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Neurodevelopmental Perspectives on the Rising ADHD Diagnoses in China

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Abstract

The rising rates of ADHD diagnosis in China reflect a complex interplay between neurodevelopmental vulnerability, evolving diagnostic standards, and sociocultural pressures embedded in the educational and healthcare systems. This paper examines ADHD through a neurodevelopmental lens while situating diagnostic trends within China's rapidly shifting social context. Neurocognitive evidence shows consistent deficits in attention regulation, inhibitory control, and atypical maturation of prefrontal-striatal circuitry among children with ADHD, patterns that align with findings from Chinese neuroimaging studies. At the same time, increased clinical and public recognition—driven by updated diagnostic guidelines, school monitoring practices, and expanded digital health information—has intensified referral pathways, particularly in urban regions. Prenatal and perinatal factors, including maternal stress, secondhand smoke exposure, preterm birth, and gestational metabolic conditions, further contribute to developmental risk. Environmental exposures such as PM2.5 pollution, lead, sleep disruption, and early screen overuse compound these vulnerabilities. However, diagnostic accuracy remains uneven due to substantial gaps in specialist availability, reliance on brief screening tools, and inconsistent use of standardized instruments across regions. These challenges are amplified by sociocultural dynamics: high academic expectations heighten the visibility and perceived severity of attentional difficulties, while parental anxiety and media-driven interpretations can increase demand for clinical evaluation. To address these issues, the paper proposes a neurodevelopmentally informed diagnostic framework emphasizing early developmental surveillance, standardized multi-step assessments, and strengthened collaboration across school, family, and clinical settings. Enhancing diagnostic consistency and equity will require expanding specialist training, improving access to comprehensive evaluations, and situating behavioral concerns within appropriate developmental and cultural contexts. Such an approach can better support children with attentional and regulatory challenges while mitigating risks of overdiagnosis and misclassification.

Keywords: ADHD, neurodevelopment, diagnosis, developmental surveillance, academic pressure, parental anxiety

1. Neurodevelopmental Basis of ADHD

1.1 Core Deficits in Attention and Inhibition

Attention and inhibitory control represent two of the most consistently identified neurocognitive deficits in children diagnosed with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). These deficits are understood within the broader framework of executive function impairment, which reflects the child's ability to regulate behavior, maintain goal-directed activity, and suppress prepotent responses. Neuropsychological research has repeatedly shown that difficulties in sustaining attention, shifting focus, and suppressing impulsive actions form the core behavioral manifestations of ADHD, regardless of cultural or developmental context.

Sustained attention deficits are particularly prominent in tasks that require continuous monitoring of stimuli over

time. Meta-analyses have demonstrated that children with ADHD perform significantly worse on continuous performance tasks (CPTs), with lower hit rates and higher omission errors compared with typically developing peers (Frazier et al., 2004). In the Chinese context, similar patterns have been documented in studies using the Integrated Visual and Auditory Continuous Performance Test (IVA-CPT), where children diagnosed with ADHD display markedly reduced vigilance and slower response consistency. These findings align with global evidence that attention regulation deficits are a central component of ADHD's neurocognitive profile.

Inhibitory control deficits, especially difficulties in suppressing reflexive or inappropriate responses, are equally fundamental. Tasks such as the Go/No-Go test and the Stop-Signal Task consistently reveal slower stop-signal reaction times among children with ADHD, indicating impaired response inhibition. A large-scale study from Peking University Sixth Hospital reported that Chinese children with ADHD exhibit significantly longer stop-signal reaction times than age-matched controls, reinforcing the view that inhibitory control impairment is a cross-cultural hallmark of the disorder. Inhibition deficits also contribute to the impulsivity commonly observed in classroom settings, where children struggle to wait their turn, follow multi-step instructions, or moderate their activity levels.

Neurobiologically, these deficits correspond to atypical functioning within the prefrontal–striatal circuitry, including the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex and anterior cingulate cortex—regions associated with attentional regulation and executive control. Functional MRI studies conducted in China, including those from Sun Yat-sen University and Shanghai Mental Health Center, have shown reduced activation in these areas during tasks requiring inhibitory control. These converging lines of evidence support the understanding that attention and inhibition deficits are not simply behavioral manifestations but are rooted in measurable neurodevelopmental differences.

Together, impairments in attention and inhibition form the cognitive foundation of ADHD and shape both the diagnostic process and behavioral presentation observed in clinical and educational settings in China. These deficits provide an essential lens for interpreting the rising diagnoses of ADHD, especially in environments where academic performance demands precise attentional control and behavioral regulation.

1.2 Brain Maturation Patterns Linked to Symptoms

Research across developmental neuroscience consistently shows that delayed or atypical brain maturation plays a central role in the emergence of ADHD symptoms. Structural and functional imaging studies indicate that children with ADHD often exhibit slower development in neural circuits responsible for attention regulation, inhibitory control, and cognitive flexibility. This maturational delay is most evident in the prefrontal cortex, basal ganglia, and cerebellar networks—regions essential for executive functioning.

One of the most well-replicated findings is the delayed cortical thickness trajectory in children with ADHD. A landmark longitudinal study published in *The New England Journal of Medicine* (Shaw et al., 2007) reported that the median age at which the cortex reaches peak thickness is approximately 2–3 years later in children with ADHD compared to typically developing peers. This delay is especially pronounced in the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex, which supports planning, sustained attention, and working memory. Although this study was conducted in the United States, similar developmental trajectories have been observed in China. A neuroimaging study from the Shanghai Mental Health Center found that school-aged Chinese children with ADHD exhibited reduced cortical maturation in prefrontal regions, correlating with clinical measures of inattentiveness and impulsivity.

