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# Digital Interventions for Mental Disorders: Key Features, Efficacy, and Potential for Artificial Intelligence Applications

David Daniel Ebert, Mathias Harrer, Jennifer Apolinário-Hagen and Harald Baumeister

#### Abstract

Mental disorders are highly prevalent and often remain untreated. Many limitations of conventional face-to-face psychological interventions could potentially be overcome through Internet-based and mobile-based interventions (IMIs). This chapter introduces core features of IMIs, describes areas of application, presents evidence on the efficacy of IMIs as well as potential effect mechanisms, and delineates how Artificial Intelligence combined with IMIs may improve current practices in the prevention and treatment of mental disorders in adults. Meta-analyses of randomized controlled trials clearly show that therapist-guided IMIs can be highly effective for a broad range of mental health problems. Whether the effects of unguided IMIs are also clinically relevant, particularly under routine care conditions, is less clear. First studies on IMIs for the prevention of mental disorders have shown promising results.

D. D. Ebert (⊠)

Department of Clinical Psychology, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Van der Boechorststraat 1, 1881 BT Amsterdam, The Netherlands

e-mail: d.d.ebert@vu.nl

#### M. Harrer

Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy, Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg, Erlangen, Germany

e-mail: mathias.harrer@fau.de

#### J. Apolinário-Hagen

Faculty of Psychology, Department of Health Psychology,

FernUniversität in Hagen, Hagen, Germany

e-mail: jennifer.apolinario-hagen@fernuni-hagen.de

#### H. Baumeister

Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy, University of Ulm, Ulm, Germany e-mail: harald.baumeister@uni-ulm.de

Despite limitations and challenges, IMIs are increasingly implemented into routine care worldwide. IMIs are also well suited for applications of Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning, which provides ample opportunities to improve the identification and treatment of mental disorders. Together with methodological innovations, these approaches may also deepen our understanding of how psychological interventions work, and why. Ethical and professional restraints as well as potential contraindications of IMIs, however, should also be considered. In sum, IMIs have a high potential for improving the prevention and treatment of mental health disorders across various indications, settings, and populations. Therefore, implementing IMIs into routine care as both adjunct and alternative to face-to-face treatment is highly desirable. Technological advancements may further enhance the variability and flexibility of IMIs, and thus even further increase their impact in people's lives in the future.

#### Keywords

Internet interventions • eHealth • Mental disorders • Psychotherapy • Prevention • Artificial intelligence • Machine learning

#### Introduction

Mental disorders are highly prevalent, with lifetime and 12-month prevalence rates estimated to range between 18–36% and 10–19%, respectively [1, 2]. Worldwide, mental disorders are one of the leading causes of disability [3]. They are associated with an enormous disease burden, including poorer quality of life [4], worse educational attainment and social role functioning [4–8], increased risk of developing chronic somatic conditions and related mortality [10], as well as suicidality [11, 12]. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that by 2030, depression alone will be the largest contributor to the total burden of disease worldwide [13].

It is well established that psychological interventions are an effective procedure for the treatment of various mental disorders, including depression [14–16], anxiety disorders [17–19], posttraumatic stress disorder [20, 21], personality disorders [22, 23], psychosomatic disorders [24–26], or sexual dysfunction disorders [27], to name only a few indications. However, research also documents a large treatment gap, as the majority of individuals suffering from a mental disorder remain untreated. In developed countries alone, treatment coverage of mental disorders only ranges from 23 to 46% [28–30]. Structural shortfalls, such as a lack of therapists within proximity, or long waiting times, do not appear to be the sole reason for such low treatment rates. Research suggests that psychological barriers to treatment may also play an important role. Despite the availability of effective treatment, many individuals prefer to deal with mental health issues on their own or are afraid of stigmatization [31, 32]. Furthermore, even in successfully treated

patients, relapse remains frequent [33, 34], and cost-effective measures for aftercare are needed.

Technological advancements in the last decades have enabled the development and provision of Internet and Mobile-based psychological Interventions (IMIs [35]). Many limitations of traditional psychotherapeutic interventions could potentially be overcome with such interventions. IMIs are free from the restraints of location and time, and allow for reaching participants who would not make use of mental health treatments otherwise. They may therefore be a viable means to optimize current practices in mental health treatment. Nevertheless, the implementation of IMIs also raises new questions concerning effectiveness, safety, as well as patient and professional preferences.

In this chapter, we will provide an overview on the status and future development of IMIs. We aim to define the core elements of IMIs and review available evidence for their efficacy and mechanisms of change in treating and preventing mental disorders. We will also describe the important ethical and professional considerations associated with IMIs. Lastly, we illustrate current advances and future directions of the field, such as the application of data-driven methods and Machine Learning, and discuss their implications.

# **Key Features of Internet- and Mobile-Based Interventions**

A basic feature of all IMIs is the transference of therapeutic processes to a digital environment. Like face-to-face psychotherapy, IMIs aim to modify individuals' emotions, cognitions, and behaviors, and promote their generalization to the daily life of users through established psychotherapeutic techniques. There is, however, a wide range of possibilities for using IMIs for the prevention and treatment of mental disorders, including mobile applications, stand-alone self-help interventions, or IMIs integrated into conventional on-site psychotherapy (i.e., blended concepts). IMIs can be categorized according to the technology they use, the extent of human support, the theoretical basis, and with respect to their areas of application. In Fig. 1, key aspects of IMIs are presented.

# **Theory Base**

It is of utmost importance to resort to evidence-based psychotherapeutic models and techniques when developing and implementing IMIs. Among all psychotherapeutic approaches, most empirical evidence currently supports the efficacy of cognitive behavioral (CBT) techniques for common mental disorders [36, 37]. Furthermore, most CBT manuals are highly structured, standardized, and focus on specific strategies and concrete behavior. This is probably why most evaluated IMIs have used CBT principles as their treatment rationale [38]. Such approaches are often referred to as *iCBT* (Internet-based cognitive behavioral therapy [39]) or *cCBT* (computerized cognitive behavioral therapy). Nevertheless, IMIs are not

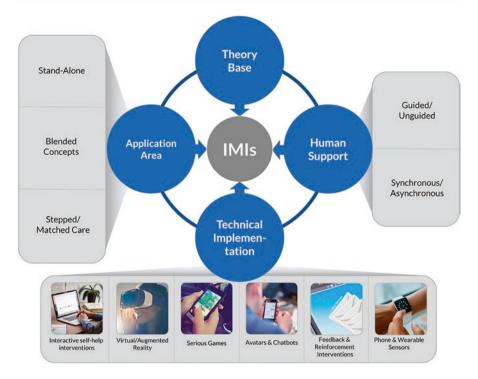


Fig. 1 Key aspects of Internet- and mobile-based interventions

restricted to any type of specific therapy approach. In recent years, other psychotherapeutic theories have also been used as the basis of IMIs, such as psychodynamic or mindfulness-based approaches [40–45].

