

The Complete Guide to ADHD

Nature, Diagnosis,
and Treatment



Katerina Maniadaki
Efthymios Kakouros

ROUTLEDGE


The Complete Guide to ADHD: Nature, Diagnosis, and Treatment is a welcome addition to the voluminous literature on clinical care of children and adults with ADHD. It provides a comprehensive range of the most important topics on ADHD guided by a developmental approach to the disorder and a critical eye for the most useful research findings of which clinicians need to be aware. I highly recommend this book to clinicians, students in training to be clinicians, and other educated readers desiring a state-of-the-science review of information about ADHD and the evidence-based approaches to its assessment and management.

Russell A. Barkley, PhD, Clinical Professor of Psychiatry,
Virginia Treatment Center for Children and
Virginia Commonwealth University Medical Center, Richmond, VA, USA

The Complete Guide to ADHD: Nature, Diagnosis, and Treatment is a state-of-the-art comprehensive resource for clinicians, researchers, and mental health trainees working with individuals with ADHD throughout the lifespan. Maniadaki and Kakouros have nicely weaved their considerable clinical expertise with cutting edge empirical research to provide readers with critical background information on ADHD as well as clear, concise recommendations for assessment and treatment of this disorder from a developmental perspective. Their multilevel approach to assessment and intervention offers a unique, systems-based context to providing services for the ADHD population. This book is an important resource that is a must-read for all professionals working with children, adolescents, and adults with ADHD.

George J. DuPaul, PhD, Professor of School Psychology,
Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA, USA

The Complete Guide to ADHD: Nature, Diagnosis, and Treatment is a crowning achievement that comprehensively reviews the history, course, diagnosis, and treatment of ADHD. It includes practical evidence-based approaches as well as clinically-rich case examples across the developmental spectrum. The book is a great resource for practitioners and students alike.

Gregory A. Fabiano, PhD, Professor of Counseling, School, and
Educational Psychology, University at Buffalo, NY, USA

Katerina Maniadaki and Efthymios Kakouros provide a masterly integration of historic, neuroscientific, neurodevelopmental, and clinical perspectives of ADHD. The inclusion of case studies highlights its complexity and broad array of functional impairments. Their insightful and highly readable interpretation of current advances in ADHD, together with their comprehensive, multi-level systemic approach to assessment, diagnosis, and intervention, makes this

book an essential resource for clinicians, researchers, educators and other professionals who wish to better understand, help and support, individuals with ADHD.

Rosemary Tannock, PhD, Senior Scientist, Neurosciences & Mental Health Program of the Research Institute, The Hospital for Sick Children & Professor Emerita, University of Toronto (Special Education, Psychiatry), Canada

The Complete Guide to ADHD: Nature, Diagnosis, and Treatment is an excellent addition to the field that skillfully blends together its comprehensive coverage of ADHD theory, research, and practice within a developmental framework. Particularly helpful are the numerous case examples and clinical insights that appear throughout the text, bringing to life how ADHD and its associated features unfold across the life span and deviate from typical development.

Arthur D. Anastopoulos, PhD, Professor of Human Development and Family Studies, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, NC, USA

The Complete Guide to ADHD: Nature, Diagnosis, and Treatment is an exemplary professional guidebook and must-read for students, educators, and clinicians. Clearly the product of seasoned clinicians and scholars, this remarkable book distills the voluminous research on ADHD into a highly accessible and usable form. Their multilevel approach to clinical care across the lifespan is an invaluable resource for all professionals helping those affected by ADHD.

Linda Pfiffner, PhD, Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of California, San Francisco, CA, USA

The Complete Guide to ADHD

This exciting new resource offers a comprehensive guide to ADHD, the most frequently diagnosed neurodevelopmental disorder and one of the most researched areas in child mental health. It brings together high-level research with the latest scholarship and applies them to practice, providing a unique and innovative perspective. Inside readers will find a critical presentation of current scientific knowledge regarding the nature, etiology, diagnosis, and management of the disorder. The book covers ADHD from infancy to adulthood and presents the whole range of possible comorbidities. The authors explore the topic from the perspective of researchers, academics, and clinicians while also offering a structured assessment procedure and a complete early intervention and treatment program, as well as illuminative case studies and practical tools for educators.

Katerina Maniadaki is a Professor of Developmental Psychopathology and the Head of the Department of Social Work at the Athens University of Applied Sciences. She has been working as a clinical child psychologist with children with ADHD and other developmental disabilities since 1997.

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The Complete Guide to ADHD

Nature, Diagnosis, and Treatment

**Katerina Maniadaki and
Efthymios Kakouros**

First edition published 2018
By Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Maniadaki, Katerina, author.

Title: The complete guide to ADHD : nature, diagnosis, and treatment /
by Katerina Maniadaki and Efthymios Kakouros.

Description: First edition. | New York, NY : Routledge, 2018. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017047160 (print) | LCCN 2017048337 (ebook) |
ISBN 9781315316048 (ebk) | ISBN 9781138231085 (hbk) | ISBN
9781138231092 (pbk)

Subjects: LCSH: Attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder—Diagnosis. |
Attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder—Treatment.

Classification: LCC RJ506.H9 (ebook) | LCC RJ506.H9 M36 2018 (print) |
DDC 618.92/8589—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017047160>

ISBN: 978-1-138-23108-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-23109-2 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-31604-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Galliard
By Apex CoVantage, LLC

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About the Authors



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Foreword

The sheer scope and range of the ADHD-related research literature and the rate at which new findings are published is now truly quite overpowering; it is difficult for even the specialist researcher to keep up and stay well-informed of all the important new developments—let alone the interested clinician, committed student, or concerned parent. The field is also getting more and more technical and sophisticated, with crucial developments in areas such as genetics and neurobiology, more and more difficult for the layperson to understand. What is required is a guide to scientific developments that synthesizes the literature in a way that is both comprehensive and compact and that communicates sophisticated ideas in a straightforward way without any sense of dumbing down.

In their book *The Complete Guide to ADHD: Nature, Diagnosis, and Treatment*, Katerina Maniadaki and Efthymios Kakouros have achieved this fine balance to great effect. Furthermore, by taking an explicitly developmental perspective, they have achieved a sense of coherence while, at the same time, they are moving the field forward to consider different perspectives and possibilities. I warmly recommend this impressive book.

Edmund Sonuga-Barke, PhD, FMedSci
Professor of Developmental Psychology,
Psychiatry and Neuroscience
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Preface

This book is a complete and comprehensive guide to ADHD, which is the most commonly diagnosed neurodevelopmental disorder and most researched area in child and adolescent mental health. On the one hand, thousands of empirical studies have been carried out on ADHD, and several theoretical models have been proposed for its understanding. Theoretical knowledge and research evidence are indispensable in order to guide clinical decisions. On the other hand, thousands of parents, teachers, and mental health professionals put enormous effort on a daily basis to address this disorder and provide the best care, education, and treatment to individuals with ADHD who struggle to keep up behaviorally, emotionally, and academically. Evidence-based interventions are needed in order to help them and provide generalizable, long-lasting results.