Functional MRI findings further support the concept of atypical maturation. Children with ADHD often show reduced activation in the anterior cingulate cortex during tasks requiring error monitoring or conflict resolution, suggesting that the neural systems supporting self-regulation are less efficiently developed. Studies from Sun Yat-sen University have demonstrated that Chinese children with ADHD display weaker connectivity within the frontostriatal network, a pathway crucial for inhibitory control and behavioral modulation. This disrupted connectivity corresponds closely with common symptoms such as impulsive speaking, difficulty waiting, and inconsistent task engagement.

The maturation of the brain's reward-processing circuitry also appears to differ in children with ADHD. Some functional imaging studies indicate heightened sensitivity to immediate rewards and reduced activation in delay-related reward networks. This neurodevelopmental pattern helps explain behavioral tendencies toward seeking immediate gratification and struggling with tasks requiring prolonged effort—symptoms frequently highlighted by Chinese parents and teachers in clinical evaluations.

These findings illustrate that ADHD symptoms are not simply behavioral deviations but are grounded in identifiable neurodevelopmental pathways. Delayed maturation of prefrontal and frontostriatal circuits contributes to deficits in attention, inhibitory control, and impulse regulation. In the Chinese context, where academic environments impose high cognitive and behavioral demands, these developmental differences may

become more apparent and more frequently identified, contributing to the rising diagnosis rates.

2. Changing Patterns of ADHD Identification in China

2.1 Shifts in Diagnostic Standards

Over the past two decades, changes in diagnostic standards have played a significant role in shaping how ADHD is identified across China. Early clinical practice primarily relied on the *Chinese Classification and Diagnostic Criteria of Mental Disorders* (CCMD-2 and CCMD-3), which conceptualized ADHD more narrowly and applied stricter thresholds for symptom severity and duration. These earlier systems often led to underdiagnosis, as many children displaying subthreshold symptoms did not meet the formal criteria required for clinical recognition.

A major turning point occurred as Chinese clinicians increasingly adopted international guidelines such as DSM-IV, DSM-5, and ICD-10. The DSM-5 revision in 2013, which lowered the age-of-onset criterion from 7 to 12 years and broadened the inattentive subtype criteria, made it easier for clinicians to identify ADHD presentations that were previously overlooked. Many tertiary hospitals in China—especially in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou—have since integrated DSM-5 or ICD-10/11 criteria into routine pediatric and psychiatric assessments. This harmonization with international systems contributed to the substantial rise in recognized cases.

The introduction of ICD-11, which China began gradually aligning with after 2019, further expanded flexibility in diagnostic formulation by emphasizing dimensional symptom severity and neurodevelopmental continuity. As a result, clinicians are now more likely to consider ADHD within the broader spectrum of attention and executive function disorders, rather than as a narrowly defined behavioral condition.

These shifts in diagnostic frameworks have led to greater consistency in clinical assessments but have also widened the scope of children who qualify for an ADHD diagnosis. Combined with increased training in standardized screening and broader access to updated criteria, these changes have directly influenced the rising identification of ADHD in China's pediatric population.

2.2 Expanded Clinical and Public Recognition

The growing recognition of ADHD within both clinical practice and the broader public sphere has significantly contributed to rising diagnosis rates in China. Over the past decade, pediatric and psychiatric departments in major urban hospitals have developed dedicated developmental and behavioral clinics, increasing opportunities for early identification. According to the *China Child Development Report (2021)*, visits to child behavioral health clinics in large cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Chengdu have increased steadily, reflecting heightened clinical awareness and expanding professional capacity.

At the same time, growing public familiarity with ADHD has played a crucial role. Media coverage—ranging from news reports to health education programs—has normalized discussions of inattention, hyperactivity, and school-related behavioral problems. Online platforms such as WeChat, Douyin, and medical consultation apps like Haodaifu (好大夫在线) frequently feature ADHD-related content, making information about symptoms, treatment options, and clinical pathways more accessible. This increased visibility has encouraged parents to seek evaluation earlier, particularly when children struggle academically or exhibit difficulty sustaining attention in classroom settings.

Schools have also become more active in identifying potential cases. Since the Ministry of Education strengthened requirements for student behavioral monitoring and mental health screening, teachers are more likely to recommend referral for children exhibiting persistent inattentiveness or impulsivity. In a 2019 survey conducted in Shanghai primary schools, over 60% of teachers reported having recommended at least one student for psychological or behavioral evaluation within the past academic year. Such institutional participation further amplifies recognition and increases the number of children entering clinical assessment pathways.

3. Neurodevelopmental Risk Factors in Chinese Children

3.1 Prenatal and Perinatal Vulnerabilities

A range of prenatal and perinatal conditions has been shown to increase the neurodevelopmental vulnerability associated with ADHD in Chinese children. These early biological factors influence fetal brain development, shape executive functioning trajectories, and may heighten susceptibility to attentional and inhibitory control difficulties. To provide an overview of key evidence-based risks, Table 1 summarizes major factors supported by Chinese and international research.

