Abstract

Research has emerged providing consistent support for the behavioral approach system (BAS) dysregulation theory of bipolar disorder. The objective of the current article is to examine the extent to which findings from the BAS dysregulation theory can inform psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder. Towards this end, we first provide an overview of the BAS dysregulation theory. Second, we review extant research on psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder. And, third, we discuss means by which research and theory in line with the BAS dysregulation model can inform psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder. Particular attention is given to the clinical implications of research suggesting that bipolar disorder is characterized by high drive/incentive motivation, ambitious goal-setting, and perfectionism in the achievement domain.
Approximately 4.4% of the U.S. population experience a bipolar spectrum disorder (Merikangas, Akiskal, Angst, Greenberg, et al., 2007). The consequences of this disorder are striking, often creating significant impairment such as erratic work history, alcohol abuse, and poor academic achievement (Goodwin & Jamison, 1990; Nusslock, Alloy, Abramson, Harmon-Jones, & Harmon-Jones, 2008; Lagace, Kutcher, Robertson, 2003). Indeed, the World Health Organization (WHO) has consistently ranked bipolar disorder as one of the top ten leading causes of disability world-wide among adults (Ayuso-Mateos, 2006; Murray & Lopez, 1996).

The quality of outpatient treatment for bipolar disorder advanced considerably with the introduction of lithium carbonate in the 1960s and the anticonvulsants in the 1980s. Whereas patients with bipolar disorder tended to follow deteriorating courses in the pre-pharmacological era (Cutler & Post, 1982), lithium or anticonvulsant treated patients often remain out of the hospital for extended periods (Goodwin & Jamison, 1990; Patel, Delbello, Bryan, Adler, et al., 2006). Nonetheless, there is increasing recognition that pharmacotherapy alone forestalls but does not prevent relapses of bipolar episodes (Miklowitz, Simoneau, George, Richards, et al., 2000). Despite the use of mood-stabilizing agents, data suggest relapse rates as high as 40% in 1 year, 60% in 2 years, and 73% in 5 or more years (Gitlin, Swendsen, Heller, & Hammen, 1995). Moreover, the efficacy of medications is limited by the fact that poor medication compliance occurs in 50-67% of bipolar patients within the first year of treatment (Keck, McElroy, Strakowski, West, et al., 1998).

Recognizing the limitations of pharmacotherapy alone, a 1996 report by the National Institute of Mental Health (Prien & Rush, 1996) recommended developing adjunctive psychosocial interventions as a central focus for research on bipolar disorder. The importance of psychosocial interventions is also highlighted by the fact that environmental variables play an important role in determining whether an individual at risk develops bipolar disorder, and the timing, frequency, and polarity (depressive vs. hypomanic/manic) of his/her bipolar episodes (Ellicott, Hammen, Gitlin, Brown, & Jamison, 1990; Nusslock, Abramson, Harmon-Jones, Alloy, & Hogan, 2007). Over the past decade, researchers have begun to answer this call, and currently there are three psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder that have shown promise as adjuncts to pharmacotherapy – Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy, Psychoeducational Interventions, and Interpersonal and Social Rhythm Therapy. Growing evidence highlights the efficacy of these interventions, as indicated in a recent meta-analysis (Scott, Colom, & Vieta, 2007) which reported a significant reduction in relapse rates (~ 40%) for bipolar individuals engaged in psychosocial treatment. Moreover, findings from the multisite Systematic Treatment Enhancement Program for Bipolar Disorder (STEP-BD) indicate that each of the three existing psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder enhance life functioning (Miklowitz, Otto, Frank, Reilly-Harrington, Kogan, et al., 2007) and hasten recovery from a bipolar depressive episode (Miklowitz, et al., 2007).

All three of the psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder were developed by researchers and clinicians translating basic science on bipolar disorder into the clinical arena. For example, Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy has been applied to bipolar disorder given research...
suggesting that the logic of cognitive vulnerability-stress theories of unipolar depression (Abramson, Metalsky, & Alloy, 1989; Beck, 1967) extends to understanding bipolar episodes and symptoms (Alloy, Reilly-Harrington, Fresco, Whitehouse, & Zechmeister, 1999; Reilly-Harrington, Alloy, Fresco, & Whitehouse, 1999). Psychoeducational interventions developed from findings that life events such as levels of familial expressed emotion (i.e., criticism, hostility, and/or emotional over-involvement [Miklowitz, et al., 1988]), low parental warmth (Geller, Craney, Bolhofner, Nickelsburg, Williams, & Zimmerman, 2002), and social support (Johnson, Winett, Meyer, Greenhouse, & Miller, 1999) predict the course of bipolar disorder. And Interpersonal and Social Rhythm Therapy is grounded in the circadian rhythm and zeitgeber theory of bipolar disorder (Ehlers, Frank, & Kupfer, 1988; Malkoff-Schwartz, et al., 1998).

Over the past decade, exciting work has emerged providing support for another model of bipolar disorder – the behavioral approach system (BAS) dysregulation theory. This theory proposes that weak regulation of the behavioral approach system (BAS), a system involved in approach to reward, might be involved in hypomanic/manic highs and depressive lows that characterize bipolar spectrum disorders (Depue & Iacono, 1989; Depue, Krauss, & Spoont, 1987; Urosevic, Abramson, Harmon-Jones, & Alloy, 2008). The BAS dysregulation theory is compelling insofar as it proposes specific psychosocial factors relevant to understanding the etiology and course of bipolar disorder, as well as provides a unified model of both poles of the disorder – depression and hypomania/mania. Recently, researchers and clinicians have begun to incorporate findings in line with the BAS dysregulation theory into their treatment protocols (Lam, Watkins, Hayward, Bright, et al., 2003). The objective of the current article is to bring attention to this important development and to examine the extent to which the BAS dysregulation theory can inform the treatment of bipolar disorder. The article is organized as follows: First, we provide an overview of the BAS dysregulation theory. Second, we review theory and research on the three psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder and discuss how findings from the BAS dysregulation theory can help inform these interventions.