# **Technical Implementation**

For the implementation of IMIs, developers rely on a diverse and rapidly growing technical repertoire. Such modes of delivery include:

- 1. Interactive self-help interventions providing evidence-based psychological strategies through web-based platforms and/or mobile apps.
- 2. Virtual or augmented reality interventions for exposure to feared stimuli [46–48].
- 3. Serious games, training psychological strategies in a video game format [49].
- 4. Avatar-led therapy sessions [50] or chatbot-mediated interventions [51].
- 5. Automated memory, feedback, and reinforcement interventions delivered through apps, e-mails, text messages, or short prompts, which support the participant in incorporating intervention content into everyday life [52].

6. Phone and wearable sensors, as well as apps to monitor symptoms or motivate health behavior, such as homework completion or healthy behaviors to support the therapeutic process [53].

Videoconferencing [54] and other telehealth services, which primarily assist communication between therapist and patient may also be classified as IMIs. However, such services share greater similarities with conventional on-site psychotherapy and will therefore not be discussed here.

# **Human Support**

IMIs can integrate varying degrees of human support. A commonly used method is guided self-help approaches. Such interventions provide multimedia-based self-help material, so that most tasks and techniques can be performed independently. A clinical psychologist, health professional or trained lay health worker then provides feedback or guidance in a regular interval. A major aim of human support in stand-alone IMIs is to foster adherence to intervention contents [55–57]. To reach this, communication can happen either synchronously (per chat or video) or asynchronously (e.g., via e-mail). Asynchronous communication formats are more commonly used and usually take from a few minutes to a few hours per participant and intervention. For users, the processing of self-help material, execution of exercises, and correspondence with a therapist can be very intense. IMI users may thus invest much greater time than the supporting therapist. Nevertheless, asynchronous contact and time-independent communication allow for increased flexibility and autonomy for both participants and therapists.

# **Area of Application**

Possible applications of IMIs in the mental health field are manifold. IMIs can be used, among other things, for mental health promotion, prevention and treatment of mental disorders, prevention of relapse or recurrence of mental disorders, or chronic illness management. From a public health perspective, IMIs can be considered a promising approach to increase the accessibility of evidence-based psychotherapeutic techniques in the general population due to their low threshold for accessibility, location and time independence, and anonymous usability [58]. IMIs can be applied as stand-alones, within a stepped-care approach, or as blended treatment approaches, in which IMI and conventional face-to-face psychotherapy components are combined.

Stand-alone IMIs. A large asset of stand-alone IMIs is their independence from space and time. Stand-alone IMIs can be accessed through the Internet or a smartphone app at any time, and everywhere, thus facilitating the access to evidence-based interventions for individuals with limited mobility or people living in underserved areas. Such approaches could also overcome common psychological

barriers by helping people with difficulties expressing themselves or individuals not appreciating social or human contact [59]. People who are not inclined to use conventional face-to-face psychotherapy due to reasons such as fear of stigma could access IMIs as an alternative. Despite the increasing social acceptance of psychotherapy, having mental health problems still causes a feeling of shame in many individuals, resulting in help-seeking barriers [60]. Using distant technologies such as IMIs may be a suitable way to address such issues. Stand-alone IMIs can also be disseminated as massive open online interventions (MOOIs) to offer free behavioral health services worldwide at minimal costs [61]. They could therefore be an innovative instrument to increase access to evidence-based interventions in countries with defunct or insufficient health care services around the globe [62].

Blended Care. In blended concepts, face-to-face psychotherapies are combined with IMIs [63]. The extent to which treatment is provided through online-based components can vary in such concepts. In some blended concepts, face-to-face treatment remains the primary delivery mode, and only some treatment elements are supported through digital components. For example, traditional psychotherapy can be supported with mobile-based exercises to facilitate adherence to homework assignments. Conversely, IMIs can also serve as the major part of the treatment, and face-to-face meetings are scheduled as a support element. In blended care concepts, IMIs may either replace parts of psychological treatment, especially parts of the treatment which do not require mediation by a psychotherapist. This enables that time during therapy sessions can be used more efficiently, providing more time for face-to-face process work. However, conventional treatment could also be augmented through application of IMIs to improve its effectiveness. IMIs can be used in such contexts to provide exercises for the participant to work on between sessions, or to support the integration of behavior changes into daily life. Instruments to achieve this are mobile-based diaries, ultrashort prompts aimed at training previously learned strategies, or mobile coaches leading patients through difficult situations. This allows expanding the "therapeutic arm" into patients' everyday experiences and behaviors. Another promising application of blended concepts might be the delivery of psychological IMIs in chronic somatic care [64-68].

Stepped and Matched Care. Stepped-care approaches adapt the degree of therapeutic support based on previous intervention effects, while matched care matches patients based on baseline characteristics such symptom severity or comorbidity indicators to specific treatment formats such as self-help-guided self-help or blended care. For depression, for example, self-help IMIs can be offered in a stepped-care approach as a first step to individuals showing prodromal symptoms of the disease to prevent the onset of a major depressive episode [69, 70]. Intensive therapeutic support is provided in case patients do not respond to IMIs. As step-down interventions, IMIs can be used for relapse prevention and chronic care in remitted patients to stabilize treatment effects [71–76].

# **Efficacy**

#### **Internet Interventions Compared to Control Groups**

The substantial potential of IMIs to prevent and treat mental and behavioral disorders is documented by countless randomized controlled trials (RCTs) which have been conducted within the last 20 years. The efficacy of guided self-help interventions is particularly well established. Common mental disorders, such as depression and anxiety disorders, have been studied frequently in IMI research. In such studies, IMIs have been found to be highly efficacious when compared to untreated controls (e.g., [77–82]). A recent meta-analysis, comprising ten studies, found a statistically significant pooled effect of Hedges' g = 0.90 (95% CI 0.73-1.07, p < 0.001) favoring IMIs compared to waitlist controls in the treatment of major depression [83]. Compared to waitlist controls, a recent Cochrane review on Internet-based therapist-assisted self-help for anxiety disorders found a large effect of g = 1.06 (95%CI: 0.92–1.29, p < 0.001; 28 studies) favoring IMIs [82].