Table 1. Evidence-Based Prenatal and Perinatal Risk Factors Associated with ADHD in Chinese Children

Risk Factor	Key Findings / Data Evidence	Source

Maternal stress during pregnancy	High maternal stress in mid-pregnancy increases ADHD risk by ~1.7×	Zhang et al., (2019)
Prenatal secondhand smoke exposure	Raises ADHD risk by 1.5–2×	China CDC, (2018)
Premature birth (<37 weeks)	Preterm children show $2-3\times$ higher ADHD risk; China preterm rate $\approx 7.1\%$	WHO, (2020)
Low birth weight (<2500 g)	Associated with ~2× increased ADHD odds	Li et al., (2018)
Gestational diabetes mellitus (GDM)	GDM prevalence in China \approx 14.8%; linked to ADHD-related symptoms	Yang et al., (2020)
Maternal hypertension / preeclampsia	Associated with 1.6–2.1× ADHD risk	Huang et al., (2019)
Elective cesarean delivery	Associated with 18-25% higher ADHD risk	Bao et al., (2021)
Prenatal PM2.5 exposure	Each +10 $\mu g/m^3$ ↑ PM2.5 \rightarrow higher inattentive/hyperactive scores	Sun et al., (2022)

Following the patterns outlined in Table 1, several prenatal and perinatal factors stand out as particularly relevant within the Chinese context.

Maternal stress during pregnancy is a well-established risk factor that has been shown to affect fetal neurodevelopment, especially in the prefrontal and limbic systems. The 1.7-fold increase in ADHD-related symptoms reported in Chinese cohorts highlights the importance of psychosocial support for pregnant women, particularly in urban areas where work and family demands are high.

Environmental risk factors such as prenatal secondhand smoke exposure remain highly prevalent in China, where household smoking rates are significantly higher than in many Western countries. With passive smoke exposure increasing ADHD risk 1.5–2 times, this remains a critical modifiable factor.

Perinatal complications, including premature birth and low birth weight, also contribute substantially to ADHD susceptibility. China's preterm birth rate of approximately 7.1% means a notable proportion of children face elevated neurodevelopmental risk from birth. Disruptions in early cortical maturation among preterm and low-birth-weight infants may predispose children to attentional difficulties later in childhood.

Metabolic and hypertensive conditions during pregnancy further add to risk. With gestational diabetes mellitus affecting nearly 15% of pregnant women in China, and preeclampsia linked to up to a twofold increase in ADHD risk, these medical conditions represent important pathways connecting maternal health and childhood neurodevelopment.

Finally, prenatal exposure to PM2.5—a significant environmental concern in numerous Chinese cities—has been associated with higher inattentive and hyperactive symptom scores in children. Given the documented neuroinflammatory effects of particulate matter, air pollution is increasingly recognized as a meaningful contributor to ADHD-related outcomes.

3.2 Environmental Exposures Affecting Development

Environmental exposures that influence early brain development have become increasingly salient in understanding ADHD risk in Chinese children. Rapid urbanization, rising pollution levels, and lifestyle changes have created developmental environments in which children encounter a variety of neurotoxic or neurodisruptive exposures during critical periods of brain maturation.

Among these, air pollution—particularly PM2.5—has the strongest evidence base in China. Fine particulate matter can cross the placental barrier and induce neuroinflammatory responses, potentially affecting the maturation of prefrontal and striatal regions associated with attention and inhibitory control. A 2022 study published in *Environmental Research* reported that each 10 µg/m³ increase in prenatal PM2.5 exposure was associated with significantly higher inattentive and hyperactive symptom scores in school-aged children. Given that annual PM2.5 concentrations in northern Chinese cities have historically exceeded WHO guidelines by several times, air pollution represents a significant and persistent neurodevelopmental risk factor.

Lead exposure also remains relevant, particularly in older urban environments and industrial regions. Although national regulations have reduced lead levels considerably over the past decade, pockets of elevated exposure persist in areas near battery manufacturing, e-waste processing, and heavy industry. Research from South China Normal University and Sun Yat-sen University has shown that even moderate increases in blood lead levels are associated with poorer executive function and increased ADHD-like behaviors in children. These findings align with international evidence linking lead exposure to impairments in attention, working memory, and cognitive flexibility.

Beyond chemical exposures, early-life screen overuse has gained attention as a potential environmental factor that interacts with neurodevelopmental vulnerabilities. A 2021 nationwide survey by the Chinese Academy of Education Sciences found that approximately 23% of preschool children exceeded recommended daily screen time limits. Excessive early screen exposure has been associated with delayed language development and disruptions in attentional networks, potentially exacerbating underlying ADHD susceptibility. While screens are not a causal factor, they may amplify attentional dysregulation during sensitive developmental windows.

Other environmental contributors include sleep disruptions, which are increasingly common among children in urban China due to late school schedules, heavy academic workloads, and high nighttime screen exposure. Chronic sleep disturbance can impair the development of neural circuits involved in attention and emotion regulation, and several Chinese studies have found strong associations between short sleep duration and elevated ADHD symptom scores.

4. Diagnostic Tools and Clinical Assessment Practices

4.1 Main Behavioral Scales and Interviews

Behavioral rating scales and structured clinical interviews form the foundation of ADHD assessment in China's pediatric and psychiatric settings. These tools provide standardized methods for evaluating symptom severity across home and school environments, helping clinicians distinguish developmentally typical behaviors from patterns consistent with ADHD.

Among the most widely used instruments is the ADHD Rating Scale–IV (ADHD-RS-IV), which has been translated and validated in Chinese populations. Hospital-based studies, including those from Peking University Sixth Hospital, report strong internal consistency and good sensitivity for detecting inattentive and hyperactive-impulsive presentations in school-aged children. The scale is commonly completed by parents and teachers, allowing clinicians to assess symptom expression across different contexts—an essential requirement for diagnostic accuracy.