**Behavioral Approach System Dysregulation Theory**

Researchers suggest that two psychobiological systems are critical in regulating behavior (Gray, 1981). One of these systems, the behavioral approach system (BAS), is hypothesized to regulate approach behavior to attain rewards and goals, whereas the other, the behavioral inhibition system (BIS), regulates inhibition of behavior in response to threat and punishment. We focus on the BAS because theory and research underscore its importance in bipolar disorder. The BAS is activated by signals of reward as well as punishment avoidance cues (Fowles, 1988). These signals can be either external (e.g., presence of a goal/reward) or internal (expectancies of goal-attainment). The objective of the BAS is to regulate appetitive motivation and goal-directed behavior in order to obtain rewards and/or avoid punishment. The BAS has been implicated in the generation of positive emotions (Depue & Iacono, 1989; Gray, 1994), and, in particular, goal-striving related positive affect and drive/incentive motivation (Fowles, 1988). Activation of the BAS causes the person to increase cognitive activity aimed at promoting goal attainment (e.g., hope, self-efficacy, planning [Depue & Iacono, 1989]). Also, certain negative emotions sometimes accompany approach behavior, as research has revealed that anger is associated with heightened BAS activity (see Harmon-Jones, 2004 for review). Finally, research has implicated dopaminergic projections of the Ventral Tegmental Area (Depue & Iacono, 1989), as well as relative left frontal cerebral activity (Harmon-Jones & Allen, 1997; Sutton & Davidson, 1997), as neurobiological processes important in BAS function.
The BAS dysregulation theory (Depue & Iacono, 1989; Depue et al., 1987; Urosevic et al., 2008) proposes that weak regulation of the behavioral approach system is involved in the rollercoaster of hypomanic/manic highs and depressive lows that characterize bipolar spectrum disorders. Individuals with bipolar disorder experience excessive variability in BAS activity (e.g., extreme fluctuations in approach motivation). Consistent with theory, research demonstrates that 1) bipolar spectrum individuals experience excessive within day, and between day, variability on a variety of indices of BAS (Depue, Slater, Wolfstetter-Kausch, Klein, Goplerud, & Farr, 1981), 2) this variability is a temperamental quality of bipolar disorder (i.e., state-independent; Depue et al., 1987; 1989), and 3) this variability predicts relapse over time (Depue et al., 1981). A source of this variability, according to the theory, is that bipolar individuals have an overly-sensitive BAS that is hyper-responsive to BAS relevant cues. This BAS hyper-responsivity can lead to excessive BAS activity in response to events involving themes of goal-striving and attainment, reward incentive, and anger-evocation. This excessive increase in BAS activity in vulnerable individuals is hypothesized to be reflected in hypomanic/manic symptoms such as euphoria, excessive goal-seeking behavior, decreased need for sleep, irritability, excessive self-confidence, etc. (Depue et al., 1987; 1989). In contrast, depressive symptoms such as sadness, low energy, anhedonia, psychomotor retardation, and hopelessness reflect a shutdown or an excessive decrease in BAS activity in response to BAS deactivation-relevant events such as definite failure and non-attainment of a desired goal (Depue et al., 1987).

The empirical testing of the BAS dysregulation theory has been aided by the development of a self-report measure of BAS sensitivity by Carver and White (1994), the BAS scale of the BIS/BAS scales. The BAS subscales tap individual differences in BAS sensitivity (i.e., BAS responsiveness to relevant stimuli). Compared to relevant control groups, bipolar I individuals (Meyer, Johnson, & Winters, 2001) and people prone to hypomanic symptoms (Meyer, Johnson, & Carver, 1999) show elevated BAS scores. In a bipolar I sample, high BAS sensitivity at recovery predicted an increase in manic symptoms over six-months (Meyer et al., 2001). In addition, high BAS sensitivity prospectively predicted a greater likelihood and shorter time to onset of bipolar episodes over a 3.5 year follow-up period among individuals with a bipolar II and/or cyclothymia diagnosis (Alloy, Abramson, Walshaw, Cogswell, Hughes, et al., 2008). Research also has demonstrated that bipolar spectrum individuals evidence elevated responses on psychophysiological indices of BAS sensitivity (Harmon-Jones, et al. 2002; Harmon-Jones, et al., 2008). We now review psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder and examine the extent to which the BAS dysregulation model can inform these interventions.

Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy for Bipolar Disorder

Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT) emerged from highly successful cognitive models of unipolar depression. These models hypothesize that maladaptive cognitive patterns [negative styles for inferring causes, consequences, and self-worth implications in hopelessness theory (Abramson et al., 1989) and negative self-schemata and dysfunctional attitudes in Beck’s (1967) theory] act as vulnerabilities for depression when individuals experience stressful life events. These maladaptive cognitive styles increase the likelihood of negative appraisals of negative life events, thereby leading to hopelessness and negative views of one’s self and personal world, and ultimately, depressive symptoms. Cognitive theories of depression have garnered considerable empirical support from cross-sectional studies, prospective studies, and behavioral high risk studies (See Abramson, Alloy, Hankin, Haefeli, MacCoon, & Gibb, 2002 for review).

CBT for unipolar depression identifies, challenges, and ultimately aims to modify cognitive styles to generate a less depressogenic information processing scheme (Hollon, 2006).
CBT is effective for treating unipolar depression (for review, see Deckerbach, Gershuny, & Otto, 2000), with research indicating that this efficacy extends to severe and treatment resistant cases (Fava, Grandi, Zielezny, Rafanelli, et al., 1996). CBT also appears to protect against relapse in patients with unipolar depression and CBT offers relapse protection in the same range as maintenance pharmacotherapy (Evans, Hollon, DeRubeis, Piasecki, Grove, et al., 1992).

Over the past two decades, growing evidence indicates that the cognitive processes involved in unipolar depression also play a role in the bipolar spectrum disorders. Research indicates that bipolar individuals exhibit cognitive patterns as negative as unipolar individuals and that the cognitive profiles observed in bipolar disorder have implications for understanding both the manic and depressive phases of the illness (See Alloy, Abramson, Neeren, Walshaw, Urosevic, & Nusslock, 2006 for review). Moreover, preliminary evidence indicates that the cognitive styles of bipolar spectrum individuals are stable across different mood states (Alloy, et al., 1999). Accordingly, cognitive-behavioral therapy is beginning to be applied to bipolar spectrum disorders as an adjunctive treatment to pharmacotherapy.

Although there is variability in how CBT is implemented for bipolar disorder, most protocols address at least the three following themes: medication adherence, biased or dysfunctional thinking, and psychosocial difficulties (Basco & Rush, 1996; Otto, Reilly-Harrington, & Sachs, 2003; Fava, Bartolucci, Rafanelli, & Mangelli, 2001). Regarding, medication adherence, patients are informed of the importance of strict treatment adherence and educated on pharmacology, toxicity, side effects, and the positive effects that mood-stabilizers can have on the course of bipolar disorder. Patients are provided behavioral strategies to help increase adherence, and receive psychoeducation on the nature of bipolar disorder and its corresponding symptoms. Regarding, biased or dysfunctional thinking, patients are first introduced to the concept that negative thinking can influence the interpretation of events and subsequent emotions. Patients are encouraged to monitor their thoughts, provide evidence for and against negative cognitions, and to replace maladaptive interpretations of events with more adaptive explanations. The challenge for both the clinician and client, however, is that they not only need to address the patient’s depressogenic cognitions, but also cognitions associated with hypomanic and/or manic episodes. Patients are educated in identifying increased self-esteem and “positively biased” cognitions as indicators of possible hypomania/mania. By challenging and keeping these cognitions “in check”, the patient, ideally, can manage or preempt a bipolar episode. Lastly, CBT therapists typically address psychosocial difficulties associated with bipolar disorder. The therapist helps the clinician to identify strengths that facilitate psychosocial adjustment and weaknesses that may interfere with functioning. Patients are then taught specific problem-solving and behavioral skills to help manage these psychosocial stressors.