**Table 1** Efficacy of IMIs based on selected meta-analytic reviews

Target population	Study authors	SMD	[95% CI]	k	N	$I^2$
Adults						
Major depression	Königbauer et al. (2017)	0.90	[0.73; 1.07]	10	727	0
Panic disorder	Olthuis et al. (2015)	1.52	[0.48; 2.56]	6	323	93
Social phobia	Olthuis et al. (2015)	0.92	[0.74; 1.09]	8	661	48
Generalized anxiety disorder	Olthuis et al. (2015)	0.80	[0.42; 1.19]	6	394	69
Posttraumatic stress disorder	Kuester et al. (2016)	0.95	[0.56; 1.43]	8	936	91
Insomnia	Zachariae et al. (2015)	1.09	[0.74; 1.45]	8	1071	83
Eating disorders	Melioli et al. (2016)	0.31a	[0.21; 0.42]	16	1643	0
Hazardous alcohol use	Riper et al. (2014)	0.20	[0.13; 0.27]	16	5612	27
Obsessive-compulsive disorder	Own calculations <sup>b</sup>	0.90	[0.61; 1.19]	3	122	0
Chronic pain	Buhrmann et al. (2016)	0.42	[0.28; 0.55]	15	2213	54
Irritable bowel syndrome	Own calculations <sup>c</sup>	0.74	[0.37; 1.11]	4	353	58
Children and Adolescents						
Depression	Ebert et al. 2015	0.76	[0.41,1.12]	4	796	61
Anxiety	Ebert et al. 2015	0.68	[0.45,0.92]	7	796	0

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Purging

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup>Own calculations (Hedges' g using Comprehensive Meta-Analyses 2.0) based on primary study results of Andersson et al. (2012), Herbst et al. (2014), and Lenhard et al. (2017)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup>Own calculation of between-group effect sizes, based on studies reported in Hedman et al., 2012. SMD=standardized mean difference (Cohen's d/Hedges' g); CI=confidence interval; k=number of primary randomized trials; N=number of participants in primary studies included in the meta-analysis

Meta-analytic evidence also supports the effectiveness of IMIs for a plethora of other indications, including posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), sleep disorders, eating disorders, chronic pain, or substance abuse [84–88]. Table 1 presents current meta-analytical evidence on the effects of IMIs for different disorders compared to untreated controls.

Individual RCTs also provide promising evidence for the efficacy of IMIs for a range of other disorders, such as obsessive-compulsive [89–92], dissociative [93, 94], body dysmorphic [95], and bipolar disorders [96], as well as for sexual dysfunction [97–101], tinnitus [102–111], complicated grief [112–114], pathological gambling [115, 116], fatigue [117, 118], as well as suicidal thoughts and behaviors [119].

However, for some indications, the substantial heterogeneity of effects between studies should be considered. Not all IMIs result in similar effects, and more research is warranted to disentangle which intervention works for whom, and in which context. Many of the studies mentioned above used waitlist control designs to determine the effectiveness of IMIs, which is a rather weak control group design. Treatment expectancies have been discussed as an artifact in such trials, because participants with delayed access to treatment might be less motivated to initiate behavior changes [120]. This may cause such studies to overestimate the effects of IMIs compared to what can be expected in routine care.

#### **Internet Interventions Compared to Face-to-Face Treatments**

The potential of IMIs is also illustrated by their efficacy compared to face-to-face therapy. In 2014, Andersson and colleagues synthesized evidence from 13 RCTs focusing on various disorders (including depression, phobias, tinnitus, anxiety disorders, and sexual dysfunction disorders), and found no differences in effect size for direct comparisons between guided IMIs and face-to-face psychotherapy (g=0.01; 95% CI 0.13-0.12; [111]). These results were further corroborated by a Cochrane review for IMIs targeting anxiety disorders in adults (g = 0.06; 95% CI 0.37-0.25; in the direction of favoring face-to-face; [82]), a meta-analysis by Andersson and colleagues for the treatment of depression (g = 0.12, 95% CI 0.06-0.30; in the direction of favoring guided IMIs [121]), and an update of the initial meta-analysis in 2018 by Carlbring, Andersson, and colleagues [122]. Even though the number of RCTs evaluating IMIs in direct comparison to face-to-face psychotherapy is still limited, all current meta-analyses indicate that IMIs and conventional psychotherapy are equivalent in their effects. However, these results do only count for individuals who are willing to participate in Internet-based or onsite treatment. IMIs, which usually have a strong self-help focus, are not an option for some patients [123-126], while face-to-face treatment is not an attractive intervention format for all either [31]. A recent survey among 641 patients with depressive symptoms in primary care, for example, revealed that younger individuals with higher levels of education could be more likely to prefer IMI-based treatments than other patient groups [127].

There is a small, but steadily increasing number of studies suggesting that blended concepts can also serve as an effective approach to increase the effects of current state-of-the-art treatments [63]. Sethi and colleagues [128] found, for example, that blended face-to-face and iCBT was superior to both face-to-face therapy and iCBT alone in the treatment of depression and anxiety in youth. A meta-analysis by Lindhiem and colleagues [129] supports that increasing the effectiveness of psychological interventions through blended concepts might be possible. Synthesizing 10 RCTs, they found that psychological interventions were considerably more effective for various indications when on-site sessions were supplemented by mobile-based treatment components (SMD=0.27, p<0.05). Preliminary evidence also suggests that blended concepts can reduce the time clinicians have to invest for each client without compromising treatment efficacy [130, 131]. However, Kenter and colleagues [132], comparing blended CBT in routine care to routine face-to-face data in a naturalistic study, in which therapist was not asked to follow a specific standardized concept, found that, while outcomes were equivalent, blended concepts were associated with a higher number of sessions and more time invested by the therapist. This was the case because Internet-based contents were only provided in addition to face-to-face therapy. Such findings underline the importance of developing a stringent implementation model aimed at allowing therapists to delegate tasks to digitalized tools. More valuable insight on the potential of blended concepts can be expected from a number of large international studies investigating the topic [133-136] which have currently been finalized, or are still ongoing.

#### **Prevention of Mental Disorders**

Ebert, Cuijpers, Muñoz, and Baumeister [137] identified 10 RCTs focusing on the effect of IMIs on the incidence of mental disorders in asymptomatic or subclinical populations. Six of these studies reported positive results, with the number needed to treat (NNT) to avoid one additional disorder onset ranging from 9.3 to 41.2. Since then, Buntrock, Ebert, and colleagues found a guided IMI to be effective in reducing the risk of developing depression by 41% within 1 year [70, 138, 139]. They also found the intervention to show an acceptable cost-benefit ratio [140]. Findings on the prevention of relapse in patients with fully or partially remitted depression using IMIs are mixed. While Holländare and colleagues [141] found that guided iCBT led to significantly reduced relapse rates during a 2-year follow-up compared to controls, Klein and colleagues [142] did not find such effects when evaluating an IMI providing less human support to patients, despite favorable short-term results.