The decision to write this book was driven by our continuous critical conceptual thinking on the best way to help children and adolescents with ADHD and their families. Along the way, this need extended to adults with ADHD. This book represents an attempt to cover two needs: the first one for sound and solid theoretical knowledge based on up-to-date research, and the second one for effective interventions. It compiles information gathered from research, as well as clinical insights developed over our years of working with children, adolescents, and adults with ADHD and their families. First, a critical presentation of the current scientific knowledge regarding the nature, etiology, theories, diagnosis, and treatment of the disorder is attempted. To this end, we have effectuated a thorough and exhaustive bibliographic research whose results are critically presented from a clinical scientist's perspective. Second, we propose a new framework for the diagnosis and treatment of ADHD, the multilevel approach. This approach is based on cognitive-behavioral theory and the developmental paradigm in psychopathology and has evolved from our extensive research and clinical practice. We aim to bring together high-level research with the latest scholarship and apply them to practice.

We expect this book to reach several types of readership. We believe that we have written a monograph covering all aspects of ADHD (first part), followed by a professional guide (second and third parts) that presents the clinical implications of the theoretical first part in a comprehensive and systematic manner. Therefore, this book can be used primarily as a professional reference. It is addressed to clinicians and scholars of different disciplines who are faced with the task of assessment and management of ADHD in various settings: psychologists (clinical, developmental, and educational), psychiatrists, speech therapists, occupational therapists, clinical social workers, and special educators. We wanted to offer them a comprehensive book, providing research-based conceptualization of ADHD, structured description of assessment, and a complete and integrative early intervention and treatment program from infancy to adulthood. It is therefore our hope that this book plays an important role in clinical care and educational settings.

Secondarily, this book can be used as a niche textbook, written to be one of several books used in a course, or a book for reference usage. It can be mainly used in courses of both

developmental psychopathology and special education either at an advanced undergraduate level or in master's programs.

Finally, this book could serve as a scientific source of information for highly motivated educators who need specialized knowledge in order to manage ADHD at both a behavioral and an educational level.

Although there are numerous excellent books on ADHD, this one provides a unique and innovative perspective. To the best of our knowledge, there is no published work with the key features that characterize this book, as follows.

First, the book provides a summary and critical synthesis of the most up-to-date scientific knowledge and research evidence about ADHD, based on nearly 2,000 scientific papers and books published until 2017, with special focus on the last decade. The substantial scientific literature we read spans that of developmental psychopathology, development psychology, social psychology, cognitive psychology, theories and empirical research on ADHD, neurobiology, and readings in the field of other disciplines.

Second, the book uses a developmental perspective and covers ADHD throughout the life span from infancy to adulthood. Therefore, it places ADHD within the context of developmental challenges.

Third, the presentation of comorbidities holds a central place in the first part of the book and uses an original approach. On the one hand, it covers the whole range of possible comorbidities. On the other hand, it offers interpretations regarding the nature of the relationship of ADHD with each one of the comorbid disorders. As it is clear that none of these comorbidities can be attributed to chance, the factors that may contribute to the co-occurrence of ADHD with each disorder are highlighted and their complex interplay is discussed.

Fourth, this book is written in such a way that each chapter leads harmoniously and smoothly to the next one, forming a coherent body of knowledge with a beginning and an end, contrasting with most edited books. Furthermore, the interconnection between theory and practice is highlighted throughout the book as we attempt to bridge the gap between research evidence and clinical application. To this purpose, we propose a complete and coherent approach to diagnosis and treatment, the multilevel approach, which relies on central aspects of the most influential theories of ADHD and combines elements of the most effective evidence-based treatments. Furthermore, it presents a number of innovations in an attempt to overcome several of the shortcomings of the existent interventions, and it focuses specifically on early identification and intervention, based on data relevant to brain neuroplasticity, epigenome, and other genetic and neurological research findings.

Fifth, this book is largely based on the long experience of the authors at both the theoretical and clinical levels. Both authors are professors of developmental psychopathology—researchers but, above all, active clinicians on a daily basis, over the last 25 years. This combination of profound theoretical knowledge and extant clinical experience can lead to a richer, deeper, and global understanding of the disorder. As a result, this book is illustrated with a variety of clinical examples that accompany descriptions, and it closes with seven clinical cases that combine the main theoretical and clinical ideas of the whole book in coherent stories.

In order to achieve the completion of this work, we were called upon to put forth an extensive amount of work, but it has been well worth it! The collaborative process of writing this book has been a source of immense pleasure and invaluable satisfaction. We have spent long hours of idea exchange, joint thinking, writing, and rewriting in order to clarify issues and provide a text that would satisfy the most demanding readership. It is time to share this unique experience of exploring the world of ADHD with you. We now invite you to join us, and welcome you all to the pages ahead.

Katerina Maniadaki & Efthymios Kakouros

Acknowledgments

This book represents the culmination of nearly 25 years of clinical practice with children and adolescents with ADHD and their families. Everything began with them and nothing could have happened without them. We feel honored that parents, now numbering several thousands, have entrusted their children's present and future to us. We are genuinely grateful for the opportunity to learn so many things from them. We cordially thank them.

We especially acknowledge all those teachers who have collaborated with us over the years toward a common goal: to provide support and assistance to children struggling to cope in mainstream unfriendly educational settings. We are thankful to them.

Our colleagues in the Psychological Center "ARSI" have also been a source of knowledge and support, a small part of which is condensed in the final chapter of this book. We gratefully acknowledge their contribution.

Mrs. Antonia Psarou, psychologist and English teacher, has translated one of our Greek books, *The Management of ADHD*, on which the current book is largely based. We are grateful for her enormous help.

Last but not least, our thanks are extended to our editors at Routledge Taylor & Francis for their continuous and genuine support in order to bring this work to fruition.

Finally, we wish to thank each other for a wonderful 20-year journey of scientific collaboration during which we shared the same passion toward deeply understanding developmental psychopathology, and constantly improving our services to children and families seeking our assistance. As long as this collaboration goes on, inspiration for future scientific destinations will not cease to exist.