The small number of studies conducted to date provides reasonably consistent evidence that CBT has a positive prophylactic effect on bipolar disorder and preliminary evidence that it is also effective in managing acute episodes of bipolar depression. Two uncontrolled studies (Fava, Bartolucci, Rafanelli, & Mangelli, 2001; Patellis-Siotis, et al., 2001) found that CBT reduced depressive and manic episode relapse rates over a 30-month follow-up compared to the 30 months prior to beginning CBT, and improved psychosocial functioning. Fava and colleagues (2001) further reported that CBT was associated with a significant reduction in subsyndromal symptoms during remission, which is of import given that subsyndromal symptoms increase the risk of relapse in bipolar disorder (Benazzi, 2001). Four randomized controlled trials of CBT for bipolar patients receiving maintenance medication provide further evidence of the prophylactic effects of CBT. In a study involving individuals with both bipolar I and bipolar II, Scott et al.
BAS and Treatment 6

(2001) reported that compared to a wait list control, their CBT group exhibited 60% fewer relapses and fewer hospitalizations during an 18-month follow-up, significant improvements in global functioning and some symptoms (particularly depressive symptoms), and greater medication adherence. Cochran (1984) also found that their CBT plus lithium group showed greater medication compliance than a lithium-only group, as well as fewer hospitalizations and mood episodes. Lam and colleagues (2000) reported that compared to a “treatment as usual” control group, a CBT group had significantly fewer bipolar episodes and hospitalizations throughout a 12-month follow-up, and lower depressive and manic symptoms. In a follow-up, Lam and colleagues (2003) found that the CBT group had significantly fewer bipolar episodes and hospitalizations relative to a “treatment as usual” control group. The proportion of patients in the control group who relapsed during follow-up was 75% compared with 44% in the CBT group. Additionally, the CBT group had fewer days in episode, less residual depressive symptoms, and less manic symptom fluctuation during the 12-month follow-up. One study (Zaretsky, Segal, & Gemar, 1999) examined the efficacy of CBT for managing an acute episode of depression in bipolar I and bipolar II individuals to standard CBT for unipolar depression. The authors reported that the two forms of CBT were equally effective. Additional support for the efficacy of CBT in managing acute bipolar depression comes from the STEP-BD study by Miklowitz and colleagues (2007) mentioned earlier in which all three of the psychosocial interventions (CBT, Family-Focused Psychoeducation, and Interpersonal and Social Rhythm Therapy) for bipolar disorder hastened the recovery from a depressive episode (Miklowitz, Otto, et al., 2007). Lastly, work by Scott and colleagues (2006) suggest that severity of course may moderate bipolar individual’s responsiveness to CBT. The authors report that CBT was more effective than treatment as usual in those with fewer than 12 previous episodes, but less effective in those with more episodes.

CBT for Bipolar Disorder: Perspective from the BAS Dysregulation Theory

As noted, CBT for bipolar disorder typically addresses three components: medication adherence, biased or dysfunctional thinking, and psychosocial difficulties. We argue that research in line with the BAS dysregulation theory may be particularly helpful in informing the biased or dysfunctional thinking component of CBT for bipolar disorder. CBT was developed from cognitive models of unipolar depression and was subsequently applied to bipolar disorder. However, research indicates that, although negative cognitive styles characterize unipolar depression and bipolar disorder alike (Alloy, et al., 2005; Johnson & Kizer, 2002), bipolar individuals exhibit cognitive profiles consistent with the high drive/incentive motivation associated with high BAS sensitivity (Alloy et al., 2005; 2006; Urosevic et al., 2008). This is in contrast to the dependency and attachment attitudes typically observed among unipolar depressed individuals (see Hammen et al., 1992, for alternative findings). The next section examines the implications of research on the cognitive profiles of bipolar individuals in line with the BAS dysregulation theory for CBT for bipolar disorder.

In treating both unipolar depression and bipolar disorder, there are two levels of cognitions that a CBT therapist typically works with in treating a client (Basco & Rush, 1996; Greenberger & Padesky, 1995; Lam, Jones, Hayward, & Bright, 1999). First, the clinician addresses state-dependent ‘automatic thoughts’ that typically occur prior to or during a mood disorder episode. Next, the clinician addresses the underlying state-independent world view, schema, or assumptions that an individual has about reality.

In addressing state-dependent automatic thoughts, there is growing consensus that CBT therapists should target the cognitive prodromes of bipolar episodes as opposed to the automatic
thoughts experienced during full-blown episodes (Lam et al., 2003). In medicine, prodromes are defined as the early signs and symptoms that herald a full episode (Molnar, Feeney, & Fava, 1988). Research indicates that bipolar individuals, as well as their relatives, are able to report prodromes reliably (Keitner, Solomon, Ryan, Miller, Mallinger, et al., 1996; Lam, Wong, & Sham, 2001). Two advantages in targeting prodromes in the treatment of bipolar disorder are: 1) full-blown bipolar episodes may overwhelm the coping strategies of bipolar individuals, where these strategies may be highly effective in managing prodromes of bipolar episodes; and 2) the prodromal period precedes the full bipolar syndrome (Smith & Tarrier, 1992), representing a window in which clinical intervention might protect patients from relapse. In line with this view, good coping skills during prodromal periods have been associated with higher social functioning (Lam & Wong, 1997), which predicts longer intervals between episodes (Gitlin et al., 1995).

Consistent with the BAS’s involvement in regulating appetitive motivation and goal-directed activity (Gray, 1981; 1994), evidence suggests that the cognitive prodromes of manic episodes are characterized by extreme-goal setting and heightened expectations of success in the achievement domain. Meyers Beevers, and Johnson (2004) noted that current symptoms of hypomania/mania positively correlated with higher expectations of attaining upcoming goals. The relationship between hypomanic/manic symptoms and success expectancies is most pronounced following a proposed BAS activation relevant event (i.e., goal – attainment [Johnson, Ruggero, & Carver, 2005]). Bipolar individuals seem to over-interpret this initial success and become unrealistically confident about achieving the next goal (Johnson, et al., 2005). They may express beliefs such as ‘there is nothing that I can not do’, ‘I have to obtain the goal’, ‘I am invincible.’ This unrealistic confidence may fuel excessive goal-striving behaviors and even higher goal-setting (Johnson, 2005). Indeed, increased goal-directed activity is one of the two most common behavioral prodromes of mania and has been independently associated with increased rates of manic episodes (Lam, Wong, & Sham, 2001). In line with this research, CBT therapists have begun to highlight the importance of helping bipolar individuals understand the relationship between ambitious goal-setting and the onset of manic episodes (Lam et al., 2003). These clinicians argue that the therapist and client can develop a treatment plan in which surges of ambitious goal-setting and confidence are identified and challenged during the prodromal period. An important cognitive strategy for dealing with prodromal mania is reframing the ambitious goal-setting and surge of confidence as early symptoms of mania as opposed to thoughts to be considered in their own right (Lam, Jones, Hayward, & Bright, 1999). This allows the client to more objectively identify what is a manic prodrome versus simply a good mood. Lam and Wong (1997) report that the optimal coping strategies for prodromes of mania involve behavioral deactivation strategies including ‘modifying high activities’, ‘restraining oneself’, and ‘engaging in calming activities.’ Accordingly, an extreme surge in ambition (i.e., BAS hyper-activation) should serve as a cue to the bipolar individual to reduce goal-striving behavior and normalize social and sleep routines.