In sum, current evidence indicates that, potentially, prevention of mental disorders using IMIs is possible. Furthermore, there is a large body of evidence supporting the effectiveness of IMIs in promoting health behavior, such as the reduction of problematic alcohol consumption [143, 144], improving sleep [85, 145, 146], and reducing work-related or academic stress [147–152], all of which

might contribute to preventing mental disorders from a broader perspective as well.

Nonetheless, the research on preventive IMIs is still in its infancy, making it impossible to draw definite conclusions. For both the prevention of depression and anxiety, observed effects of psychological preventive interventions in general tend to be lower in studies with follow-up periods longer than 1 year, indicating that current available psychological interventions might potentially only delay, and not prevent the onset of the disorder [153, 154]. As by now, whether IMIs actually have the potential to prevent mental disorders can thus not be ultimately decided.

#### Cost-Effectiveness

Mental disorders result in enormous societal costs [155–157], both directly (e.g., through general practitioner visits, medication, social services, stationary treatment) and indirectly (e.g., through sickness leave, worse job functioning, or mortality). In European countries alone, the total costs of depression are estimated to sum up to as much as 118 billion Euro (app. 137 billion US-Dollars [157]). As health care resources are limited, and thus have to be used economically, health economic analyses of IMIs allow to analyze if intervention costs stand in proportion to their effectiveness [158]. There are two recent systematic reviews supporting the cost-effectiveness of guided IMIs [159, 160]. Paganini and colleagues found a net benefit of 3,088–22,609 Euro (3,581–26,288 US-Dollars) per participant for guided depression prevention IMIs. These findings support the implementation of IMIs from a health economic perspective. However, current evidence does not allow to come to ultimate conclusions if IMIs are the most economical of all available treatment approaches for mental disorders [159].

#### **Routine Care**

Accumulating evidence suggests that IMI-based treatment can also result in clinically relevant improvements for many disorders when implemented into routine care [161–168]. In a recent paper, Titov and colleagues [169] describe that in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Canada, and Australia, online clinics providing guided IMIs have already been successfully implemented, and have shown to be effective in treating patients under routine conditions. Whether unguided IMIs also have this potential is much less clear. Meta-analyses have shown that unguided IMIs can be effective, for example, in addressing anxiety disorders [82], or depression [170]. It should be considered, however, that such evidence is based on RCTs, in which researchers indirectly provide a high level of structure and positive regard to subjects as part of the study procedures. These factors are unlikely to be found in routine clinical care. Human support functions as an adherence-promoting element in IMIs. It is therefore likely that the effect sizes of IMIs which do not provide any human contact are overestimated in RCTs when compared to their potential in routine care [171]. Lin and colleagues [172], for example, found

that adherence to an unguided IMI for chronic pain was remarkably low when the intervention was not provided in a clinical trial context, with virtually none of the patients completing the intervention. In a pragmatic study, Littlewood and colleagues [173] found no additional benefit of an unguided IMI compared to standard treatment. However, when the same intervention was delivered with additional telephone support in addition to general practitioner care, it was found to be superior to the pure unguided intervention [174]. Based on current evidence, preference in routine care should thus be given to guided interventions. Nevertheless, unguided interventions do also offer some advantages, including their low costs. Research by Muñoz and colleagues [61] suggests that unguided IMIs can be used as MOOIs to facilitate the provision of evidence-based mental health interventions worldwide. Such interventions could be combined within digital apothecaries [175] to promote behavioral health and address mental disorders through prevention and treatment, especially in countries with limited access to free health care. Overall, more research is warranted into how digital health care services can be optimally integrated into routine care [176]. ImpleMentAll, a current large project investigating the implementation of IMIs into routine care in 11 European countries, may provide more insight into this matter in the future.

#### **Acceptance-Facilitating Interventions**

Despite the increasing implementation of IMIs into routine care, uptake is still often low, with rates ranging from 3 to 25% [177-181]. Psychological factors are a common barrier toward seeking treatment [31], and thus may also apply to IMIs. Research also documents that many individuals in the general population have little knowledge about IMIs [125, 126]. Many misperceive IMIs as being less effective than conventional therapies [126], including therapists [182, 183], although previously presented evidence clearly shows that this is not the case. In a survey of the German general population (N = 646), Apolinário-Hagen and colleagues [126] found that awareness of Internet-based treatment is associated with higher preference for IMIs. This finding points to the importance of developing measures to increase awareness of and knowledge about the efficacy of IMIs in the public to raise their acceptance. Recent developments, such as acceptance-facilitating interventions (AFIs) using brief, highly scalable educational videos have been shown to be a valid strategy to enhance the acceptability of Internet interventions in clinical practice [124, 184–187]. AFIs can be easily disseminated through official health care information channels. Therefore, they might be a promising approach to increase the public acceptance of IMIs and their utilization.

# **Limitations and Possible Negative Effects**

Although IMIs may have immense benefits for individual patients and the health care system, risks and potential negative effects must also be properly considered. As by now, however, no reliable information is available on potential

contraindications for IMIs, warranting further research. An individual patient data meta-analysis by Ebert and colleagues [188] found that guided IMIs significantly reduce the risk for symptom deterioration compared to controls. In this analysis, no patient subgroup with increased risk for deterioration was detected. However, it was found that education level moderated effects on deterioration, meaning that participants with a low level of education should be more closely monitored, as they might show a greater risk for deterioration. In the context of stand-alone methods with no human support, it has often been argued that emergencies, such as acute suicidality, cannot be addressed appropriately in IMIs. Suicidality is therefore often considered as an exclusion criterion for stand-alone IMIs. Studies show, however, that IMIs can be used effectively in treating suicidal patients, and can decrease suicidal thoughts and behaviors [189, 190]. Further research should therefore explore in which contexts IMIs can be used safely in patients showing suicidal ideation. Overall, although initial studies address the subject of negative effects of IMIs [188, 191–193], little more can be said about this topic right now. In addition, there is currently no consensus about the reporting of adverse events in clinical trials of IMIs. Other negative effects of IMIs, including imprecise diagnoses, lowered health-related self-efficacy or negative attitudes toward psychological interventions in patients who do not profit from IMIs, excessive demands on IMI users, increased dependence on technology, or the delivery of potentially harmful techniques may be possible, but further research is needed to shed more light on this topic.