Abbreviations

ADs	Anxiety Disorders
ADD	Attention Deficit Disorder
AMP	Amphetamine
APA	American Psychiatric Association
ASD	Autism Spectrum Disorder
ATX	Atomoxetine
BDs	Bipolar Disorders
BMI	Body Mass Index
CBT	Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy
CD	Conduct Disorder
CNS	Central Nervous System
CPs	Conduct Problems
DBT	Dialectical Behavior Therapy
DCD	Developmental Coordination Disorder
DDs	Depressive Disorders
DMDD	Disruptive Mood Dysregulation Disorder
EEG	Electroencephalograph
FDA	Federal Drug Administration
FEDs	Feeding and Eating Disorders
GD	Gambling Disorder
GWAS	Genome-Wide Association Study
ICD	International Classification of Diseases
ID	Intellectual Disability
IQ	Intelligence Quotient
MBD	Minimal Brain Damage
MD	Mathematics Disorder
MPH	Methylphenidate
MRI	Magnetic Resonance Imaging
NIMH	National Institute of Mental Health
NREM	Non-Rapid Eye Movement
OCD	Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder
ODD	Oppositional Defiant Disorder
RD	Reading Disorder
REM	Rapid Eye Movement
SLD	Specific Learning Disorder
SLPs	Speech and Language Problems
SUD	Substance Use Disorder
SWD	Sleep-Wake Disorders
TDs	Tic Disorders

Introduction

ADHD is a neurodevelopmental disorder with a great impact on the individual, the family, and the society throughout the life span. Individuals with ADHD experience continuing impairment in multiple domains of functioning. ADHD puts an individual at greater risk for developing a wide range of psychiatric disorders, experiencing academic failure, manifesting delinquent behavior, and having a disturbed social life, decreased success at work, and a lower quality of life in general. It is also associated with higher health care and societal costs. Moreover, nowadays it is well-known that ADHD is a chronic disorder that does not disappear by adolescence. As a consequence, referrals of adults for ADHD are increasing at a rapid pace.

During the last decade, scientific knowledge regarding etiology and treatment of ADHD has expanded. New theoretical models have been formulated, leading to a better understanding and conceptualization of the disorder. Medication and psychosocial interventions have moved forward as well. However, to date, there has been no treatment claiming to produce stable and long-lasting results, leading to the “normalization” of the pathophysiological substrate of the disorder.

In order to encompass all important aspects of ADHD, this book is structured in three parts. Part I provides the reader with all the basic information about ADHD, and aims to lead to the profound understanding of its multifaceted nature according to the latest research findings and the most prominent theoretical models. The overall focus is on providing information about the history of ADHD, its clinical presentation across the life span, epidemiology, theoretical models, and comorbidities, so that the readership can be acquainted with all aspects of ADHD.

Chapter 1 presents an overview of ADHD’s history from 1750 until nowadays. In this chapter, the most important theories that have shaped the current conceptualization of the disorder are presented, along with the social circumstances that may have influenced them. The aim of this chapter is to help the reader comprehend the scientific trajectory of the disorder, and to clarify the impact of the scientific views of each era on the conceptualization and management of ADHD. The paramount question to be addressed by this chapter is the debate regarding ADHD being a ‘real’ disorder or a political/cultural construct, artificially constructed to serve financial purposes.

Chapter 2 begins with the clinical presentation of children with ADHD, and describes two clinical case vignettes, one of a boy and one of a girl, in order to highlight the primary and secondary symptoms of the disorder and illustrate the heterogeneity that characterizes this population. Afterward, the basic differences between a child with ADHD and a child with developmentally appropriate overactivity and impulsivity levels are reviewed. In addition, gender differences in ADHD are explored, and some distinctive features of ADHD in girls are mentioned, as girls with the disorder are estimated to be an understudied and underdiagnosed population. We review gender differences in clinical manifestation, comorbidity, and response to treatment. Finally, ADHD is considered in the context of the family.

Chapter 3 discusses the developmental course and outcome of ADHD across the life span, from infancy to adulthood. The differences in the manifestation of ADHD in each developmental stage are outlined and the primary difficulties of the individual over time are highlighted. Finally, we review risk and protective factors that appear to be associated with the functioning of individuals with ADHD and with outcomes.

Chapter 4 presents epidemiological data regarding the prevalence of ADHD worldwide. It also seeks to explain differences in prevalence depending on gender, nationality, and culture. Factors associated with the wide range of differences between studies are discussed, and methodology issues are revealed.

Chapter 5 focuses on the extensive presentation of the main scientific views regarding the etiology of ADHD, based on genetic, neuroimaging, neurophysiological, and neurochemical studies. For this purpose, it reviews the most important findings on genetic, neurobiological, and environmental factors that interact in complex and dynamic ways, and contribute to the phenotypic occurrence of the disorder. This chapter also seeks to explain the pathway through which all these factors lead to the behavioral manifestations of ADHD, and to reveal the importance of the early experiences of a genetically vulnerable child for the behavioral occurrence of the disorder.

Chapter 6 aims to present the most influential theories of ADHD, which attempt the integration of research findings in comprehensive models in order to conceptualize the disorder. Four theoretical models have been chosen for this purpose: the Executive Dysfunction theory, the Delay Aversion theory and the Dual Pathway model, the Cognitive-Energetic model, and the Dynamic Developmental theory. These four models enable the clinician to associate ADHD behaviors with their potential causes and design personalized interventions based on solid knowledge of both theoretical and research evidence.

Chapter 7 focuses on each of the 13 major comorbid disorders with ADHD. It reviews a number of basic issues regarding the definition and the concept of comorbidity in developmental psychopathology. This chapter has been influenced by the growing awareness of the interrelatedness of many psychiatric disorders. Specific attention has been given to the description of the nature of the relationship between ADHD and each one of the comorbid disorders described. In each section, epidemiological data on comorbidity are reviewed, the basic characteristics of each disorder according to DSM-5 are presented, and in-depth understanding of the reasons that underlie this comorbidity is attempted. In this way, we aim to capture the complex and heterogeneous nature of ADHD, and to elucidate epigenetic environmental factors and common neurological features that can lead to comorbidities. We also express and substantiate the tentative view that several of these disorders may be better considered within the ADHD spectrum as different manifestations of the disorder at different developmental stages.

Part II of the book provides a detailed review of the procedure through which a thorough clinical assessment can be conducted with children, adolescents, and adults, leading eventually to the diagnosis of ADHD. Clinicians are provided with the core concepts underlying diagnosis. A critical view of the current taxonomic systems is expressed.

Chapter 8 introduces the readers to the concepts and goals of assessment and diagnosis in the framework of developmental psychopathology. Moreover, several issues that merit consideration are presented regarding both the diagnostic criteria themselves and their use by clinicians. Finally, the basic principles and the diagnostic procedure within the multilevel approach, which is a clinical approach formulated and proposed by the authors, are described. This approach incorporates multiple assessment methods relying on several informants across multiple settings. It focuses not only on the child but on their family and school environment as well. Maladaptive cognitions are also assessed. Implicit in the discussion is the notion that

diagnosis is a dynamic ongoing process that leads to the choice of the best intervention strategies, and continues throughout treatment.

Chapter 9 presents the DSM-5 diagnostic criteria for ADHD along with the shortcomings of the previous version, which led to their revision. The associated features supporting diagnosis of ADHD in DSM-5 are also highlighted. A summary of the changes made is given and their possible implications in clinical practice are discussed. This chapter also presents the diagnostic criteria of ADHD in ICD-10, and discusses the suggested revisions in the forthcoming ICD-11.