Another frequently used measure is the Conners' Rating Scale (Conners-3). The Chinese version has demonstrated solid psychometric properties, with normative data available for children aged 6 to 16. Conners-3 is valued in clinical practice because it assesses not only ADHD symptoms but also associated behavioral concerns such as oppositional tendencies and emotional dysregulation. This broader scope helps clinicians evaluate possible comorbidities, which are common among children referred for attention-related difficulties.

In addition to rating scales, structured and semi-structured clinical interviews play a crucial role in diagnosis. Instruments such as the Kiddie Schedule for Affective Disorders and Schizophrenia (K-SADS) and the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children (DISC) are used in major tertiary hospitals, especially in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou. These tools provide systematic assessment of symptom onset, frequency, and functional impairment, aligning with DSM or ICD criteria. Although time-consuming, they significantly improve diagnostic reliability, particularly in complex or borderline cases.

For younger children, many clinicians incorporate interviews with parents and teachers to capture developmental history, early behavioral concerns, and the child's functioning in daily routines. In China, where academic performance and classroom behavior are major catalysts for referral, teacher reports are often given substantial weight. However, variability in teacher familiarity with ADHD can affect reporting accuracy.

4.2 Use of Neurocognitive and Electrophysiological Tests

Neurocognitive and electrophysiological assessments are increasingly used in China to complement behavioral rating scales when evaluating ADHD. These tools provide more objective indicators of attention, executive functioning, and response inhibition—domains that frequently show impairment in children diagnosed with ADHD. Although not sufficient for diagnosis on their own, they help clinicians refine differential diagnosis and assess functional impairment with greater specificity.

One common neurocognitive approach in China is the use of Continuous Performance Tests (CPTs), such as the IVA-CPT or the CPT-3. These tasks measure sustained attention, reaction time variability, and impulsive responding. Clinical studies from hospitals in Shanghai and Guangzhou have consistently shown that children with ADHD perform worse on vigilance indices and exhibit higher commission and omission errors, supporting their utility as supplemental diagnostic tools. CPTs are particularly valued in cases where parent and teacher reports are inconsistent or when clinicians suspect attentional difficulties that are not fully captured by interviews.

In addition, tests of executive functioning—such as working memory, set-shifting, and inhibitory control tasks—are increasingly incorporated into pediatric neuropsychological evaluations. The Stroop Color-Word Test, Digit Span tasks, and Go/No-Go paradigms are used in developmental and behavioral clinics at major urban hospitals. Research from Peking University Sixth Hospital reports that children with ADHD exhibit significantly

poorer performance on working memory and inhibitory control tasks, aligning with findings from international studies of executive dysfunction.

Electrophysiological measures, particularly electroencephalography (EEG), have also gained traction. Quantitative EEG (qEEG) is used in some hospitals to assess atypical patterns such as elevated theta/beta ratios, which have been associated with attentional dysregulation. While the reliability of these markers remains debated internationally, studies conducted at Sun Yat-sen University and the Shanghai Mental Health Center have observed group-level differences in EEG patterns between children with ADHD and typically developing controls. These findings support the cautious use of EEG as an adjunct, particularly for understanding neurophysiological functioning, rather than as a standalone diagnostic indicator.

Event-related potentials (ERPs), such as P300 amplitude and latency, are also explored in developmental clinics for their relevance to attentional processing. Several Chinese electrophysiology studies have shown that children with ADHD often present with reduced P300 amplitudes during tasks requiring stimulus discrimination, suggesting delays in neural processing of attention-demanding stimuli. Although not routinely used in all clinical settings due to equipment and expertise requirements, ERP findings contribute to the growing understanding of ADHD's neurodevelopmental underpinnings.

Despite their usefulness, these neurocognitive and electrophysiological tools face notable limitations in China. Access remains uneven, with advanced neuropsychological testing concentrated largely in tertiary hospitals in metropolitan areas. Standardization across instruments is limited, and clinicians emphasize that results must be interpreted within the broader context of behavioral assessments, developmental history, and functional impairment. Nevertheless, their increasing adoption reflects a broader trend toward integrating objective neurodevelopmental indicators into ADHD evaluation, improving diagnostic clarity and supporting more individualized intervention planning.

4.3 Gaps in Standardization and Access

Significant gaps remain in the standardization and accessibility of ADHD assessment across China. Although major urban hospitals have developed relatively structured diagnostic procedures, nationwide consistency is still lacking, and access to comprehensive evaluation tools varies widely across regions. These disparities affect diagnostic accuracy and contribute to uneven identification rates. Table 2 summarizes key evidence illustrating the major challenges in assessment availability and standardization.

Table 2. Key Gaps in Standardization and Access in ADHD Assessment in China

Domain	Data Evidence	Source
Shortage of child psychiatrists	Fewer than 500 child psychiatrists available nationwide	Chinese Society of Psychiatry, 2021
Regional concentration of resources	Over 70% of child mental health resources located in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen	National Health Commission, 2020
Uneven use of assessment tools	ADHD-RS-IV used in ~68% of hospitals; Conners-3 in ~52%; CPT usage <30%	Multicenter pediatric hospital survey, 2021
Low availability of EEG/qEEG	Only 20–25% of tertiary hospitals use EEG regularly for ADHD assessment; <10% in secondary hospitals	Chinese Pediatric Neurodevelopment Forum, 2022
Long waiting times for evaluations	Major urban hospitals: 4–12 weeks average waiting time; many smaller cities lack structured ADHD evaluation services	
Inconsistent school referral practices	Only $\sim 20\%$ of teachers have received formal ADHD-related training	Chinese Academy of Education Sciences, 2021

The data presented in Table 2 highlight substantial disparities in the availability and quality of ADHD assessment services across China. One of the most pressing issues is the severe shortage of specialists. With fewer than 500 child psychiatrists serving a population of over 260 million children, pediatricians and general psychologists often shoulder the responsibility for ADHD evaluation, leading to variability in diagnostic expertise and practices.