# **Mechanisms of Change**

In the past, IMI research has primarily focused on the question if such formats can be effective at all. Current research is increasingly concerned with establishing mechanisms of change in IMIs. However, such research questions are still in their beginnings, and it cannot be fully answered what makes IMIs work. As most IMIs integrate evidence-based psychotherapeutic techniques into their rationale, one can assume that the mechanisms of change underlying those techniques are an active component in IMIs. Yet, confirming specific effects of an active component is notoriously difficult in psychotherapy research (cf. [194] p. 241ff.). A recent systemic review by Domhardt et al. [195] on IMIs for anxiety suggests, seemingly, that the different psychotherapeutic techniques are not active ingredients of IMIs (neither CBT vs. other techniques, nor disorder-specific vs. transdiagnostic techniques). Furthermore, cognitive factors (e.g., negative automatic thoughts, rumination, or dysfunctional attitudes), emotion regulation, expectancy, attributional style, coping strategies, perfectionism, therapeutic alliance, and treatment credibility have been examined as mechanisms of change [108, 196-205]. It seems plausible to assume that nonspecific factors equal to those of face-to-face psychotherapy also contribute to the efficacy of IMIs. Nevertheless, when focusing on mechanisms of change in IMIs, features which are special to such interventions should also be properly considered. Here, we will describe three mechanisms

through which IMIs may contribute to individuals' mental health and well-being: self-empowerment, reinforcement mechanisms, and human guidance.

#### **Self-empowerment**

Previously, we described that IMIs do not have to be inferior to on-site psychological interventions in section "Internet Interventions Compared to Face-to-Face Treatments". One explanation for this finding could be that IMIs, while providing less human contact, put a stronger emphasis on self-empowerment. Empowering patients through IMIs may therefore foster users' self-management skills, with then translate to treatment benefits. Alpay and colleagues [206] delineate specific components of empowerment which IMIs may use to foster self-management, such as increasing health or disorder literacy, promoting coping self-efficacy, and specific problem-solving skills, as well as providing heuristics for decision-making. There is evidence showing that IMIs can contribute to the empowerment of patients with mental disorders [207] or chronic diseases [208, 209]. However, whether amelioration of self-management is indeed a mechanism of change contributing to the efficacy of IMIs is still largely unclear. Further process studies are needed to gain a better understanding of the mechanisms underlying patient empowerment in IMIs.

#### **Reinforcement Mechanisms**

In contrast to traditional psychotherapy, IMIs allow for sending automatized reminders, feedback, and reinforcements (so-called *prompts*) to increase the application of previously learned strategies and techniques into daily life. One way to implement this is through ultra-brief exercises sent to users' mobile phones via SMS. Another important way is reminders to support the usage of IMIs, which can increase treatment adherence. At the same time, such applications are very economical and easily programmed. A meta-analysis by Cowpertwait and Clarke [210] supports the relevance of prompts in driving IMI effectiveness. In subgroup analyses, they found that IMIs for depression in which reminders were integrated showed larger effect sizes (g = 0.49) than interventions without reminders (g = 0.24).

# **Human Support**

Technology-mediated human support (guidance) can be considered a more well-studied mechanism of effective IMIs. Meta-analytic research suggests that guided IMIs show greater effects than IMIs with no human support element [80, 147, 152, 210, 211]. In these analyses, guided IMIs also show lower attrition rates and higher numbers of completed modules (g = 0.52). For the treatment of depression, guidance seems to be particularly influential. Richards and Richardson (2012)

found a small effect of unguided IMIs for depression  $(g\!=\!0.36)$ , but high effects  $(g\!=\!0.78)$  for guided interventions. A more recent meta-analysis [83] could not corroborate this finding, but this might have been due to limited power. No significant differences in effects between unguided and guided IMIs could be found in the treatment of anxiety in one meta-analysis [82], while a more recent analysis suggests that guided IMIs are superior over unguided IMIs [195]. This suggests that the effect of guidance might be more complex than the simple generic superiority hypothesis suggests.

Evidence from systematic reviews indicated that the efficacy of IMIs increases with the degree of human guidance provided. Yet, Andersson and colleagues [212, 213] estimated that exceeding 100 min of support per participant in a 10-week IMI does not translate to higher treatment effects anymore. It is still unclear, however, which dosage of guidance is optimal at which stage of treatment. Further research is needed to discern which characteristics of human support are most important: is it the quantity, or the quality (viz., coach qualification) of human support that matters? Which communication medium (e-mail, face-to-face, video chat, phone) and communication mode (asynchronous or synchronous) should be used, and does this vary for different disorders and patient subgroups?

Despite this lack of in-depth knowledge concerning the intricate details of human support in IMIs, there is evidence showing that therapeutic alliances of high quality can be achieved with such interventions. Although IMIs provide less therapeutic contact, and social and nonverbal cues are often completely absent, the quality of therapeutic relationships in IMIs is often comparable to face-to-face treatment [214–219].

Some models have been proposed to conceptualize and optimize human support in IMIs, such as the supportive accountability [220] and efficiency model [56]. According to the supportive accountability model, human support can be used to increase adherence to an intervention by providing accountability through a coach who is perceived as caring, trustworthy, and competent. The model states that patient motivation plays a crucial role in determining the importance of guidance. While patients who are intrinsically motivated to use an IMI do not require as much feedback and guidance to adhere to the intervention, patients for which this is not the case need more human support to uphold extrinsic motivation to stay engaged. The efficiency model of support, on the other hand, might be a valuable framework to guide researchers in developing optimally tailored, efficient support systems for IMIs.

#### **Ethical and Professional Considerations**

As a novel approach to the prevention and treatment of mental disorders, new risks and opportunities arise from the implementation of IMIs. Since mental and physical health plays an important role in many individuals' lives, there is a large demand for freely available technological instruments to promote one's own well-being. Thus, many start-ups and corporations have started to capitalize on this

interest by providing an ever-growing number of commercial Internet portals, mobile health apps, or online life coaching services. For costumers, however, it is often hard to see which services are based on sound empirical evidence, and which ones are not. Recent studies have shown that less than 4% of all commercial apps for symptoms of depression [221] and anxiety [222] have been subject to rigorous clinical examination like the studies we presented in 3.1–3.5 [223]. To protect costumers from dubious products and to provide assistance in finding evidence-based, effective services, consolidated quality standards for commercially available IMIs are needed [224]. Such standards have been recently established in countries such as the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Germany [224].

On the other hand, the enormous potential of strictly evidence-based IMIs also suggests that withholding such interventions as a complementary treatment option for patients is also ethically questionable. As we have shown before, IMIs can lead to comparable outcomes as state-of-the-art services and have the potential to reach individuals who may not want to use conventional treatment approaches. Therefore, one should differentiate if IMIs are used as a supplement to, or a replacement of current treatments. Using IMIs to improve existing health care infrastructure might be beneficial to both patients and the health care system. Aiming to replace conventional treatments with IMIs because they are more economic, of course, is much more critical from an ethical perspective.