Chapter 10 synthesizes the major topics and reviews the essential components of a comprehensive diagnostic assessment for ADHD. Moreover, it recommends several methods that could be used for the diagnosis of ADHD as well as comorbid conditions. The issue of differential diagnosis is briefly summarized. General guidelines are given, and the importance of the impairment criterion is discussed. A wide range of measures for the diagnosis of ADHD is proposed and their properties are described. Particular attention is being paid to methods for establishing an understanding of the child's personality and their main strengths and weaknesses. We adopt a whole-child ecological approach rather than a symptom-focused viewpoint, and we argue in favor of an interdisciplinary approach. The basic principles of the feedback session to the family are delineated. Furthermore, the specificities of the diagnosis of ADHD in adults are extensively analyzed, and the most frequent difficulties and complications are discussed.

Part III of the book covers the treatment of ADHD, reviews available information until today, and presents the latest developments on this issue. In addition, it provides the clinician with a comprehensive guide to the implementation of a complete treatment program in children and adolescents, adopting a developmental perspective on the basis of the multilevel approach.

Chapter 11 provides an overview and presents issues concerning the current state of major treatments for ADHD. The information presented draws heavily on the growing literature on evidence-based treatments for this disorder. Pharmacotherapies, psychosocial interventions, combined treatments, and several complementary and alternative interventions are reviewed. We provide an update on empirical findings, and we offer a critical view regarding the efficacy of each one and a comparison of their strengths and limitations. Furthermore, we present novel treatment choices and future research directions. Finally, we review recent findings regarding the neuroplasticity of the developing brain in the framework of the bio-psycho-social model of ADHD, and we argue in favor of early intervention that may lead to its secondary prevention. The evolving literature on the efficacy of early intervention programs is summarized.

Chapter 12 presents the theoretical background and the clinical framework of the multi-level approach for the treatment of ADHD in children and adolescents. This approach offers multiple treatment modalities to deal with the multifaceted problems that this population experiences. It stems from cognitive-behavior theory, and it uses the developmental paradigm in psychopathology, but it also borrows principles from systemic approach and social psychology. It is argued that this approach has the potential to overcome many of the shortcomings of the existent interventions, and can lead to optimal long-term outcomes. In this chapter, the basic techniques that can be used for ADHD management are presented and a step-by-step approach regarding the clinical work with parents, teachers, and children, according to their developmental level, is suggested. The clinician is described as the coordinator of the implementation of the intervention at school, at home, and in the clinical setting. Guidelines and recommendations are delineated for parents and teachers as well. One of the novel contributions of this chapter is the intervention proposed for preschoolers, which has the potential to lead to the secondary prevention of the disorder. Treatment is described as a completely

personalized procedure, tailored to each child's needs. In the framework of the multilevel approach, treatment is not conceptualized as addressing ADHD per se but each child's specific difficulties, as they emerge from the combination of the various factors that make the phenotype of ADHD unique for each child.

Chapter 13 presents the basic characteristics of contemporary interventions for ADHD in adults. Each one is evaluated on the basis of the most recent empirical evidence. Pharmacotherapies and cognitive-behavioral interventions are thoroughly reviewed. Our aim is to provide clinicians with the core principles supporting the implementation of Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT) in adults with ADHD. We also cover the research available relevant to coaching and specific interventions designed for college and university students with ADHD.

Chapter 14 presents six clinical cases by experienced clinicians. These cases have been chosen to represent the whole range of ADHD spectrum, across the two sexes, different developmental stages, and comorbid disorders. Our purpose is to illustrate the way of implementing the multilevel approach in the treatment of ADHD in children, adolescents, and adults. In this chapter, we aim to show the manner in which the basic principles of theories of ADHD are integrated in treatment and turned into practice to result in effective management of the disorder. Finally, we aim to point out that clinicians with complete, coherent, integrated, and multifaceted theoretical knowledge, relevant clinical experience, and certain personality characteristics may make the difference between effective and ineffective use of methods and strategies.

Part I

The Nature of ADHD



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1 The History of ADHD

1.1 Introduction

Knowledge of the historical background of a disorder is essential for any scientist who wishes to study it in depth and gain a global understanding of the factors that have influenced the current conceptualization of the disorder. In clinical practice, history taking, which informs on the evolution of an individual, is indispensable for the establishment of a diagnosis. Similarly, knowledge on the evolution of scientific thought regarding a specific disorder over time is vital for better understanding the disorder.

The study of the appearance of ADHD as a diagnostic category contributes to a better comprehension of prevalent cognitions in different eras, on the basis of which different kinds of interventions have been proposed for its treatment. The importance of this study is also reinforced by the fact that over the course of a century of scientific research, many views of the pioneers in the investigation of the disorder reappear in the forefront and have a direct impact on the formulation of contemporary theories of ADHD.

Since the first reports on symptoms currently considered typical of ADHD, there has been ongoing controversy over its nosological structure and empirical validity (Insel, 2013). Various terms have been used to describe the range of symptoms that appear under the umbrella of the disorder. In some cases, this range was extended to include more symptoms while, in other cases, it was shortened on the grounds that some of the symptoms were considered as more relevant to other disorders. These changes in nomenclature were closely associated with the symptoms that were regarded as predominant in each era, as well as with the theories that prevailed regarding the etiology of the disorder.

1.2 The Historical Roots of ADHD: The Period Until 1900

Sporadic references to individuals with characteristics currently attributed to ADHD can be found even in ancient times. For instance, the Greek physician Galen often used to prescribe opium for restless, hyperactive children (Goodman & Gilman, 1975). Furthermore, relevant reports are also encountered in literature. For example, Shakespeare made reference to a malady of attention experienced by one of the characters of his play, *Henry VIII* (Barkley, 1996). In medical and broader scientific literature, however, the history of the disorder spans two and a half centuries.

For many years, the first scientific reports on symptoms of this disorder were accredited to the British physician George Still (1902) and, particularly, to the lectures he delivered at the beginning of the 20th century. These reports will be thoroughly discussed in Section 1.3.1.

Recently, however, Barkley and Peters (2012) discovered a medical textbook dated back to 1775, a century prior to Still's descriptions, under the authorship of the German physician

4 *The Nature of ADHD*

Melchior Adam Weikard. This discovery was made owing to a report by the Australian chemist John Gould, and is believed to be the first known scientific reference to ADHD symptoms. In this book, there was a chapter on “Attention Deficits” (*Attentio Volubilis*) as part of a wider section on “Sicknesses of the Spirit” (*Geisteskrankheiten*). This chapter described adults and children who were inattentive, hyperactive, and impulsive, also characterized by poor effort and low persistence. According to Barkley and Peters, most of Weikard’s descriptions show considerable overlap with attention problems believed to exist in ADHD, as it is currently conceptualized in contemporary diagnostic manuals. Weikard implied that the aforementioned difficulties could result from poor upbringing or child-rearing, but he also accepted biological predisposition. For their treatment, he recommended sour milk, steel powder, horse riding, and even seclusion for severe cases.