Resource distribution also remains highly uneven. More than 70% of China's child mental health resources are

concentrated in major metropolitan areas such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen. Secondary cities and rural regions frequently lack developmental-behavioral clinics, resulting in limited access to standardized assessment procedures. Families outside major urban centers may face long travel distances to obtain formal evaluation, contributing to underdiagnosis or delayed diagnosis.

Standardization of assessment tools presents another major challenge. Although instruments such as the ADHD-RS-IV and Conners-3 are widely available, their adoption is far from uniform, with multicenter surveys indicating usage rates ranging from 52% to 68%. More advanced tools—such as Continuous Performance Tests (CPTs) and quantitative EEG—are used in less than one-third of clinical settings, primarily because of cost, training requirements, and equipment availability. This inconsistency reduces comparability of assessments across hospitals.

Access barriers also manifest as long waiting times. Data from top-tier hospitals in Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Chengdu indicate evaluation waitlists of four to twelve weeks. In contrast, many smaller hospitals do not offer formal ADHD assessments at all, resulting in children being assessed solely through teacher reports or brief screening measures.

Finally, referral consistency from schools remains limited. Although teachers serve as key observers of attention and behavior, only around 20% have received professional training related to ADHD, leading to substantial variability in when and how children are recommended for evaluation.

Collectively, these gaps in standardization and access contribute to uneven diagnostic practices and highlight the need for more equitable, coordinated, and evidence-based ADHD assessment pathways across China.

5. Clinical Pathways and System-Level Influences

5.1 Common Routes from School Referral to Diagnosis

In China, schools play a critical role in initiating the diagnostic process for ADHD, as academic performance and classroom behavior are the primary contexts in which attentional difficulties become visible. The most common pathway begins with teachers identifying persistent patterns of inattentiveness, impulsivity, or difficulty following instructions. National surveys indicate that approximately 60% of primary school teachers report having referred at least one child for behavioral or psychological evaluation within an academic year, reflecting increasing awareness but also variability in familiarity with ADHD-related symptoms.

Once concerns arise, teachers typically communicate with parents, often during routine parent-teacher conferences or when academic problems intensify. Schools in larger cities—particularly those with mental health education coordinators—may provide preliminary behavioral checklists or recommend completion of standardized rating scales. However, because only around 20% of teachers have received formal training in ADHD, the accuracy of referral depends heavily on individual experience and school-level support.

Parents then decide whether to seek medical evaluation, usually beginning with the hospital system. In major urban centers, families often present directly to developmental—behavioral pediatrics or child psychiatry departments in tertiary hospitals such as those in Beijing, Shanghai, or Guangzhou. In smaller cities, the initial assessment may take place in general pediatrics due to the limited availability of specialized services. During this stage, clinicians typically collect parent and teacher rating scales, developmental history, and school reports to evaluate cross-setting impairment—a key diagnostic requirement under DSM and ICD guidelines.

After preliminary screening, children may undergo neurocognitive or behavioral testing, depending on hospital resources. In tertiary hospitals, this process is relatively structured, though waiting periods can range from 4 to 12 weeks due to high demand. In contrast, secondary hospitals often lack standardized evaluation pathways, leading to greater variability in diagnostic consistency and sometimes reliance solely on parent-reported symptoms.

If ADHD is diagnosed, families receive guidance on behavioral management, academic accommodations, or pharmacological treatment, depending on severity and parental preference. Schools may implement classroom strategies or academic adjustments, although these practices vary widely due to differences in school policies and teacher training.

Overall, the pathway from school referral to diagnosis in China illustrates a system in which schools serve as the primary point of identification, but diagnostic follow-through depends heavily on parental initiative, resource availability, and regional disparities in specialist access. This structure contributes to both early detection in well-resourced areas and missed or delayed diagnoses in regions where mental health infrastructure is limited.

5.2 Specialist Shortages and Pediatrician Reliance

A central structural challenge in China's ADHD diagnostic landscape is the severe shortage of child mental health specialists. This scarcity directly shapes clinical pathways, influencing who conducts evaluations, how

diagnoses are made, and the degree of variability across regions. According to the Chinese Society of Psychiatry (2021), China has fewer than 500 practicing child psychiatrists nationwide—an extremely limited number given the country's population of over 260 million children. As a result, most provinces lack sufficient specialist coverage, and comprehensive ADHD assessments are concentrated in a small number of tertiary hospitals in major cities.

The shortage extends beyond psychiatry. There are relatively few developmental—behavioral pediatricians, clinical child psychologists, or neuropsychology units capable of administering standardized cognitive and behavioral evaluations. This limits access to multi-method assessment and increases the likelihood that diagnoses will rely heavily on parental descriptions and teacher reports rather than integrated clinical evidence.

Due to this scarcity, general pediatricians play a disproportionately large role in diagnosing ADHD across much of China. In secondary hospitals and community healthcare settings—where specialist services are largely absent—pediatricians are often the first and sometimes the only clinicians available to evaluate attention difficulties. While many pediatricians are familiar with common ADHD presentations, surveys indicate that training in formal diagnostic criteria, comorbidity assessment, and behavioral intervention remains inconsistent. A 2020 hospital-based survey found that fewer than 40% of general pediatricians reported receiving structured training in ADHD assessment, contributing to wide variability in diagnostic practices.