# Future Advances: Machine Learning and Data-Driven Applications

Most IMIs developed today still resemble conventional face-to-face psychological interventions in many ways. Typical IMIs contain bundles of various psychological techniques and modules (e.g., psychoeducation, behavioral activation, cognitive restructuring, progressive muscle relaxation) adapted from evidence-based face-to-face interventions. Such modules are then assembled into a "treatment package" and delivered on a digital platform. Although the evidence we presented before clearly documents the effectiveness of such approaches, recent advances in the field of statistical learning may allow to make IMIs even more pervasive and impactful in the lives of their users in the future.

The last decades have seen the advent and proliferation of "Artificial Intelligence", especially in terms of the development of Machine Learning methods [225]. Machine Learning algorithms automatically determine ("learn") parameters from data to optimally fulfill a certain task. They also have a tight focus on predicting outcomes in unseen data and are thus often referred to as *predictive modeling* methods [226, 227]. Applications of predictive modeling have been facilitated by the increased volume, variety, and velocity (the *Three V's* [228]) of data collected, stored, and processed. In this respect, IMIs have an enormous advantage compared to traditional face-to-face psychotherapy, as they easily allow for the collection of unprecedented amounts of fine-grained patient and process data [229]. IMIs are therefore a key field in which Machine Learning and

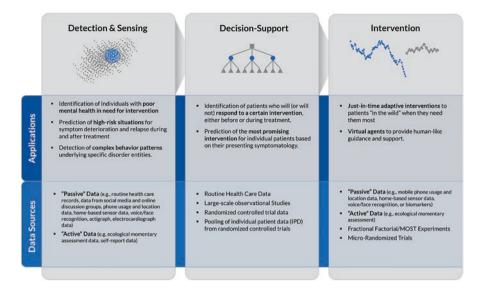


Fig. 2 Overview of artificial intelligence applications in psychological intervention research

data-driven approaches can be applied to advance the prevention and therapy of mental disorders as a whole.

In the following, we will provide a brief overview of recent advances in data mining and Machine Learning to (i) detect mental disorders, (ii) generate data-driven decision-support systems, and (iii) optimize intervention approaches, focusing on Internet- and mobile-based measures. Presented findings were gathered by searching two large bibliographical databases (*PubMed* and *PsycInfo*) on August 26th, 2018, and screening previous review articles on overlapping topics. Nevertheless, our overview is not meant to be exhaustive (Fig. 2).

# **Detection and Sensing**

Although there is no dearth of evidence-based, effective measures to treat mental disorders, research still documents a large treatment gap in the general population, with 54–77% of all mental disorders remaining undiagnosed and untreated [28–30]. As mental disorders have a long-standing negative impact on individuals' physical health, mortality, and social functioning [4–10], early detection of mental disorder symptoms is of paramount importance. Due to their capability to accrue meaningful information from large and complex data sets, Machine Learning approaches could therefore be successfully applied to overcome current limitations in the:

- Identification of individuals with poor mental health in need for intervention.
- Prediction of high-risk situations for symptom deterioration and relapse during and after treatment.

• Detection of complex behavior patterns underlying specific disorder entities.

Predictive models for the identification and prediction of poor mental health can be derived from two types of data sources: *passive data* (such as routine health care records, data from social media and online discussion groups, phone usage and location data, home-based sensor data, voice/face recognition, actigraph, and electrocardiograph data), and *active data* (such as ecological momentary assessment (EMA) data, self-report data).

Identification of individuals with poor mental health. Although the field is still in its infancy, a rising number of studies suggests that Machine Learning applications may play a pivotal role in detecting mental health issues in the general population in the future [230]. Social media in particular provides an unprecedented opportunity to crawl real-life mental health-related data, extract and select relevant features, and train valid models to detect untreated individuals facing mental health issues on the Internet using Machine Learning algorithms. Already, social media data have been used to determine symptoms of depression [231–240], stress and well-being [241-244], PTSD [245, 246], eating disorders [247, 248], or suicidality [249-254], to name a few indications. Burnap and colleagues [253], for example, developed a machine classifier to distinguish factual reporting of suicide on Twitter from content reflective of suicidal ideation in users. Employing face detection, color and metadata analysis, Reece and Danforth [240] extracted statistical features from more than 40.000 photos posted by 166 individuals on Instagram. With this data, they could train a model predicting the prevalence of depression with higher accuracy than general practitioners. The model also outperformed clinicians when only photos posted by individuals before they were diagnosed with depression were used. Kornfield and colleagues [255], using a bag-of-words-based Machine Learning approach, were able to identify struggling alcohol abuse patients in an online discussion forum with an excellent accuracy of AUC = 0.92.

Routine health care data sets, on the other hand, can also be used to better detect mental health issues [256–261], and improve their diagnosis [262, 263]. Chekroud and colleagues [259], for example, obtained large data sets from US National Health Surveys. Using various Machine Learning techniques, they developed a prediction model to identify individuals with depression who do not receive needed treatment. The learned model reached a prediction accuracy of 72% in detecting untreated patients. This approach may be particularly promising, as patients identified with such models could be offered IMI-based services to overcome structural or psychological barriers to treatment on a population level. Jiménez-Serrano and colleagues [264], for example, developed a classification model for mothers at high risk for postpartum depression the first week after child-birth, along with a tailored mobile-based app to more easily provide interventions to identified cases.

Prediction of high-risk situations for symptom deterioration and relapse. As technological advances have expanded the ability to collect and process real-time behavioral and biological data, predictive modeling is also a promising approach

to forecast high-risk situations for mood decrements, symptom deterioration, or relapses. Such approaches may be used either during treatment, or for relapse prevention in remitted patients. Portable sensors play an important role in this development. Wearables, such as Smart Watches or Fitness Trackers, can serve as accelerometers, pedometers, actigraphs, GPS trackers, or electrocardiographs, thus producing enormous amounts of diverse personal data to predict mood states and behavior [265, 266]. Smartphones, a ubiquitous companion for most people, can also be turned into mobile sensors using applications developed for this purpose in recent years (e.g., Purple Robot [267] or Beiwe [268]). By aggregating such information, general or personalized predictive models [229, 269] can be learned to extrapolate mood states [269], refine mental disorder diagnoses [270, 271], or predict relapse [272, 273], to name only a few applications. Predictive modeling has already been applied to detect symptoms of depression [274–277], stress [278– 280], and autism [281], to predict sleep quality [282] or relapse risk in patients with substance addictions [270] and psychosis [283]. Pratap and colleagues [275], for example, collected passive phone usage data from 241 patients with depression. Results of this study show that personalized Machine Learning models can reach promising results in predicting mood changes in depressive patients. Depp and colleagues [284], using daily self-report data from 86 individuals with bipolar disorder, were able to reach an excellent AUC (area under the curve; defining the quality of a screening assessment to predict the presence of the respective condition) of 0.91 in predicting heightened suicidality in patients, thus doubling the predictive accuracy compared to only using baseline symptomatology data.