The next known reference to symptoms associated with ADHD appears in a book of the Scottish physician Alexander Crichton, dealing with an inquiry into the nature of mental disorders (Crichton, 1798). This textbook included a chapter on ‘attention disorders’ and was discovered by Palmer and Finger (2001). In this book, Crichton claimed that attentional problems were a consequence of either hereditary factors or accidental diseases to which the person has been exposed. These diseases affect the nerves and the brain. Crichton argued that early education of children could serve to enhance attention, especially if tailored to individual variation in personal interests and motivation.

In 1809, John Haslam provided a case history of a 10-year-old boy who was indulged, mischievous, and uncontrollable. He was considered “the terror of the family” (p. 199). Three years later, the famous American physician Benjamin Rush (1962/1812) described a syndrome involving the inability to focus attention and speculated on the “defective organization in those parts of the body which are occupied by the moral faculties of the mind” (p. 339).

In the middle of the 19th century, the German pediatrician Heinrich Hoffman (1865) published a children’s book of didactic poems based on his clinical observations, and described various psychological conditions among children (see Stewart, 1970). In this book, there is a poem titled *Fidgety Philip*, which seems to portray the case of a child with disruptive behavioral problems. Presently, this child could easily be diagnosed as having ADHD, Hyperactive/Impulsive Presentation, using DSM-5 criteria (Martinez-Badía & Martinez-Raga, 2015). There is also a second one, titled *Johnny-Head-in-Air*, which describes a boy who is constantly distracted by external stimuli and is highly inattentive over a broad range of activities. However, these descriptions cannot be acknowledged as medical descriptions. As Taylor (2011) notes, Hoffman “presents an interesting and influential picture of children as active agents, making their own lives, and as complex beings, in contrast to the age’s contradictory and polarized views of children as angels or as savages” (p. 71). Fidgety Phil has nevertheless become a commonly used allegory for ADHD.

Representative excerpts of these two poems are cited below:

The story of Fidgety Philip

“Let me see if Philip can
Be a little gentleman;
Let me see if he is able
To sit still for once at table.”
Thus spoke, in earnest tone,
The father to his son;
And the mother looked very grave
To see Philip so misbehave.

But Philip he did not mind
His father who was so kind.
He wriggled
And giggled,
And then, I declare,
Swung backward and forward
And tilted his chair,
Just like any rocking horse;—
“Philip! I am getting cross!”

The Story of Johnny Head-in-the-Air

As he trudged along to school,
It was always Johnny’s rule
To be looking at the sky
And the clouds that floated by;
But what just before him lay,
In his way,
Johnny never thought about;
So that everyone cried out,
“Look at little Johnny there,
Little Johnny Head-in-Air!”

Running just in Johnny’s way
Came a little dog one day;
Johnny’s eyes were still astray
Up on high,
In the sky;
And he never heard them cry
“Johnny, mind, the dog is nigh!”
Bump!
Dump!
Down they fell, with such a thump,
Dog and Johnny in a lump!

Two years later, in 1867, the British psychiatrist Henry Maudsley published his book *The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind*, where he described the case of a child who manifested strong impulsivity and destructive behavior. In the United States, the American philosopher, psychologist, and physician William James (1890/1950) described a normal variant of character—which he called “explosive will”—in his textbook *Principles of Psychology*. This variant was characterized by difficulties similar to those observed in individuals with ADHD. In 1899, the Scottish psychiatrist Sir Thomas Clouston reported three cases of children who presented hyperexcitability, hypersensitiveness, mental explosiveness, and learning difficulties.

In France, the concept of ADHD has its roots in the description of children and adults with attention problems by Jean-Etienne Dominique Esquirol (1845). Furthermore, Désiré-Magloire Bourneville (1895) noted that some children and adolescents who were treated at the Bicêtre Hospital in Paris suffered from attention and behavioral problems. Finally, according to Bourneville (1895), one of his students, Charles Baker, provided in his 1892 thesis a clinical description of four children with symptoms of hyperactivity and impulsivity.

1.3 The Period 1900–1960

1.3.1 *George Still's Descriptions and Viewpoints*

In 1902, George Still, the founder of pediatrics in England, presented a series of three lectures to the Royal College of Physicians under the name *Goulstonian lectures*. The same year, these lectures were published in the *Lancet*. This is considered as the scientific starting point of the history of ADHD (Lange, Reichl, Lange, Tucha & Tucha, 2010). In this seminal paper, Still described 43 children who presented with severely impaired sustained attention and self-regulation. Most of these children were also hyperactive and impulsive. Many were often aggressive, defiant, resistant to discipline, and excessively emotional. They seemed to be entirely driven by emotion and not at all by intellect. They had difficulty controlling their behavior, and one of their main characteristics was their proneness to immediate gratification. This problem resulted in the children's inability to internalize rules and boundaries. Therefore, they seemed to be insensitive to punishment, even physical, and unable to learn from the consequences of their actions. Intellectual ability of this population varied from mental retardation to normal levels.

According to Still, these children displayed a major defect in “inhibitory volition” and “moral control.” In fact, this view is consistent with James (1890), the prominent American philosopher, psychologist, and physician who supported that sustained attention constitutes an important part of the moral control of behavior. James indicated that “effort of the attention is the essential phenomenon of will.” This view might have provided the philosophical foundation of current ADHD conceptualization (Martinez-Badía & Martinez-Raga, 2015). Still (1902) believed that moral control derives from a cognitive comparison between a person's action and an action that conforms to “the idea of the good of all” (p. 1008). Therefore, these children have great difficulty inhibiting a behavior that is inappropriate with reference to moral rules due to deficits in this cognitive mechanism of comparison that Still called “moral consciousness.”

According to Barkley (1998a), this idea of comparing an individual action to a general rule involves two capacities: first, understanding the long-term consequences of one's actions and, second, keeping in mind information about oneself and one's actions along with information about the moral rule against which these actions must be compared. These views are closely associated with the contemporary concepts of self-awareness, working memory, and rule-governed behavior, which constitute central concepts in contemporary theories of ADHD.

Still considered that volition and moral control of behavior develop gradually in children, hence these mechanisms are less developed in younger children. He proposed the use of age-referenced criteria in order to determine if these mechanisms are adequately developed in a child. During this assessment, we should take into account individual differences in development, which are influenced by both environmental and inherent factors. Still was the first to suggest a developmental approach to the diagnosis of this disorder.

In Still's opinion, the causes of the disorder were biological. In accord with James's theory, he assumed that there is a causal relationship among inhibitory volition, moral control, and sustained attention and that their insufficient or deficient development is the result of the same underlying neurological impairment. He contended that the disorder could be either the result of hereditary predisposition or of prenatal or postnatal injury. In some cases, this behavior was secondary to an acute brain disease that had caused some type of brain dysfunction and was likely to improve upon recovery from the disease. However, this pattern of behavior could also lead to chronic impairment, thus raising the risk for manifestation of criminal acts during

adulthood. Therefore, Still believed that any biological dysfunction that could cause significant brain damage might, in its milder form, lead to deficient development of moral control.