This reliance on pediatricians also means that complex or borderline cases may not receive adequate differential diagnosis. Conditions such as anxiety disorders, sleep disturbances, specific learning disorders, and autism spectrum disorder frequently mimic or overlap with ADHD symptoms, yet require specialized evaluation tools that are not routinely available in non-tertiary settings. Consequently, both overdiagnosis and underdiagnosis become more likely, depending on the clinician's experience and the availability of assessment resources.

The shortage of specialists has additional system-level implications. Long waiting lists in major cities—often extending from 4 to 12 weeks—slow the diagnostic process, particularly for families seeking confirmation from a child psychiatrist. Meanwhile, families in less developed regions must travel long distances for specialist care or rely entirely on local pediatric services, further exacerbating diagnostic inequities across China.

Overall, specialist shortages force reliance on general pediatricians, reinforcing regional disparities and limiting the standardization of ADHD diagnostic procedures. Addressing this shortage is essential for improving diagnostic accuracy, ensuring early intervention, and creating a more equitable system of child mental health care.

6. Sociocultural Pressures Interacting with Neurodevelopment

6.1 Academic Performance Expectations

Academic performance pressures constitute one of the most influential sociocultural forces shaping how ADHD symptoms are perceived and responded to in China. The Chinese education system places strong emphasis on sustained attention, behavioral regulation, and high academic achievement from an early age. These expectations increase the visibility of attentional and executive function difficulties, amplifying the likelihood that such behaviors will be interpreted as clinically concerning.

China's national curriculum requires children to meet demanding standards in literacy and mathematics by the early primary years. Large-scale surveys, such as the *China Education Panel Survey (CEPS)*, indicate that over 70% of students report experiencing significant academic pressure, with such pressure intensifying from Grade 3 onward. In classroom environments where prolonged focus, accurate task execution, and conformity to group norms are essential, children with attentional instability or impulsive behaviors are quickly differentiated from peers. As a result, even mild forms of inattention become more salient within this highly structured educational context.

The competitive nature of school progression further heightens attention to behavioral performance. Entrance into key primary and middle schools often depends on academic ranking, which increases the stakes for early academic performance. Teachers, who face pressure to maintain classroom order and meet achievement benchmarks, may be more likely to flag children displaying distractibility or restlessness. This aligns with teacher survey data from urban districts, where over 60% of educators report referring students for behavioral evaluation primarily because of academic underperformance rather than behavioral disruption alone.

Parental expectations also shape how attentional difficulties are interpreted. Parents often view academic achievement as essential to future opportunities, and this cultural emphasis increases sensitivity to behaviors that may interfere with learning. Consequently, parents are more likely to seek clinical assessment when children struggle to meet academically oriented behavioral demands such as completing homework independently, sustaining attention during tutoring sessions, or maintaining performance in high-intensity after-school programs.

The combined effect of these academic expectations interacts with neurodevelopmental vulnerabilities, creating conditions in which ADHD-like behaviors become highly consequential and more frequently pathologized. For children with underlying attentional or executive function differences, the demands of the educational environment may exacerbate observable symptoms, accelerating the process of clinical referral and diagnosis. This sociocultural amplification helps explain why ADHD is often recognized earlier and more frequently in urban areas with stronger academic competition.

Overall, the prominence of academic performance expectations in China not only increases the visibility of attentional difficulties but also shapes parental and educational responses to such behaviors, contributing to the rise in ADHD identification across school-aged populations.

6.2 Parental Anxiety and Behavior Interpretation

Parental anxiety plays a significant role in shaping how children's attentional and behavioral patterns are understood within Chinese families, ultimately influencing pathways to ADHD diagnosis. In a sociocultural context where educational achievement is closely tied to notions of future security and family success, parents often monitor children's academic and behavioral performance with heightened sensitivity. This heightened vigilance may lead parents to interpret mild inattentive or impulsive behaviors as warning signs of developmental problems, especially when such behaviors interfere with schooling or extra academic preparation.

National surveys conducted by the China Family Panel Studies (CFPS) show that over 80% of urban parents express concern about their child's academic competitiveness, and more than half report anxiety about whether their child is "keeping up" with peers academically. This pervasive anxiety increases the likelihood that deviations from expected performance—difficulty concentrating during homework, inconsistent task completion, or restlessness during tutoring sessions—are perceived not as variations of normal development but as potential indicators of ADHD. The expansion of after-school tutoring and structured academic activities has further intensified parental scrutiny of children's attention-related behaviors.

Parents' limited understanding of typical developmental variability also contributes to this pattern. Studies from Shanghai and Beijing have found that many parents overestimate normative attention span expectations for children aged 6–10, often assuming that primary school children should sustain focus for 30–40 minutes, whereas developmental research suggests that younger children's typical attention span is considerably shorter. Such misalignment between developmental realities and parental expectations can result in premature concerns and increased rates of clinical consultation.

Media exposure reinforces these anxieties. Over the past decade, online platforms such as WeChat, Douyin, and medical information portals have circulated a growing number of articles about ADHD, some of which oversimplify symptoms or present them as common explanations for academic difficulties. This information environment shapes parental interpretation of behavior, sometimes leading to overattribution of inattentiveness or distractibility to ADHD rather than to sleep problems, emotional stress, or ordinary developmental transitions. A 2022 analysis of online health communication in China found that ADHD-related posts often emphasize symptom checklists without discussing differential diagnosis, contributing to parent-driven requests for evaluation.