Detection of complex behavior patterns underlying specific disorder entities. Predictive modeling approaches may not only provide ample opportunity to improve the detection of mental health issues as well as the timely prediction of high-risk states, but may also have a paradigm-shifting impact on the way mental disorders are conceptualized. Hofmann and colleagues [285] propose that in the future, mental disorders may be seen less as latent disease entities, but as complex networks of symptoms and behaviors, which can change abruptly once a critical threshold is reached (i.e., through the onset of a disorder or relapses). Fine-grained time series data is needed to predict such complex network transitions. Hofmann and colleagues therefore stimulate that personalized predictive models based on experience sampling may be used to achieve this, and may thus help to better understand and predict the complex underpinnings of mental disorders (for applications, see [286, 287]).

# **Decision Support**

Despite an abundance of evidence showing that psychological interventions can be effective in treating mental disorders, there is still little evidence of differential effects between various treatment types [288]. On a patient level, the benefits of psychological interventions are highly heterogeneous, with 18–62% of all patients not responding to the evidence-based treatment they receive [289, 290].

Among depressive patients, only 30% of all patients achieve remission through the first treatment they receive, but roughly 70% after several courses of treatment [291]. Thus, many patients either have to try out multiple treatments until they find the one approach that works for them, or become demoralized by many failed treatment attempts and drop out without any substantial improvements [292]. Knowledge of which intervention strategy works best for which individual thus has an enormous potential to improve the real-life impact of current psychological treatments. Machine Learning approaches have the potential to support clinical decisions on which intervention might be best suited for which patient. Such approaches may be used for the:

- Identification of patients who will (or will not) respond to a certain intervention, either before or during treatment.
- Prediction of the most promising intervention for individual patients based on their presenting symptomatology.

Data to derive such decision-support algorithms can either stem from *clinical tri- als* (such as RCTs and individual patient data sets containing data from many similar clinical trials [293]) or large-scale observational studies.

Identification of intervention (non)responders. Currently, Machine Learning has already been used to derive risk stratification tools through which patients at risk for nonresponse [294–299], chronic mental illness trajectories [300], or grave emergencies, such as suicide [301] can be identified. Lenhard and colleagues [296], for example, used RCT baseline data of 61 adolescents to establish a Machine Learning algorithm predicting response to an IMI for obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD). While conventional logistic regression approaches could not detect any predictors, Machine Learning algorithms identified responders with 75–83% accuracy. Månsson and colleagues [297] could predict long-term responders of an IMI for social anxiety disorder using Support Vector Machines and fMRI data, reaching an accuracy of 92%. However, this finding could not be replicated in a similar study by Sundermann and colleagues [299] when aiming to predict response to CBT for panic disorder. In another application, Perlis [302], drawing data from the STAR\*D cohort, developed a risk stratification tool predicting treatment-resistant depression cases.

However, risk stratification based on Machine Learning may also be used in patients who already receive treatment. IMIs are well suited for this purpose, as virtually all communication with patients is stored digitally on the Internet and thus usable for prediction. Hoogendoorn and colleagues [295], for example, analyzed the writings of patients undergoing guided IMI treatment for social anxiety disorder and were able to predict the treatment outcome with 78% precision half-way through therapy. Mikus and colleagues [303], using EMA data of depressive patients from the *E-COMPARED* project, were able to predict mood fallbacks in treated patients with similar accuracy.

Prediction of the most promising intervention for individual patients. Predictive modeling may also be used to derive concrete decision-support systems to

determine which treatment may best fit which patient based on baseline data. For example, Chekroud and colleagues [304], using a large database of depression patients (N=4041), used elastic net regression and gradient boosting machines to derive a parsimonious model predicting response to antidepressive medication, thereby requiring only 25 questionnaire items as input. The model was found to accurately generalize to new samples and showed high specificity. Along with further research [305], the model has since been implemented into a web-based decision-support service for primary care [306]. In another recent study, Bremer and colleagues [307] used data of 350 patients in an RCT comparing treatment-asusual to blended care for depression (see, in section "Area of Application"). They derived a personalized treatment recommendation model through which patients can be allocated to the most suitable treatment type based on baseline data. Results show that such recommendations can be used to decrease treatment costs (5.42%) without having to sacrifice treatment effects to a substantial degree (1.98%).

Kessler [292] recently delineated future pathways to establish reliable decision-support systems for the treatment of depression using Machine Learning. While current approaches have mostly been based on RCT data comprising no more than 200–800 participants, much larger data sets are needed to establish valid allocation systems based on predictive modeling. He therefore stimulates that large pragmatic trials and observational studies should be conducted. On this basis, prediction models could be established to determine which patient subsets might be suited for inexpensive first-line monotherapies, such as exercise or minimally guided IMIs, and which patients will likely need more intensive care. Another possibility may be to compound large databases using individual patient data (IPD) from previous RCTs [293]. However, this requires studies to provide a shared set of baseline and outcome variables to be used for modeling. Recently, Ebert and Cuijpers [308] thus proposed that researchers should include broad assessments of variables which may predict differential treatment outcomes when conducting clinical trials in the future.

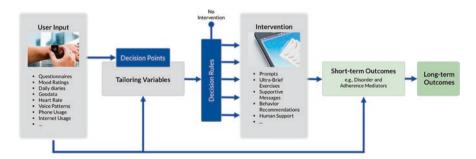
#### Intervention

Irrespective of being digital or face-to-face, current psychological treatments are still largely incapable of providing real-time support for patients between sessions, especially in situations in which individuals may be most at risk. Previously, we described the enormous potential of Machine Learning methods in the prediction of mood and behavior, and in deciding which interventions might be most promising throughout varying contexts. These capabilities may therefore be combined in data-driven psychological interventions to:

- Deliver just-in-time adaptive interventions to patients "in the wild" when they need them most.
- Develop virtual agents to provide human-like guidance and support.