Although many of the children described by Still came from a chaotic family environment, others came from families who provided a seemingly proper upbringing. Still believed that children growing up in dysfunctional families should be exempt from the category of lack of moral control; he reserved it for children who displayed failure of moral control despite the positive impact of a favorable family environment (Barkley, 2015a).

Still's descriptions constitute a significant milestone in the conceptualization of the constellation of symptoms that are nowadays identified as ADHD. Although Still's work did not seem to have any influence at the time, several of his observations were corroborated 50 years later (Taylor, 2011). Still was the first to observe that in most cases the disorder occurred before 8 years of age, with a ratio of 3:1 in favor of males.

Additionally, he noted that conditions like alcoholism, criminality, and affective disorders were more commonly present among the biological relatives of these children. According to Still's reports, some of these children manifested Tic Disorders (TDs). This was perhaps the first time that comorbidity between ADHD and TDs had been recognized. The preceding observations were bolstered by numerous subsequent studies (see Chapter 7). Finally, Still's demonstration of a connection between brain damage and deviant behavior was highly influential. However, Still did not refer exclusively to children who would receive an ADHD diagnosis nowadays, but he included the full range of current externalizing disorders in his descriptions (Conners, 2000a).

Later, Tredgold (1908) and Pasamanick, Rogers, and Lilienfeld (1956) would return to Still's views, supporting that learning and behavioral problems may be caused by some form of mild undiagnosed brain damage. Both Still and Tredgold concluded that medications or alterations in the environment could lead to temporary improvement in the symptoms of the disorder. However, they considered them as developmentally static conditions. The need for special education environments for these children was specifically emphasized at the time.

Around the same time period, in Spain, the physician Rodriguez-Lafora (1917) described a group of children with psychopathic constitutions whom he called "the unstables." These children presented with intense inconstancy of attention, excessive activity, impulsive behavior, and the tendency to get carried away by their "adventurous temperament."

To conclude, the origins of many current notions about ADHD, Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD), Conduct Disorder (CD), and Specific Learning Disorder (SLD), diagnoses that would probably be given today to the children described by Still and Tredgold, can be traced in the relevant scientific views that developed at the beginning of the 20th century. However, it took the scientific community almost 70 years to return to some of them. One of the main reasons for this delay was the prevalence of the psychodynamic views, which emphasized the role of upbringing in the development of behavioral problems in children (Barkley, 2015a).

1.3.2 Minimal Brain Damage (MBD)

In 1917–1918, following a world outbreak of encephalitis epidemic, clinicians were called in to deal with the numerous cases of children who had survived but exhibited remarkably abnormal behavior with major cognitive and behavioral deficits (Cantwell, 1981; Kessler, 1980). These deficits included impaired attention, impulsivity, excessive motor activity, learning difficulties, impairment in cognitive functions (including memory), emotional instability, and antisocial behavior (Ebaugh, 1923; Stryker, 1925). This pattern of behavior, which has notable similarities with the current notion of ADHD, was clearly the result of brain damage, and

was described as *postencephalitic behavior disorder*. The prognosis of these children was rather pessimistic. However, interventions developed on the basis of simple behavioral techniques reported significant improvement (Bender, 1942; Bond & Appel, 1931).

The assumption of a causal connection between brain damage and deviant behavior led researchers to study other potential causes of brain injury in children, including birth trauma (Shirley, 1939), epilepsy (Levin, 1938), and exposure to toxic substances (Byers & Lord, 1943). These conditions were associated with a great number of cognitive and behavioral impairments. Many of these children also had mental retardation and more severe behavioral problems compared to children diagnosed with ADHD today. During this era, however, researchers did not attempt to differentiate the impact of mental retardation, learning disabilities, or other neuropsychological disorders from the impact of behavioral problems on the maladjustment of these children (Barkley, 2015a).

Other researchers (Blau, 1936; Levin, 1938) noted a resemblance in behavior between hyperactive children and monkeys with a frontal lobe ablation. Some researchers relied on this similarity to postulate that severe hyperactivity in children might be the result of frontal lobe damage, even if this could not be demonstrated neurologically (Levin, 1938). Such evidence was, however, provided by subsequent studies (Chelune, Ferguson, Koon, & Dickey, 1986; Lou, Henriksen, & Bruhn, 1984; Lou, Henriksen, Bruhn, Borner, & Nielsen, 1989). On the other hand, milder forms of hyperactivity were attributed to psychological causes, such as negative child-rearing practices and pathogenic family structures.

The Second World War also gave many researchers the opportunity to study a vast number of people with head traumas, among other wounds. It was discovered that injury to any part of the brain often resulted in hyperactivity, restlessness, and overaroused behavior (Goldstein, 1942).

Under these circumstances, the theory of MBD was born (Strauss & Lehtinen, 1947). This diagnosis was given to children on the basis of their behavioral characteristics, even when neurological evidence of such damage was insufficient or even absent (Dolphin & Cruickshank, 1951). However, the most notable contribution of this approach to understanding psychopathology lies in the fact that it prompted researchers to realize that at least some disorders might be associated with organic causes.

As far as intervention is concerned, in their influential paper, Strauss and Lehtinen (1947) recommended alterations in the educational environment of these children and placement in smaller, better controlled classrooms, with limited distracting stimuli such as bright colors and pictures on the walls. As a result, strikingly austere classrooms were developed in the United States. Teachers were instructed to avoid jewelry or colorful clothes, and walls did not have any posters or pictures, despite the fact that scientific proof of the efficacy of this practice has never been provided (Zentall, 1985).

Around this time period (1937–1941), a series of clinical reports were published concerning medical treatment of child psychopathology in general and behavior disorders in particular (Bradley, 1937; Bradley & Bowen, 1940). In 1937, Charles Bradley, a Rhode Island psychiatrist, reported a positive effect of stimulant medication in 30 children with various behavior disorders and learning difficulties. This discovery was based on a chance finding while he was trying to treat headaches by using *Benzedrine* (D,L-amphetamine, the racemic form of amphetamine), which was “the most potent stimulant available at the time” (Gross, 1995). This medication did not treat the headaches but caused a striking improvement in behavior and school performance in some of the children, along with some decrease in motor activity. Subsequent studies (Laufer, Denhoff, & Solomons, 1957) confirmed a positive response to this kind of treatment in a high percentage of children. Since then, stimulant medications have become a first-line treatment for ADHD.

By the end of the 1950s, hyperactivity was interpreted as the result of some brain damage even when it was not evident or clearly specified through neurological examination. It came to be common practice to accept the behavior pattern alone as evidence of brain damage (Conners, 2015). Intervention for these children was restricted to stimulant medication and reduced stimulation in the educational setting.