Where manic prodromes of extreme confidence and ambitious goal-setting typically occur following success in the achievement domain (Johnson, 2005), depressive prodromes of low self-esteem and decreased goal-setting typically occur in response to failure in the achievement domain (Lam, et al., 2000). According to Urosevic and colleagues’ (2008) expanded BAS dysregulation theory, low efficacy expectancy resulting from failure in the achievement domain leads to BAS deactivation. This BAS deactivation is characterized by decreased goal-setting and expectancy of success, followed by reduced motivation and goal-oriented behaviors. As noted by an individual with bipolar disorder, “I know that I am becoming
depressed when I think there is no point in pursuing goals.” Accordingly, a CBT therapist taking a BAS dysregulation perspective should be primed to target cognitive-behavioral prodromes of depression in the achievement domain. Once a client’s prodromes have been identified, the clinician can assist the client in monitoring and modifying cognitive prodromes of depression to reduce the risk of relapse. Lam and Wong (1997) report that the coping strategy most often employed among bipolar individuals in the “Good Coping Group” involved ‘getting myself organized and keeping busy’ (i.e., increased BAS activity). Accordingly, behavioral activation strategies such as exercise, goal-striving, and pleasurable activities can be employed in order to target the BAS deactivation often associated with bipolar depression (Depue et al., 1987; 1989).

Once the clinician and client have addressed state-dependent automatic thoughts – which we argue are best addressed during the prodromal period (i.e., cognitive prodromes) –, the next step is to address the underlying assumptions or cognitive style that the bipolar patient has about his/her self and world (Basco & Rush, 1996; Lam et al., 1999; 2003). These assumptions are state-independent cognitions from which automatic thoughts arise in response to relevant life events (Lam et al., 1999). Assumptions can be considered rules for living or conditional statements that incorporate an ‘if….then’ component (e.g., “if I am not the best, I am nothing”). Once identified, strategies that can be used to address dysfunctional assumptions among bipolar individuals include, but are not limited to, the use of thought records, collaborative empiricism, and behavioral experiments (Basco & Rush, 1996; Lam et al., 1999; 2003; Otto et al., 1999).

In line with the BAS dysregulation theory’s focus on high drive/incentive motivation, as well as the research just outlined on state-dependent cognitions in manic and depressive episodes, the cognitive style of bipolar individuals is marked by ambitious goal-setting, autonomy, and perfectionism in the achievement domain (Johnson, 2005; Lam, Wright, & Smith, 2004). Clinical observations report high goal setting, drive, and work motivation among individuals with a history of mania that are “inappropriately high” (Peven & Shulman, 1983, p.13). Researchers have also found that a history of bipolar disorder is associated with stronger emphasis on goal-pursuit and goal-attainment. For example, two studies found that individuals with a history of mania are more likely to endorse items reflecting perfectionism and the need to achieve goals on the Dysfunctional Attitudes Scale relative to individuals with no mood disorder (Lam, et al., 2004; Scott, Stanton, Garland, & Ferrier, 2000). Alloy and colleagues (2008) found that euthymic bipolar spectrum participants scored higher on BAS-relevant cognitive dimensions of perfectionism, autonomy, and self-criticism than did normal controls, but not on non-BAS-relevant dimensions of sociotropy, dependency, or approval from others. Moreover, in this study, only BAS-relevant cognitive dimensions predicted the likelihood of onset of depressive and hypomanic/mania episodes among bipolar individuals over a 3.2 year follow-up. Further, a study by Spielberger and colleagues (1963) reported that 93% of individuals with a history of bipolar disorder endorsed the item “I nearly always strive hard for personal achievement.” Ambitious goal-setting and perfectionism in the achievement domain among bipolar individuals appears to be a state-independent feature of the disorder given: 1) studies of goal-oriented cognitive styles in bipolar disorder have been conducted when individuals are in a remitted/euthymic state (Lam, et al., 2004; Scott et al., 2000), 2) the effect holds even after controlling for baseline mood state (Alloy et al., 2008; Johnson, Ruggero, & Carver, 2005), and 3) current symptoms of bipolar disorder do not correlate with ambitious goal-setting (Lozano & Johnson, 2001). Researchers have extended these findings to individuals with subsyndromal bipolar disorder (Johnson & Carver, 2006) and non-affected family members of bipolar individuals (see Johnson, 2005, for review). These findings suggest that ambitious goal setting and perfectionism in the achievement
domain may index a temperamental/cognitive vulnerability to bipolar disorder. In line with this view, high scores on the Neuroticsm-Extraversion-Openness (NEO) Inventory achievement-striving scale predicted increases in bipolar symptoms over 6 months (Lozano & Johnson, 2001).

The finding that ambitious goal setting and perfectionism in the achievement domain characterize the cognitive style of bipolar individuals has important implications for how CBT is applied to bipolar disorder. Clinicians working with bipolar patients should probe for these perfectionistic standards in the achievement domain and target them to promote a better course of the illness. To date, however, only one of the six studies outlined above on the efficacy of CBT for bipolar disorder systematically targeted goal-oriented cognitions. In this study, Lam and colleagues (2003) randomly assigned 103 bipolar individuals to CBT or medication management. In the CBT group, the therapists specifically targeted extreme striving attitudes. As reported above, the authors found evidence that CBT was protective for both bipolar depression and mania, with the CBT group experiencing significantly fewer episodes and hospitalizations relative to the control group. Importantly, highly driven and extreme goal attainment beliefs were identified as vulnerability factors, and at 6 month follow-up, the CBT group scored significantly lower than a comparison control group regarding such goal-striving attitudes.

In summary, the BAS dysregulation theory proposes high drive/incentive motivation and high BAS sensitivity characterize bipolar disorder (Depue & Iacono, 1989; Fowles, 1988). Consistent with theory, growing evidence suggests that the cognitive profiles of bipolar disorder are characterized by extreme goal-striving tendencies and perfectionism in the achievement domain, rather than the sociotropic, dependent features often exhibited by unipolar individuals. Preliminary research indicates that targeting achievement-oriented cognitive profiles is helpful in managing both the depressive and manic phases of bipolar disorder (Lam et al., 2003). Further work, however, is needed to test the nuances of this finding. Although research indicates that bipolar-spectrum individuals have higher mean levels on BAS-relevant cognitive dimensions (perfectionism, autonomy, self-criticism), there are likely notable individual differences in such cognitive profiles. It will be important for researchers and clinicians to examine these individual differences, and adjust their treatment plan accordingly.

Psychoeducational Interventions

A second prominent psychosocial intervention for bipolar disorder is psychoeducation. Models of psychoeducation for bipolar disorder have been informed by the literature on psychoeducational treatments for schizophrenia (Miklowitz & Goldstein, 1997). Early research demonstrated that family-based psychoeducation reduced relapse rates and improved psychosocial functioning in individuals with schizophrenia over a 2 year period (Falloon, Boyd, McGill, Williamson, et al., 1985; Hogarty, Anderson, Reiss, Kornblith, et al., 1986). Given the fact that bipolar disorder shares many of the clinical characteristics of schizophrenia (e.g., relapse-remission course, need for maintenance medication, etc.), clinicians and researchers began examining psychoeducation as a treatment for bipolar disorder.