Economic and demographic factors further intensify parental responses. With the decline in fertility rates and the rise of "intensive parenting," single-child families often invest heavily in academic preparation and emotional monitoring. This increases the psychological weight placed on each child's developmental trajectory. In qualitative studies from Guangzhou and Nanjing, parents frequently describe feelings of guilt, pressure, and fear of educational failure, which may heighten their sensitivity to behavioral challenges and accelerate help-seeking behavior.

These dynamics collectively shape how parents interpret children's attention and self-regulation difficulties. When parental anxiety converges with high educational expectations and widespread media visibility of ADHD, behaviors that might otherwise be viewed as developmentally typical can be framed as clinical concerns. This interpretive shift contributes to increased rates of referral and diagnosis, particularly in urban settings with greater access to information and medical services.

7. Diagnostic Accuracy and Over-Diagnosis Risks

7.1 Symptom Overlap with Other Conditions

A major challenge in ensuring diagnostic accuracy for ADHD in China is the substantial overlap between ADHD symptoms and those of other developmental, emotional, and environmental conditions. Because inattentiveness, restlessness, and impulsive behavior are relatively nonspecific indicators, children presenting with these difficulties may be incorrectly diagnosed with ADHD when their symptoms stem from other underlying causes. This overlap contributes to diagnostic variability across clinical settings and increases the likelihood of

overdiagnosis, particularly in regions where specialist assessment resources are limited.

One common source of overlap involves anxiety disorders, which often manifest as distractibility, restlessness, and difficulty sustaining attention. Studies conducted at Peking University Sixth Hospital show that 20–30% of children referred for suspected ADHD exhibit primary anxiety symptoms rather than ADHD itself. Anxiety-related attentional shifts—driven by worry or hypervigilance—can closely mimic inattentive ADHD presentations, making differential diagnosis challenging without thorough clinical interviews or standardized measures.

Sleep disturbances also generate symptoms that resemble ADHD. Children who regularly experience insufficient sleep or poor sleep quality often show irritability, decreased attention span, and impaired executive functioning. Nationwide data from the China Sleep Research Society indicate that around 30% of school-aged children sleep fewer hours than recommended, especially in cities with high academic pressure. Such sleep-related attentional deficits may be misinterpreted as signs of ADHD if clinicians do not assess sleep patterns comprehensively.

In addition, learning disorders, particularly dyslexia and mathematics learning difficulties, can produce behaviors that resemble ADHD because children experiencing academic frustration may appear inattentive or avoidant in classroom tasks. Studies from Shanghai and Guangzhou have found that approximately 15–20% of children referred for ADHD evaluation meet criteria for specific learning disorders instead. Without access to standardized academic assessments, these distinctions may be easily missed in general pediatric settings.

Autism spectrum disorder (ASD) presents further diagnostic ambiguity. Many children with ASD show behaviors such as distractibility, impulsivity, and poor behavioral inhibition—symptoms that overlap significantly with ADHD presentations. Because ASD and ADHD frequently co-occur, distinguishing between primary and secondary attentional difficulties requires specialized developmental assessment, which is not consistently available in all regions of China.

Environmental and contextual factors may also produce ADHD-like symptoms. Stressful family environments, inconsistent parenting, excessive screen exposure, and noisy or overstimulating classrooms can all contribute to attentional instability. Without examining environmental contributors, clinicians may attribute these behaviors to ADHD prematurely.

These overlapping symptom presentations reveal the limitations of relying solely on behavioral rating scales or brief interviews. In settings with limited specialist access—particularly where general pediatricians conduct most evaluations—the risk of overlooking comorbidities or misidentifying primary conditions increases. Consequently, symptom overlap remains one of the most significant contributors to potential overdiagnosis, underscoring the need for more comprehensive evaluation frameworks and improved training for frontline clinicians.

7.2 Overuse of Brief Screening-Based Evaluations

The increasing reliance on brief screening tools in many clinical and educational settings across China contributes significantly to concerns about overdiagnosis. Although screening instruments such as short behavioral checklists or simplified symptom questionnaires are useful for preliminary identification, they are not designed to serve as standalone diagnostic tools. When used without comprehensive follow-up assessment, they can misclassify a wide range of attentional or behavioral difficulties as ADHD, particularly in contexts where specialist resources are scarce and clinical workflows are highly pressured.

A major driver of this issue is the limited availability of trained child mental health professionals. With fewer than 500 child psychiatrists nationwide, many hospitals—especially secondary and community-level facilities—depend on time-efficient methods to assess high volumes of children referred for attentional problems. As a result, screening questionnaires such as short versions of the Conners or locally adapted checklists are sometimes used as primary diagnostic evidence, despite lacking the depth necessary to differentiate ADHD from other conditions. Studies from pediatric departments in several provinces indicate that in more than 40% of cases, brief scales were the primary basis for diagnosis when specialist consultation was unavailable.

The educational system also contributes to this pattern. Schools under pressure to monitor student mental health often administer general behavioral screening surveys but may treat high scores as diagnostic indicators rather than triggers for further assessment. In a survey conducted in six urban districts, nearly 30% of school-based counselors reported that they "frequently rely on brief checklists" to recommend clinical evaluation, even when teachers lack formal training to interpret these tools correctly. This can create a referral cascade that amplifies parental concern and increases diagnostic demand in hospitals.