In the 1950s, a shift in research interest regarding the etiological mechanisms underlying this disorder became apparent. A series of studies on possible neurological alterations were conducted. Specific credit should be given to Laufer and colleagues (1957), who claimed that *hyperkinetic impulse disorder*, their new appellation, was caused by defective filtering of external stimuli by the diencephalon, resulting in an excess of stimulation at the cerebral cortex. Their results suggested a functional disturbance rather than damage to the brain as the cause of this syndrome (Conners, 2000a). They also suggested that the disrupted interaction between infants and their parents probably precipitated the emotional problems that would arise later in life. Although this study was never replicated, it is considered to be a milestone in the history of the disorder because it was the first time that a specific neurological mechanism had been proposed as an etiological factor.

1.4 The Period 1961–1980

1.4.1 The Questioning of MBD

In the 1960s, many researchers seriously questioned the existence of a unitary syndrome of brain damage in children, and challenged the argument that every child displaying abnormal behavior, without further evidence, was to have MBD (Birch, 1964; Rapin, 1964). It should be pointed out that a diagnosis of brain damage was given only to 5% of the children who manifested pertinent behaviors (Rutter, 1977). According to some researchers (Rie & Rie, 1980; Rutter, 1977; 1982), the symptoms of this syndrome did not reveal strong correlation among them, as they did not have a clearly specified etiology and did not follow a similar course, nor did they lead to similar outcomes. Furthermore, MBD symptoms were so numerous that they virtually covered the whole spectrum of psychopathology.

In 1963, the Oxford International Study Group of Child Neurology (Bax & MacKeith, 1963) held a conference and stated that brain damage should not be inferred from problematic behavior signs alone. They therefore advocated a shift in terminology by replacing the term Minimal Brain Damage with *Minimal Brain Dysfunction* (Ross & Ross, 1976; Kessler, 1980). This term denoted a type of neurological dysfunction without serious brain damage, indicating that the organic substrate of the disorder was milder than it was believed.

In 1963, the official definition of Minimal Brain Dysfunction was formulated as follows (Clements, 1966a):

The term minimal brain dysfunction refers to children of near average, average or above average general intelligence with certain learning or behavioral disabilities ranging from mild to severe, which are associated with deviations of function of the central nervous system. These deviations may manifest themselves by various combinations of impairment in perception, conceptualization, language, memory and control of attention, impulse or motor function.

(pp. 9 f.)

This definition is certainly better, compared to the vague term of MBD. It clearly depicts the three main symptoms of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity characterizing the current

notion of ADHD (Lange et al., 2010). Furthermore, the importance that this approach attributed to neurological mechanisms over environmental ones was critical at that time because psychoanalytic theory held parents and the family environment responsible for these symptoms in children (Kessler, 1980; Taylor, 1983).

However, the concept of Minimal Brain Dysfunction syndrome started to gradually fade, as it was considered to be vague, ambiguous, and with no meaningful contribution to treatment (Kirk, 1963). In fact, in the 1970s, this term was definitively abandoned and replaced by more concrete and descriptive labels, such as *hyperactivity*, *learning disability*, and *dyslexia* (Barkley, 2015a). These labels referred to more homogeneous populations with specific cognitive and behavioral problems rather than to a speculative, unrecognizable neurological etiological mechanism. It is argued, however, that despite the criticisms of the Minimal Brain Dysfunction concept, once new brain imaging tools became available, researchers would eventually return to neurological explanations (Conners, 2015).

1.4.2 The Hyperactivity Syndrome and the Publication of DSM-I and DSM-II

As the concept of Minimal Brain Dysfunction began to fade, investigators shifted their attention to the symptom thought to be more typical of this disorder, namely that of hyperactivity. Therefore, the concept of hyperactivity syndrome was generated. Laufer, Denhoff, and Solomons (1957) are usually credited with the first behavioral description of this syndrome, which anticipated by more than three decades a very similar symptom list in DSM and its revisions.

However, this idea originated in the reports of the German physicians Franz Kramer and Hans Pollnow (1932) titled “On a Hyperkinetic Disease of Infancy.” The most characteristic symptom of affected children was a marked motor restlessness, characterized by a conspicuous lack of purposefulness (Kramer & Pollnow, 1932, p. 1). In summary, Kramer and Pollnow established a concept of the hyperkinetic disease that closely resembles later concepts of ADHD.

Chess (1960) defined the hyperactive child as follows: “The hyperactive child is one who carries out activities at a higher than normal rate of speed than the average child, or who is constantly in motion, or both” (p. 2379). Chess decisively contributed to the advancement of scientific research through the views that he expounded in his classic article for a number of reasons: (a) he considered motor activity as the main feature of the disorder; (b) he emphasized the need for objective assessment of the symptoms beyond parents’ and teachers’ subjective reports; (c) he exonerated parents from blame for their children’s symptoms; and (d) he separated the hyperactivity syndrome from the brain damage syndrome. Furthermore, in line with current recommendations, he proposed a multimodal treatment approach, incorporating parent counseling, behavior modification, psychotherapy, medication, and special education (Barkley, 2015a).

Other investigators during this era (Werry & Sprague, 1970) concurred with Chess’s views and regarded hyperactivity as an extreme form of motor activity, albeit within the boundaries of “normal” child behavior. In fact, in contrast to Still’s views, prognosis for these children was believed to be more benign (Laufer & Denhoff, 1957; Solomons, 1965). This suggestion fostered the widely held belief that ADHD concerns children exclusively and is outgrown by adolescence. This erroneous belief prevailed for many decades.

During the 1950s, formal diagnosis for ADHD evolved at a very slow pace. In the first edition of DSM (DSM-I), published by the American Psychiatric Association (APA, 1952), almost all childhood disorders were ignored. At the same time, the concept of “immaturity” was widely used in various studies of this period to explain children’s hyperactive and impulsive behavior. DSM did not explicitly cite any references evidencing validity (or reliability) of these

diagnostic categories, but it seems to have relied on four separate studies and reviews (Mallett, Natarajan, & Hoy, 2014).

It should be noted that DSM and its modification processes have been characterized by a long history of controversies and disputed diagnostic criteria (Kirk & Kutchins, 1992). Some years later, a definition of the concept of hyperactivity was incorporated in the official diagnostic nomenclature. In the second edition of DSM (DSM-II; APA, 1968), the syndrome appears by the name *Hyperkinetic Reaction of Childhood* and is described in a sentence: "The disorder is characterized by overactivity, restlessness, distractibility, and short attention span, especially in young children; the behavior usually diminishes by adolescence" (p. 50). This description reflected a shift in perspective during this era, given that a term associated with a potential etiological mechanism had changed into a descriptive term that was behavior-oriented and focused on the predominant symptom of the syndrome (Braswell & Bloomquist, 1991).