Central to psychoeducational models for bipolar disorder is research indicating that environmental variables influence the timing, frequency, and polarity (depressive vs. hypomanic/manic) of bipolar episodes (see Craighead & Miklowitz, 2000 for review). Environmental variables in bipolar disorder have been examined in two domains: life events and family/marital discord. Regarding the former domain, research indicates that bipolar individuals experience an elevated rate of life events in the period preceding the onset of an episode relative to other periods in their life (Alloy et al., 2005; Ambelas, 1979, 1987; Johnson & Roberts, 1995). For example, a prospective study that followed bipolar individuals across a 2-year period found that
individuals who received the highest total life event scores had 4.53 times the risk of relapse compared to individuals who did not experience such events (Ellicott, et al., 1990). Moreover, Perris (1984) found that a greater number of negative events preceded the onset of bipolar depression than the onset of unipolar depression.

The second domain – family discord as a trigger for recurrences- has focused on “expressed emotion” (EE) attitudes among care-giving relatives. EE reflects the extent to which relatives of patients express critical, hostile, or emotionally over-involved attitudes towards their disturbed family member (Miklowitz, et al., 1988). High EE in family members of bipolar individuals predicts a more pernicious course relative to bipolar individuals whose family members express low-EE attitudes (Miklowitz, et al., 1988; 2000). Furthermore, high-EE relative/patient pairs have more conflict in laboratory assessments during the post-episode stabilization period than low-EE relative/patient pairs (Simoneau, Miklowitz, & Saleem, 1998).

Psychoeducation for bipolar disorder has been implemented in different forms. One commonly used approach is a 21 session Family-Focused Treatment (FFT) program (Miklowitz & Goldstein, 1990; Miklowitz & Goldstein, 1997). This protocol involves three primary components: psychoeducation about bipolar disorder, communication enhancement, and problem-solving skills training. The Psychoeducation component includes information about the course, causes, and treatment of bipolar disorder. Patients and their family members are educated on the important role that life events and stressors play in the course of bipolar disorder and life events are viewed as “occasion setters” for the onset of bipolar episodes. Similar to CBT, patients and their family members are educated on the importance of identifying early warning signs or prodromes of bipolar episodes given that full-blown episodes often overwhelm a person’s coping strategies. In the Communication Enhancement component, family members are taught skills such as active listening, providing structured positive feedback, and making positive requests for change in each other’s behavior. Finally, the Problem-Solving Skills Training involves identifying specific environmental and behavioral problems and brain-storming possible solutions.

Psychoeducation programs have also been implemented in group and marital format. Group psychoeducation for bipolar disorder addresses illness awareness, treatment compliance, early detection of symptoms, and life style regularity (Colom, et al., 2003). Marital psychoeducation addresses these issues in the context of an intimate relationship (Clarkin, Carpenter, Hull, Wilner, & Glick, 1998).

Like, CBT, psychoeducation is typically used as a prophylactic treatment to prevent future relapses, as opposed to managing current episodes. Research indicates that psychoeducational interventions for bipolar disorder have a positive prophylactic effect for a number of clinically relevant indices. Most of the studies used a randomized controlled trial in which patients were assigned to either a psychoeducational intervention or Crisis Management (CM). All patients received concomitant pharmacotherapy. Both FFT (Miklowitz, George, Richards, et al., 2003; Miklowitz, et al., 2000; Rea, Tompsoon, Miklowitz, Goldstein, et al., 2003) and group psychoeducation (Colom, et al., 2003) were associated with reduced relapse rates relative to CM. Miklowitz and colleagues (2000; 2003) reported that patients undergoing FFT had longer survival intervals (i.e., time to relapse) and a greater decrease in affective symptoms than patients undergoing CM at follow-up. FFT (Rea, et al., 2003) and group psychoeducation (Colom et al., 2003) have also been associated with reduced hospitalization, and a psychoeducation intervention for patients and their spouses has been associated with increased medication compliance (Clarkin et al., 1998). However, these studies indicated that
psychoeducation is typically more effective in managing depression than mania. In Colom et al. (2003), at the end of follow-up, group psychoeducation patients had a lower number of all types of recurrences than CM patients, except for mania.

Two studies have examined the effect of FFT on expressed emotion and the interaction patterns of bipolar patients and their relatives. One of these studies found that following treatment, patients and relatives who received FFT showed a greater amount of positive interactional behavior as compared to those in the CM condition (Simoneau, Miklowitz, Richards, Saleem, et al., 1999). Additionally, Honig and colleagues (1997) found that FFT lowered EE and that patients with key relatives who had low EE had a better course (lower hospital admissions) than patients with high EE key relatives.

Over the past decade, clinicians have begun to apply family-based psychoeducation for children and adolescents with bipolar disorder. Regarding children, family-based psychoeducation is associated with an increase among parents in their knowledge of bipolar disorder (Fristad, Arnett, & Gavazzi, 1998; Fristad, Goldberg-Arnold, & Gavazzi, 2003), high consumer satisfaction (Fristad, Gavazzi, & Soldano, 1998), greater social/parental support (Fristad, Goldberg-Arnold, & Gavazzi, 2002; 2003), and a decrease in negative expressed emotion (Fristad, Arnett, & Gavazzi, 1998). Miklowitz and colleagues (2004) recently examined the efficacy of FFT for adolescents with bipolar disorder and found that FFT was associated with improvements in both depression and manic symptoms and behavior over a 1-year period.

Psychoeducation for Bipolar Disorder: Perspective from the BAS Dysregulation Theory

One objective of psychoeducational interventions for bipolar disorder is to help patients and their family members identify triggers of bipolar episodes (Morris, Miklowitz, & Waxmonsky, 2007). However, aside from work on Expressed Emotion and circadian rhythm disruption, many of the psychoeducational manuals do not explicitly discuss the specific types of life events that have been found to precipitate bipolar episodes in the research literature. We argue that informing patients and their families of this research should be an important ingredient of psychoeducational interventions, and reflects an important translation between basic research and practice. With this said, however, much of the research on life events and bipolar disorder has been largely atheoretical, with many studies relying on global classifications of events such as “negative events”, “stressful events”, and “severe events.” An advantage of the BAS dysregulation theory is that it makes predictions about the specific types of life events relevant to the onset of both manic and depressive episodes. In this next section, we discuss the implications of research on both independent and self-generated life events from the perspective of the BAS dysregulation theory for psychoeducational interventions for bipolar disorder.