Brief evaluations are also more vulnerable to contextual bias. Parent-reported symptoms may reflect stress, sleep disruption, or academic pressure rather than true neurodevelopmental impairment, whereas teacher-reported symptoms can be influenced by class size, instructional style, or behavior expectations. Without structured interviews, neuropsychological testing, or multi-informant data, clinicians may interpret these biased reports as

sufficient evidence for ADHD, increasing the risk of misclassification.

Furthermore, reliance on brief tools limits the ability to assess comorbidities. Conditions such as anxiety, depression, learning disorders, or autism-related traits may be overlooked when evaluations focus solely on surface-level symptoms. This is particularly problematic in China, where comorbidity rates among children suspected of ADHD are reported to be over 50% in tertiary hospitals but are rarely identified in brief assessments.

The overuse of screening-based evaluations reflects systemic constraints rather than individual clinician error. However, it underscores the need for more standardized multi-step diagnostic protocols and improved training for frontline providers. Without such safeguards, screening tools—though valuable—risk contributing to diagnostic inflation and obscuring the complex developmental profiles that underlie children's attentional and behavioral difficulties.

8. Toward a Neurodevelopmentally Informed Diagnostic Framework

Developing a more accurate and equitable ADHD diagnostic framework in China requires shifting from symptom-centered evaluation toward a neurodevelopmentally grounded, multi-informant, and cross-system approach. Given the rising demand for assessment and the structural constraints identified in previous sections, a forward-looking model must strengthen early developmental monitoring, standardize diagnostic procedures, and enhance coordination across families, schools, and healthcare providers. These improvements would not only enhance diagnostic accuracy but also ensure that children with attentional difficulties receive appropriate supports, whether or not they meet full ADHD criteria.

8.1 Improved Developmental Surveillance

A foundational step is strengthening developmental surveillance within primary healthcare and early childhood education systems. Currently, developmental assessments are largely fragmented and unevenly distributed across regions. Integrating structured monitoring into routine well-child visits—similar to models implemented in Canada and Australia—would allow clinicians to identify early signs of attentional and regulatory difficulties before academic pressures intensify symptoms. Evidence from the National Health Commission indicates that more than 80% of Chinese children participate in regular physical health check-ups during the early years, yet structured neurodevelopmental screening is rarely included. Leveraging this existing infrastructure to incorporate brief developmental tools, caregiver interviews, and early behavioral checklists would expand early detection and reduce reliance on crisis-driven referrals later in childhood.

Moreover, community health centers and kindergartens could collaborate to track developmental trajectories across the preschool years, when attention, inhibition, and executive function undergo rapid maturation. Providing parents with developmentally accurate expectations—such as typical attention span ranges—may also reduce anxiety-driven overreferrals and help differentiate transient behavioral variability from emerging neurodevelopmental patterns.

8.2 Standardized Diagnostic Procedures

To improve diagnostic consistency, a unified standard for ADHD evaluation should be adopted across hospitals and regions. Although DSM-5 and ICD-11 criteria are increasingly used in tertiary hospitals, application remains inconsistent across pediatric, psychiatric, and community healthcare settings. Establishing national guidelines—similar to the 2022 Chinese Experts' Consensus on ADHD—and extending implementation to secondary hospitals would reduce variability stemming from clinician experience or tool availability.

A standardized diagnostic procedure should include:

- 1) Multi-informant behavioral rating scales (e.g., ADHD-RS-IV, Conners-3) collected from both parents and teachers.
- 2) Structured or semi-structured interviews to evaluate developmental history, symptom onset, and functional impairment.
- 3) Neurocognitive testing, such as sustained attention and inhibitory control tasks, where resources allow.
- 4) Screening for comorbidities, particularly anxiety, sleep disturbances, learning disorders, and autism spectrum traits.
- 5) Documentation of environmental influences, including academic pressure, sleep routine, and screen exposure.

Importantly, brief screening tools should be restricted to preliminary triage. Diagnostic decisions should not rely solely on short checklists, especially given their vulnerability to context-driven bias. Extending training programs for general pediatricians—who diagnose a substantial share of cases—would further reinforce the fidelity of assessment procedures.

8.3 Better Coordination Across School-Family-Clinic Settings

ADHD assessment and management require collaboration across the environments in which children function. However, in China, communication between families, teachers, and clinicians is often fragmented, leading to inconsistent reporting and misinterpretation of behaviors. Establishing more structured communication pathways could improve diagnostic accuracy and reduce both over- and under-identification.

Schools should provide standardized teacher reports describing behavioral patterns across academic tasks, transitions, and peer interactions. Such reporting should not be limited to symptom checklists but should include contextual descriptions—classroom size, academic expectations, instructional practices—that may influence attentional performance. Training teachers to identify developmentally appropriate versus concerning behaviors would help refine the quality of referrals and reduce false positives driven by academic pressure.

Clinics, in turn, can offer parents clear, structured feedback on assessment results and provide schools with practical, evidence-based recommendations for classroom support, rather than merely returning a diagnostic label. Developing local referral networks—linking schools with community health centers and tertiary hospitals—would ensure smoother pathways to evaluation and reduce the wide variation in assessment access across districts.

Finally, establishing a shared documentation framework, potentially through digital health platforms or district-level education-health partnerships, would allow for more consistent follow-up, reduce repetitive assessments, and create continuity across developmental stages.

A neurodevelopmentally informed diagnostic framework requires early surveillance, nationwide standardization, and strong cross-setting coordination. By addressing structural inequalities in access and improving the quality of information shared across families, schools, and healthcare professionals, China can move toward a more accurate, equitable, and developmentally grounded system for identifying and supporting children with attentional and self-regulation challenges.

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