Data needed for such applications may again be categorized as either passive (e.g., mobile phone usage and location data, home-based sensor data, voice/face recognition, or biomarkers) or active (e.g., self-report data). In addition, data can be obtained from innovative research designs such as micro-randomized trials [309] or multiphase optimization strategy (MOST) designs [310], which allow for a data-driven understanding of which intervention components are effective, and when.

Just-In-Time Adaptive Interventions. To prevent symptom fallbacks from occurring, and to provide help in real time to patients "in the wild", Just-In-Time Adaptive Interventions (JITAIs [311-317]) have gained increasing attention in recent years. JITAIs aim to predict changes in an individual's status to deliver personalized support when a person needs it most, or is most likely to be receptive [312]. Previously, we described the potential of Artificial Intelligence in predicting mood and behavior (see, in section "Detection and Sensing"), as well as for guiding treatment decisions (see, in section "Decision Support"). In JITAIs, these components are combined to create a personalized digital intervention framework. Nahum-Shani and colleagues [312] named four core components of JITAIs: decision points, interventions, tailoring variables, and decision rules (for a model, see Fig. 3). Juarascio and colleagues [317] recently delineated ways in which JITAIs could be integrated to optimize existing psychological treatments in the future. As JITAIs are not aimed at providing in-depth therapeutic content, they could primarily be implemented to bridge the time between longer intervention sessions, thereby picking up previously learned techniques. JITAIs could thus be used in conjunction with standard IMI or face-to-face treatment, either during the first weeks of treatment to promote skill-building and uphold adherence, or after termination of treatment to prevent relapse. On the other hand, JITAIs may also be used as low-intensity entry points to treatment and could be enhanced with full-blown



**Fig. 3** Generic model of a just-in-time adaptive-intervention (adapted from Nahum-Shani et al. [339]). Description: *Decision points* are either prespecified time intervals and dates or triggered by user input, such as sensor data (e.g., reaching a critical skin conductance threshold). *Interventions* may range from quick alerts and nudges to tailored advice, coping strategies, or eCoach referral, and can be delivered through the Internet. *Tailoring variables* can be personalized progressively by various types of user input. They build the basis for *decision rules*, demarcating which intervention should be provided for which patient, and when

IMIs or psychotherapy in case more help is needed. There is first evidence showing that JITAIs can be successfully applied to mental and behavioral health promotion [318–323]. For example, Wahle and colleagues [318] evaluated a just-in-time intervention app for depression in N=126 individuals. They used GPS, activity, and passive phone usage data to establish predictive models, and delivered CBT-based intervention components (e.g., behavioral activation, breathing exercises) at real time to individuals predicted to be at risk for depression. Participants in this feasibility study who kept using the intervention showed significant decreases in depressive symptoms at posttest. Gustafson and colleagues [321] conducted an RCT evaluating A-CHESS, a just-in-time intervention for patients after alcohol use disorder treatment. The intervention tracked geolocation data to trigger alerts when patients neared a high-risk location for relapse. The intervention was shown to have significant benefits on alcohol use compared to treatment-as-usual at post-test and 4-month follow-up.

Virtual Agents. Previously, we described that human support plays an important role in IMIs in section "Human Support" and may be one reason why unguided IMIs are often less effective than guided interventions (see section "Routine Care"). However, even guided IMIs aim to provide human support in a very efficient manner, and mostly resort to highly standardized and adherence-focused communication. Potentially, such communication patterns could also be emulated by Artificial Intelligence to provide patients with a feeling of accountability and assistance, and thus promote adherence. If feasible, this would greatly enhance the value of unguided treatment and free the dissemination of effective IMIs even more from restraints of time and money. First tentative steps have been undertaken in recent years to study the potential of such automated virtual agents in mental health research [51, 324–329]. Fitzpatrick and colleagues [51], for example, evaluated Woebot, a digital chatbot providing CBT principles through brief daily conversations. The agent uses decision trees and natural language processing to tailor response to patients, and to provide accountability through empathic responses to user input. In an RCT among 70 young adults, Woebot was found to significantly reduce symptoms of depression compared to an active control group receiving psychoeducation.

#### **Limitations and Ethical Considerations**

Although the evidence presented before points at the enormous potential of Machine Learning, methodological and ethical issues should also be properly considered. As described, Machine Learning approaches require large observational data sets to enable valid personalized predictions. However, even large data are fraught with biases [330, 331], especially when taken from routine care [293], and can lead to a multiplication of spurious correlations and ecological fallacies. This is further aggravated by the fact that currently, many predictive modeling studies

in medicine are of suboptimal quality, either in their methodological approach [332], reporting [333], or by using weak comparators to assess prediction fidelity [334]. It should also be noted, as Pearl and MacKenzie [335] recently emphasized, that Machine Learning techniques are purely correlational. Thus, they cannot establish causal relationships [229], which is the core aim of most psychological research. Machine Learning should thus not be seen as a panacea for all limitations in current mental health research. Chen and Asch [336] recently suggested that Machine Learning may have reached its "peak of inflated expectations" in medicine. This, however, should be seen in a positive light, as it allows a soberer look at where Machine Learning can be applied in a meaningful way, and where limitations and risks prevail.

Ethical aspects should play an important role in such considerations. Data security, for example, is an important issue in social media, as has only recently been illustrated by the data breaches involving Facebook [337]. Another risk is that Machine Learning approaches may further fortify social inequality in mental health care. Even today, some minorities and people with a low socioeconomic background are missing or underrepresented in health care data, which may lead to imprecise or false predictions for such individuals, for example within decision-support systems [338].

Overall, Khoury and Ioannidis [330] emphasize that the implementation of Machine Learning and Personalized Medicine approaches, despite their enormous capacities, cannot substitute rigorously conducted clinical research. From an ethical viewpoint, the recent advances in mental health and invention research should also be accompanied by a societal discourse to ensure that Artificial Intelligence can promote mental health for all.

#### Conclusions

IMIs are flexible, technically diverse methods which lend themselves to a variety of application areas as well as indications of varying degrees of severity. As empirical findings on the impact of human support show, IMIs are seen less as a substitute for conventional psychotherapeutic interventions, and should rather be understood more as a useful addition to the current treatment spectrum. IMIs have an ability to reach target groups in a way not yet achieved by classical on-site activities, and on the other hand, can excellently accompany conventional psychotherapy and thereby reduce cost or increase effectiveness. Findings suggest that stand-alone IMIs can be effective in routine conditions, although further research is needed. As IMIs make it easier to collect and process fine-grained patient data in real time, they are well suited as instruments in innovative Machine Learning applications. Despite important limitations and ethical considerations, Artificial Intelligence-enhanced IMIs thus have an enormous potential to advance mental health care in the next decades.

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