_BAS activation and BAS deactivation relevant life events._ According to the BAS dysregulation theory, there are two prerequisites for the development of bipolar symptoms/episodes – an occurrence of an event that is appraised as BAS relevant and a hypersensitivity to BAS relevant events (Urosevic et al., 2008). The BAS hypersensitivity characterizing individuals at risk for bipolar disorder “…transforms the normally mild effects of events into periods of dysregulation. That is, the biobehavioral systems of bipolar prone individuals will be more perturbed by stimuli of both positive and negative valence” (Depue et al., 1987, pp. 118-119). In essence, individuals vulnerable to bipolar disorder are unable to effectively regulate their emotions and behavior because their proneness to BAS dysregulation renders them excessively responsive to BAS relevant events. In support, Alloy, Abramson, Whitehouse, Sylvia, et al. (2008) found that BAS-relevant events prospectively predicted increases in bipolar symptoms among bipolar spectrum participants over a one year follow-up.
Two types of BAS relevant events have been proposed – BAS activation and deactivation relevant events. BAS activation-relevant events involve an opportunity for an individual to attain a highly valued reward/goal. Depue and Collins (1999) have proposed a variety of rewards to be BAS activating – ranging from food, sex, social rewards, money, to long term goals. Alloy et al. (2008) noted that self-reported BAS sensitivities, especially the BAS-Drive subscale, interacted with BAS-activation relevant events to prospectively predict increases in hypomanic symptoms. High BAS participants who experienced more BAS activation relevant events showed the largest increase in hypomanic symptoms. Johnson et al. (2000) found that life events involving high goal-attainment were significantly related to higher levels of follow-up manic, but not depressive, symptoms, even when controlling for baseline manic symptoms. In line with the BAS dysregulation theory’s focus on high drive/incentive motivation among bipolar individuals, positive events that did not involve the attainment of a valued reward were not associated with an increase in manic symptoms. These results are consistent with research showing that the relationship between hypomanic/manic symptoms and success expectancies is most pronounced following a proposed BAS activation relevant event (i.e., goal–attainment [Johnson, Ruggero, & Carver, 2005]). Nusslock and colleagues (2007) extended this work in reporting that a full 42% of bipolar spectrum individuals developed a new episode of hypomania in response to a goal-striving life event (Nusslock, Abramson, Harmon-Jones, Alloy, & Hogan, 2007). In contrast, only 4% of bipolar individuals not exposed to this event developed a new hypomanic episode during the same time. Taken together, the findings of these two studies suggest that goal-striving and goal-attainment life events are two BAS activation relevant events particularly important to the course of bipolar disorder.

BAS deactivation-relevant events involve definite failure to obtain or loss of pertinent reward/goals (Depue et al., 1987; 1989; Urosevic et al., 2008). The lower the expectations of a positive outcome of one’s actions, or the more hopeless the individual becomes, the greater the subsequent BAS deactivation will be (Abramson et al., 2002). BAS deactivation-relevant events have been shown to prospectively predict increases in depressive symptoms among bipolar spectrum individuals (Alloy, Abramson, Whitehouse, Sylvia, Hafner et al., 2008). Given the BAS dysregulation theory’s focus on drive/incentive motivation, and the fact that the cognitive profiles of bipolar individuals are characterized by extreme goal-striving tendencies, perfectionism, and autonomy, we predict that bipolar individuals will be particularly vulnerable to depression in response to failure or loss in the achievement domain. Further research, however, is needed to test this prediction.

Research and theory on BAS activation and deactivation events can help inform psychoeducational interventions on the types of life events likely to precipitate bipolar episodes. We propose that events in the achievement domain are particularly salient to the course of bipolar disorder. It may appear counterintuitive to bipolar individuals and their families that events involving the pursuit and attainment of achievement goals can act as risk factors for bipolar episodes. Indeed, bipolar individuals highly value these goal-oriented events (Johnson, 2005). We are not suggesting that bipolar individuals refrain from pursuing or attaining goals. We are suggesting, however, that bipolar individuals enter into these events with an understanding that they may be at heightened risk of relapse. With this understanding, psychoeducational interventions can help bipolar individuals develop problem-solving and coping strategies to regulate the affect these events likely invoke.

**Self-generated BAS relevant life events.** Clinicians long have noted that bipolar individuals, often, by their own behavior, create life events that worsen the course of their
illness. This “stress generation” effect indicates that depressed or bipolar individuals often experience an increased rate of life events that are dependent on their behavior (Hammen, 1991; Daley, Hammen, Burge, Davila, Paley, et al., 1997). This suggests a “2-hit model” in which individuals with BAS hypersensitivity not only react more strongly to BAS-relevant events, but also are exposed to such events more frequently through event generation or selection. That is, the stimulus seeking, hyper-driven, and workaholic traits characteristic of bipolar individuals may create or select the very life events likely to trigger bipolar episodes. In line with this view, Urosevic and colleagues (2008) reported that bipolar spectrum individuals experienced both more BAS activation-relevant (e.g., took on new tasks) and more BAS deactivation-relevant events (e.g., failed at a task) than normal participants.

One example of this might be a bipolar individual who has recently attained a goal for which she has strived. According to Johnson et al. (2005), this goal-attainment is likely to induce a surge in confidence in the patient and an expectancy of future success in the achievement domain (i.e., cognitive prodrome). This success expectancy leads the patient to excessive goal-striving behaviors and grandiose plans. Given the suggestion that manic prodromes are associated with decreased awareness of danger signs (Lembke & Ketter, 2002), the patient begins making risky financial decisions, takes on more work than she can handle, and engages in excessive pleasurable activities. These self-generated events exacerbate the bipolar patient’s prodromal symptoms, leading to further dysregulation, and eventually to a full manic episode. Over time, it becomes clear to the patient that she is unable to manage her current state. Because she is so overextended, she fails to meet professional/familial obligations; she becomes aware of the financial and/or personal implications of her impulsive decisions, and, as a result, experiences significant failure in the achievement domain. This failure serves as a BAS deactivation relevant event, which may cause a subsequent depressive episode.

This sequence of events could potentially have been preempted had the bipolar patient been aware of the concept of stress generation. There is growing awareness among clinicians of the importance of informing bipolar individuals and their families that the events that have the most notable impact on the course of bipolar disorder are often generated by the bipolar individual (Lam et al., 1999). BAS relevant events that seem positive and proactive can, in excess, create chaos and significant stress. The goal is to strike a balance so that the bipolar individual can enjoy goal-striving, but moderate it so that such behaviors do not result in dysregulation. This is especially true during a prodromal period in which the bipolar individual is hypersensitive to BAS relevant events (Urosevic et al., 2008). Helping the patient navigate prodromal periods so that they do not generate additional stress is of particular importance.

This sequence of events also highlights the bi-directional relationship between life events and motivational state. That is, under certain circumstances, the presence of a BAS relevant life event may serve as an initial trigger for an excessive increase or decrease in approach motivation, which, ultimately, may result in a bipolar episode. However, under other circumstances, a person’s motivational or affective state may cause them to actually generate or select the particular types of life events that may lead to a more severe bipolar course. Clinicians can help patients understand this process and to monitor both their response and exposure to relevant life events, particularly during prodromal periods.

Expressed Emotion in Achievement Domain: Although less direct, research in line with the BAS dysregulation theory may also have implications for the communication enhancement training module of family-focused psychoeducational programs (i.e., FFT). On this topic, elevated drive, ambition, and achievement motivation have not only been observed in bipolar
individuals, but also are characteristic of the family members of individuals with a history of bipolar disorder (Spielberger, et al., 1963). Family members of bipolar probands have higher lifetime occupational and educational attainment than the general population (Tsuchiya, Agerbo, Byrne, & Mortensen, 2004). Growing up in such families, bipolar individuals are likely expected to attain an equivalent degree of professional success. Indeed, 2/3 of bipolar individuals had academic performance in the good to excellent range prior to the onset of their first bipolar episode (Kutcher, Robertson, & Bird, 1998). These expectations may result in the bipolar individual engaging in excessive goal-striving behaviors in the presence of possible academic/professional reward, thus putting themselves at risk for a hypomanic/manic episode. These expectations, however, may also result in family members being particularly critical, hostile, and/or over involved when the bipolar individual experiences failure in the achievement domain. Accordingly, therapists informed by this research may benefit from instructing family members of bipolar individuals to be particularly attuned to negative “expressed emotion” attitudes in the achievement domain. Presumably, this attention would have benefits for managing both mania and depression. With respect to mania, decreased EE in the achievement domain may help bipolar individuals moderate extreme goal striving attitudes/behaviors associated with mania tendencies. In terms of depression, decreased EE in the achievement domain may help reduce catastrophic responses to academic/professional failure and increase a sense of social support. Further research is needed to test this prediction.

