT are most effective. In this case, microtrials could be used to examine the mechanisms by which BPT has cascading effects for child internalizing problems and caregiver depression in families of children with DBDs.

In addition, it is perhaps notable that our discussion of the cascading effects of BPT did not include sex of the parent or child. With regard to children, research to date suggests no sex differences in risk factors for DBDs or the efficacy of BPT for DBDs (e.g., Beuchaine, Webster-Stratton, & Reid, 2005; Brennan & Shaw, 2013; Dishion et al., 2008). Yet, it is also the case that the bulk of research on DBDs has focused on boys, given their overrepresentation in statistics on early-onset and more severe early-onset behaviors relative to girls (Keenen & Shaw, 1997; Shaw, 2013). Building upon calls for more thorough investigation of sex differences in the etiology and treatment of DBDs (Shaw, 2013), further research could similarly examine whether cascading effects on internalizing symptoms vary or not as well. With regard to potential improvement in parental mood in response to BPT, sex differences in parents or between parents and children have been relatively ignored given the overwhelming preponderance of mothers (or other female caregivers) relative to fathers (or other male caregivers) in the family literature in general and the BPT literature is no exception (McMahon & Forehand, 2003; Phares et al., 2005). That said, research on other family systems suggests the efficacy of marital therapy for depression; however, research on etiology suggests men's depression may be more likely to cause marital problems, whereas the reverse may be more likely to be true for women (Beach, Jones, & Franklin, 2009; Gupta, Coyne, & Beach, 2003). As such, future work should examine the unfolding of changes in parenting, depression, and child behavior by sex of the parent and child in the context of BPT.

Similar to sex, culture has also received relatively little attention in the BPT literature for DBDs, let alone literature on the cascading effects of BPT for other symptoms within and across family members. We know that early literature on parenting was established via research on largely Caucasian, middle-class, and intact families, warranting caution when generalizing such work to diverse groups (Baumrind 1966). Although some work suggests that there may be some variability in parenting styles, as well as the impact of parenting styles, between groups (McKee et al., 2013), other work suggests that the core parenting behaviors that characterize these parenting styles may be more similar than different. For example, "no- nonsense parenting" (Brody & Flor, 1998) has been used to describe a parenting style more characteristic of African American than Caucasian families, including relatively higher levels of control in combination with relatively moderate (but not low) levels of warmth. Importantly, a no-nonsense parenting style has indeed been associated with positive child outcomes in studies with African American samples; however, when variability in parenting styles within African American families has been examined, findings revealed that the majority of parents reported relatively high levels of both control and warmth, with one-third engaging in what could be characterized as Baumrind's (1961) original authoritative parenting style (Anton, Jones, & Youngstrom, 2015). Moreover, while

language translations of BPT, both in the U.S. and abroad, appear to yield results equally as impressive as studies with English speakers in the U.S., cultural adaptations in which the content or format, for example, of the programs were tailored more explicitly to address the characteristics of a particular cultural or racial or ethnic group, have not necessarily yet yielded substantive improvements in treatment efficacy above the standard program (Oritz & Del Vecchio, 2013). Building upon such findings, Gardner, Montgomery, & Knerr (2015) posited that the central role of the parent-child relationship mediating children's problem behavior, as well as behavioral theory and techniques core to BPT programs, may be universal. Accordingly, future work should determine whether the same is true for the cascading effects of BPT.

Finally, the potential added risk for treatment dropout for depressed caregivers and/or caregivers of children with comorbid internalizing and externalizing problems merits further attention as well. Treatment drop-out for families is high as it is (Kazdin, 2000) and drop-out rates for BPT are no exception, with the highest drop-out rates for those families who may need and benefit most (e.g., Leijten et al., 2013; Lundahl et al., 2006). To our knowledge, there has not been a comparison of drop-outs in BPT studies that include those that exclude comorbid symptomatology in the parent and/or child; however, it stands to reason that clinicians may need to find additional ways to support depressed caregivers and/or youth experiencing comorbid internalizing symptoms in BPT and the question then becomes the extent to which we can use standard BPT or whether some modified version is in fact necessary. For example, standard, but flexible, use of BPT may involve therapists providing more verbal reinforcement and praise to depressed parents who may struggle with particular skills, as well as more sessions to achieve mastery of skills, in order to boost parentingefficacy and confidence. Similarly, therapists may emphasize higher levels of warmth (e.g., positive reinforcement in the form of "Attends" and/or verbal and physical "Rewards) with parents of children with comorbid internalizing symptoms and adjust their coaching to help caregivers understand the dual purposes of their BPT skills.

Building upon future research directions, a corollary and critical clinical question remains and that is whether standard BPT, at least as a first-line approach, will suffice in families coping with comorbid psychopathology or when concurrent or sequential child- and/or caregiver-directed services would be necessary. In an age when randomized control trials, which remain our gold standard, take more than 5 years to yield usable results, and the grant support for such work has decreased substantially, it is unlikely that research can be conducted to reflect every iteration of comorbidity within and between families of young children with DBDs will be feasible. There are, however, recommendations for more idiographic, functional models of assessment that may lend themselves quite well to further understanding for whom the potential cascading effects of BPT may be most beneficial (O'Brian, Haynes, & Kaholokula, 2016; Silverman & Kearney, 1991). In particular, the extent to which parent and/or child behavior, as well as parent-child interactions, are functioning to maintain and/or exacerbate internalizing symptomatology in children and/or depression in caregivers, as well as DBDs, may predict which families will be most likely to benefit from the secondary effects of BPT.

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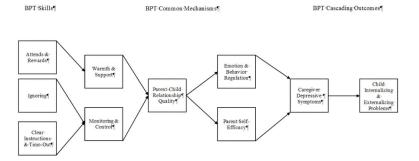
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#### **Highlights**

- This manuscript aims to serve as a conceptual and theoretical
  consideration of the mechanisms through which BPT may produce
  generalized treatment effects among children with early-onset (3 to 8
  years old) disruptive behavior disorders (DBDs) and internalizing
  problems, as well as the psychosocial difficulties among their
  caregivers.
- We review the epidemiology, etiology, and treatment of early-onset DBDs, including their overlap with internalizing problems in children and depressive symptomatology in their caregivers.
- We hypothesize how and why the standard of care treatment for earlyonset DBDs, Behavioral Parent Training (BPT), may also have cascading effects for these additional symptom clusters within and between family members.
- Specifically, we identify three types of mechanisms, which include the
  practice or core elements of BPT, parenting behaviors directly targeted
  by BPT, and psychosocial processes not directly targeted by BPT per
  se, but that may evolve as a result of the BPT skills and associated
  changes in parent and child behavior,
- We discuss how additional research on these proposed mechanisms may advance the cost-effectiveness of treatments for families of young children with DBDs and comorbid symptomatology.



**Figure 1.** Theoretical pathway for cascading effects of BPT