In summary, we propose that research in line with the BAS dysregulation theory has important implications for psychoeducational interventions for bipolar disorder. Family members and patients may benefit from being educated on the role that BAS activation and deactivation relevant life events have on triggering bipolar episodes. Research indicates that goal-striving and goal-attainment life events are particularly salient BAS activation relevant events (Johnson et al., 2000; Nusslock et al., 2007). We hypothesize that definite failure in the achievement domain is a salient BAS deactivation relevant event, although future research is needed to test this prediction. Second, clinicians should inform their patients of the importance of minimizing excessive goal-striving behaviors, particularly during manic prodromes, in order to minimize exposure to self-generated BAS relevant events. As will be discussed in the next section, self-generated events that may be particularly important to manage are disruptions in social and circadian rhythms. Lastly, with respect to Communication Enhancement in family-focused psychoeducational programs, research on BAS dysregulation theory indicates that bipolar disorder is characterized by elevated drive, ambition, and achievement motivation. Thus, negative Expressed Emotion in the achievement domain may be a particularly relevant stressor for bipolar individuals. Interpersonal and Social Rhythm Therapy (IPSRT)

The Social Rhythm or Zeitgeber Theory (Ehlers, Frank, & Kupfer, 1988; Ehlers, Kupfer, Frank, & Monk, 1993) postulates that life events that disrupt daily rhythms or schedules will be especially likely to precipitate bipolar symptoms and episodes. This theory suggests that individuals with bipolar disorder have a predisposition to circadian rhythm and sleep-wake cycle abnormalities that may be responsible, in part, for the symptomatic manifestations of the illness. In this model, a social Zeitgeber is defined as a personal relationship, social demand, or life task, that entrains biological rhythms such as circadian rhythms or the sleep-wake cycle. It is hypothesized that life events (both positive and negative) that involve the disruption or loss of a social Zeitgeber can trigger bipolar episodes by causing a dysregulation of biological rhythms (Ehlers et al., 1988). In line with this view, Wehr and colleagues (1987) have demonstrated that sleep reduction can lead to mania in bipolar subjects and sleep deprivation has significant
antidepressant effects in both unipolar and bipolar depressed subjects (Leibenluft et al., 1993; Leibenluft and Wehr, 1992). Furthermore, Malkoff-Schwartz et al. (1998; 2000) found that manic patients had significantly more pre-onset stressors characterized by social rhythm disruption (e.g., change in sleep-wake cycle) than did depressed patients with bipolar disorder. Wehr and colleagues (1987) argued that sleep loss may be a common causal pathway in the genesis of mania. Other research has shown that social rhythm disruption precipitates depressive symptoms and episodes among bipolar individuals (Sylvia, et al., in press).

Based on such research, Frank and colleagues (1997; 1999) developed Interpersonal and Social Rhythm Therapy (IPSRT; Frank, Hlastala, Ritenour, Houck, et al., 1997). This therapy integrates interpersonal psychotherapy for unipolar depression (Klerman et al., 1984) with behavioral and environmental strategies to help stabilize irregularities of the sleep-wake cycle among bipolar individuals. Techniques are drawn from interpersonal psychotherapy given the hypothesis that social or interpersonal events play an important role in entraining biological rhythms (Ehlers et al., 1988; 1993). It is proposed that teaching bipolar individuals skills to navigate interpersonal stressors will help them have more regularity in their biological and circadian rhythms.

With regards social rhythm maintenance, IPSRT focuses on 1) the reciprocal relationships between life stress and the onset of mood disorder symptoms, 2) the importance of maintaining regular daily rhythms and sleep/wake cycles, and 3) the identification and management of potential precipitants of rhythm dysregulation with special attention to interpersonal triggers. Patients are first instructed to monitor their social routines and rhythms using the Social Rhythm Metric (SRM; Monk et al., 1991), a self-report instrument designed to quantify daily life rhythms. Using the SRM, the patient ideally begins to see the interplay among instabilities in daily routines, patterns of social stimulation, sleep-wake times, and mood fluctuations. IPSRT then implements behavioral strategies to help the patient alter those activities that promote rhythm irregularities (minimizing overstimulation, monitoring the frequency and intensity of social interactions). The patient is encouraged to make significant life changes in order to protect the integrity of his or her circadian rhythms and sleep-wake cycle.

The interpersonal techniques employed in IPSRT are similar to those described in Klerman and colleagues description of Interpersonal Psychotherapy for unipolar depression. The therapist determines the important individuals in the patient’s life, known as the interpersonal inventory. In addition to outlining the “cast of characters” in the patient’s life, the therapist probes the quality of those relationships and aspects of the relationships that the patient would like to change. The therapist also identifies an interpersonal problem area during the initial phase of treatment that will serve as the interpersonal treatment focus. These problem areas include grief, role disputes, role transitions, and interpersonal deficits. Thus, IPSRT is a truly integrated therapy that allows interpersonal and social rhythm strategies to function synergistically.

Preliminary evidence suggests that IPSRT has a positive prophylactic effect as an adjunct to long-term maintenance pharmacotherapy. Frank and colleagues (2005) reported that bipolar individuals assigned to IPSRT went longer without a new affective episode. Furthermore, IPSRT was associated with higher regularity of social rhythms and this increased regularity was associated with a reduced likelihood of recurrence. In an earlier study, bipolar patients who received IPSRT had fewer depressive episodes over the course of a year relative to bipolar patients in a comparative clinical management group (Frank, 1999). No differences, however, were observed for rates of manic episodes. Another study compared the efficacy of IPSRT versus clinical management (CM) on rates of suicide attempts among patients with bipolar I
disorder who were followed for an average of 1.4 years (Rucci, Frank, Kostelnik, Fagiolini, et al., 2002). Both IPSRT and CM were associated with a reduction in suicide attempt risk. Given the low number of suicide attempts, the authors were unable to compare the efficacy of IPSRT to CM. In an attempt to examine the mechanisms through which IPSRT works, Frank and colleagues (1997) examined the extent to which initial exposure to IPSRT leads to lifestyle regularity. IPSRT was efficacious in regularizing the daily lifestyles of recovering bipolar patients, whereas this lifestyle regularity was not observed in the CM group. Research also indicates that changing the treatment protocol (from IPRST to CM, and vice versa) for bipolar individuals is associated with higher rates of recurrence and levels of symptomatology (Frank, Swartz, Mallinger, Thase, et al., 1999). The authors note that “it appears that a constant treatment regimen contributes to enhanced stability. By contrast, changing treatment parameters may represent yet another destabilizing pathway to recurrence in bipolar disorder” (p. 585). Lastly, a recent treatment outcome study integrated the central tenets of FFP and IPSRT (Miklowitz et al., 2003), reporting that patients given this combined therapy along with medication showed longer time to relapse than those given CM. Consistent with existing FFP and IPSRT studies, however, the combined treatment had a greater impact on depressive than manic symptoms.

IPSRT for Bipolar Disorder: Perspective from the BAS Dysregulation Theory

A central component of IPSRT is identifying and managing potential precipitants of rhythm dysregulation (Frank, Swartz, & Kupfer, 2000). As outlined above, IPSRT has given particular attention to the disruptive effects that interpersonal events have on circadian rhythms (Frank, et al., 2000). This attention is highly warranted given the important role that such events (childcare, marriage, etc) play in entraining biological rhythms (see Frank, 2007 for review). However, the research outlined in the current article indicating that bipolar disorder is characterized by high drive/incentive motivation indicates that bipolar individuals may be especially sensitive to events in the achievement domain. Moreover, this hypersensitivity may put bipolar individuals at particular risk for social/circadian rhythm disruption in response to such events. Accordingly, we argue that it will be helpful for the IPSRT therapist to be particularly attuned to the social and circadian rhythm disruption associated with both interpersonal and achievement oriented life events.

IPSRT also focuses primarily on the disruptive effects that independent life events (i.e., caused by external factors and/or not related to the individual’s behavior) have on circadian rhythms. As noted by Frank and colleagues (2000), “the search for triggers of rhythm disruption leads the IPSRT therapist to comb the patient’s history in search of external sources of rhythm disruption” (pp. 599). However, the stress-generation hypothesis proposes that bipolar individuals often create or select the very events that trigger bipolar episodes (Hammen, 1991; Daley et al., 1997). Accordingly, the social/circadian rhythm disruption typically observed prior to a bipolar episode is often generated by the patient rather than imposed on her by an external source (Akiskal et al., 1996; Lam et al., 2003). The BAS dysregulation theory expands on this view, proposing that a common source of circadian rhythm disruption is self-generated, goal-striving behaviors. The drive to succeed can often lead to working excessively long hours and neglecting important social routines (Lam et al., 1999). In extreme cases, this can involve sleep disruption and total disruption to social routines, which can lead to disruption of circadian rhythms. In line with this view, the two most common prodromes of a manic episode are increased goal-directed activity and decreased need for sleep (Lam & Wong, 1997). Indeed, Molnar et al. (1988) reported that 100% of bipolar participants reported increased goal-directed activity during a manic prodrome and 90% reported decreased sleep. This highlights the
important relationship between self-generated goal-oriented events and social/circadian rhythm disruption in the onset and/or exacerbation of bipolar episodes. It also highlights the importance of regulating excessive goal-striving related behaviors during manic prodromal periods.

We are not suggesting that IPSRT reduce its focus from the disruptive effects of independent interpersonal events. We are suggesting, however, that it may be helpful for the IPSRT therapist to be particularly sensitive to the disruptive effects of both independent and self-generated triggers of rhythm disruption. Following the BAS dysregulation theory (Depue et al., 1987), we propose that self-generated events in the achievement domain may be particularly relevant triggers for social/circadian rhythm disruption. Many of the therapeutic strategies designed to address the effect of independent interpersonal events on circadian/social rhythms could be applied to both independent and self-generated goal-relevant events. For example, the interpersonal inventory used in IPSRT is designed to identify and assess the major relationships in an individual’s life. This logic could be extended to the development of a “goal-relevant inventory” in which the therapist and patient could identify the meaning and value of relevant goals. Using the Social Rhythm Metric (Monk, et al., 1991), the therapist and patient could then examine the extent to which these events are likely to induce social/circadian rhythm disruption and identify goal-pursuit strategies that would minimize such rhythm disruption.

**Conclusion and Future Directions**

Evidence suggests that psychosocial interventions have a positive prophylactic effect on bipolar disorder. However, a limited number of studies have been conducted and further work is needed. Accordingly, the objective of the current article was to examine whether recent findings in line with the BAS dysregulation theory can inform the three prominent psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder – Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy, Psychoeducation, and Interpersonal and Social Rhythm Therapy. We propose the following recommendations: First, research indicates that the cognitive profiles of bipolar disorder are characterized by extreme goal striving tendencies and perfectionism in the achievement domain, rather than the sociotropic, dependent features often exhibited by unipolar depressed individuals. In line with Lam and colleagues (1999, 2003), clinicians working with bipolar individuals should be primed to address these perfectionistic tendencies in the achievement domain. Second, bipolar patients and their family members should be educated on the role that goal-relevant events play in precipitating bipolar episodes. In line with the stress-generation hypothesis, we argue that clinicians should address both independent and self-generated BAS relevant events. Third, the fact that bipolar disorder seems to be characterized by elevated drive, ambition, and achievement motivation suggests that negative expressed emotion in the achievement domain may be a particularly relevant stressor for bipolar individuals and should be addressed by FFP therapists. Fourth, IPSRT may benefit from being attuned to the possible disruptive effect that independent and self-generated goal-relevant events have on social/circadian rhythms.

The majority of research on psychosocial interventions for bipolar disorder has focused on adults. However, epidemiological findings (Weissman, et al., 1996) suggest that bipolar disorder first peaks in rates between ages 15-19. This transition from adolescence to young adulthood has been referred to as an “age of risk” (Weissman, et al., 1996) during which bipolar conditions “consolidate” and sometimes progress to a more severe condition. Accordingly, researchers and clinicians have begun the important task of developing age appropriate psychosocial interventions for children and adolescents with bipolar disorder (Fristad et al., 1998; 2003; Miklowitz et al., 2004). Adolescence is a period of significant transition in which individuals encounter a number of BAS activation (graduating from high-school, applying to
college, dating) and BAS deactivation (academic failure, social rejection) relevant events. Helping vulnerable individuals navigate these events may help prevent their vulnerability from consolidating into a bipolar condition.

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BAS and Treatment 23


**Footnote**

1. Although there is some evidence for specific brain areas associated with BAS functioning (see Depue & Collins, 1999, for review), there are still many unexamined questions regarding the neural circuitry of this system. Thus, at this point in time, the BAS is more of a theoretical construct than a well defined neurobiological pathway. Throughout the present article we occasionally use the term BAS activation and BAS deactivation. With regards to BAS activation, we are not referring to the activation of specific neural structures, but rather more generally to the activation of an approach oriented motivational state. Similarly, with regards to the term BAS deactivation, we are not referring to the deactivation of specific neural structures, but rather to the deactivation or “shutdown” of an approach oriented state.

2. Preliminary evidence suggesting that the similarity in levels of achievement motivation and creativity between bipolar individuals and their non-affected family members is driven, at least in part, by genetic factors comes from three sources: (1) An early study by McNeil (1971) demonstrating that biological, but not adoptive, parents of bipolar individuals displayed high levels of creativity, (2) research estimating the overall heritability of bipolar disorder to be approximately (70%; Edvardsen, Torgersen, Roysamb, et al., 2008), and (3) research estimating the overall heritability of bipolar disorder to be approximately (70%).