In the 1960s, the prevailing view in North America was that hyperactivity constitutes a common disorder, mainly caused by some kind of brain dysfunction, yet less severe than it was previously believed. The disorder was described as a homogeneous syndrome that is outgrown to a great degree by adolescence, with excessive motor activity being the predominant feature. Stimulant medication and psychotherapy, combined with reduced stimulation in classrooms, was the treatment of choice by the 1970s.

While these were the prevailing views in North America, hyperactivity was still regarded in Europe, and particularly in England, as a highly uncommon condition, often accompanied by other indicators of brain damage, including epilepsy, hemiplegia, and mental retardation, or by a history of brain injury or infection (Taylor, 1988). These contrasting views and interpretations of the disorder between North America and Europe led to dissimilar estimations in respect of the prevalence of the disorder, diagnostic criteria, and treatment by the 1980s (Rutter, 1989; Taylor, 1988).

1.4.3 From *Hyperactivity* to *Attention Deficits*

From 1970 to 1980, the number of studies on the hyperactivity syndrome rose dramatically. Over 2,000 studies were published by the end of the decade, and a series of scientific textbooks appeared. This syndrome became the subject of meticulous and systematic research. At the same time, both the scientific community and the public showed increased interest in it.

At the beginning of the decade, the defining features of the syndrome were broadened to encompass symptoms such as impulsivity, short attention span, distractibility, low frustration tolerance, and aggressiveness, which had been considered merely associated characteristics since then. Heterogeneity of the syndrome gradually became noticeable. Contrary to theories of the past 25 years, the prevailing view during this decade was that hyperactivity was not an indispensable symptom among individuals with brain damage. Children with brain damage did not manifest a homogeneous pattern of behavioral deficits. On the other hand, children with hyperactivity seldom had some clearly identified neurological damage (Rutter, 1989). As a result, in the 1970s, the predominant focus on hyperactivity was shifted toward the attention deficit of affected children.

Dykman, Ackerman, Clements, and Peters (1971), who were part of a remarkable group of researchers at the University of Arkansas, formulated MBD as a disorder of attention, emphasizing poor performance, increased reaction time, and decreased physiological reactivity. They suggested that *Specific Learning Disability* along with its associated behavioral characteristics constituted an *Attentional Deficit Syndrome*. Although others are often given credit for the reintroduction of attention in the discourse for ADHD, the Arkansas Group was actually the

first to provide this insight (Conners, 2015). However, the two prevailing theories of this era were the ones of Wender and Douglas.

1.4.3.1 Wender's Theory

Wender (1971) maintained the term Minimal Brain Dysfunction, and investigated the main psychological characteristics of children with this syndrome in six domains: (a) motor behavior; (b) perceptual-cognitive functioning; (c) learning; (d) impulse-control; (e) interpersonal relations; and (f) emotion. Many of the characteristics reported by Still reappear in Wender's theory, and are summarized by Barkley (2015a) as follows.

Regarding motor behavior, Wender argued that the main characteristics of these children were hyperactivity and poor motor coordination. He also claimed that excessive speech, colic, and sleep disturbances were associated with the syndrome. He expressed the opinion that some hypoactive children who did not display hyperactivity but presented with attention problems should also receive the diagnosis of Minimal Brain Dysfunction, as they manifested many of the other characteristics related to the syndrome.

As far as the perceptual-cognitive domain is concerned, Wender described short attention span, daydreaming, distractibility, and poor organization of ideas as core elements. Furthermore, he observed that the majority of these children also had learning difficulties. Other grave difficulties were poor self-control, low frustration tolerance, inability to delay gratification, antisocial behavior, difficulties in planning, and poor sphincter control, leading to enuresis and encopresis.

In the domain of interpersonal relations, Wender highlighted the unresponsiveness of these children to social demands as a profound weakness. Stubbornness, excessive independence, disobedience, noncompliance, and imperviousness to discipline were some of the characteristics that denoted the effect of the disorder on interpersonal relations.

Finally, in the emotional domain, Wender described increased anger, aggressiveness, and temper outbursts, as well as dysphoria. Dysphoria involved anhedonia, low self-esteem, anxiety, and depression.

According to Wender's theory, children with Minimal Brain Dysfunction have difficulties in the aforementioned domains for the following reasons:

1. They fail to experience adequately both pleasure and pain. As a consequence, they display reduced sensitivity to reward and punishment, leading to decreased susceptibility to social norms.
2. They display high and poorly modulated level of activation, which is related to problems with auto-regulation of behavior. Furthermore, secondarily to their high level of activation, they have a short attention span, and are more easily distracted than other children.
3. They show excessive extraversion as a result of their poor modulated activation, leading to low frustration tolerance and frequent anger outbursts.

Wender's theory is of interest, yet leaves a lot of questions unanswered. Terms such as "activation" and "extraversion" are ambiguous and abstract. Moreover, the pathway leading from the causes of the syndrome, as thought by Wender, to its primary deficits and behavioral symptoms remains obscure. Furthermore, his theory does not seem to differentiate symptoms of ADHD from those of ODD. This is understandable because his observations were based on clinic-referred cases, and it is well-known that comorbidity among clinic-referred cases seems to be the rule rather than the exception (Gillberg, 2010).

1.4.3.2 Douglas's Theory

In an article based on her presidential address to the Canadian Psychological Association, Virginia Douglas (1972) claimed that the main cause of the impairment of hyperactive children is not hyperactivity per se but deficits in sustained attention and impulse control. These cognitive functions are responsible for organizing, recording, and processing information. She also noted that these are the areas that are positively affected by stimulant medications.

According to her model, which Douglas further elaborated and substantiated during the next decade (1980a,b; 1983), symptoms of ADHD are caused by deficits in four main areas: (a) organization and maintenance of attention and effort; (b) inhibition of impulsive responding; (c) modulation of arousal levels to meet situational demands; and (d) unusually strong tendency toward seeking immediate reinforcement.

Douglas's theory and subsequent studies by herself and her colleagues exerted substantial influence on scientific research and triggered a great number of studies with a focus on attention disorders. The significance of her theory principally lies in the fact that she defined many of the characteristics of children with ADHD using objective measures. Furthermore, she proved that hyperactive children can have "normal" or "near-normal" performance on tasks assessing sustained attention under conditions of continuous and immediate reinforcement, but their performance drastically decreases when reinforcement is partial (Freibergs & Douglas, 1969; Parry & Douglas, 1976). Along with Susan Campbell (1973), they showed that deficits in sustained attention can be present even in circumstances where significant distractions are absent.

Furthermore, Douglas's colleague, Gabrielle Weiss, based on her follow-up studies, demonstrated that although hyperactivity of these children often declined in adolescence, their problems with sustained attention and impulsivity persisted. These impairments were exposing them to greater risk for school failure and social maladjustment (Weiss & Hechtman, 1993). These findings were confirmed by studies of the following decade (Barkley, Fischer et al., 1990; Brown & Borden, 1986).

However, subsequent studies questioned the fact that attention deficits can account for the varied behavioral deficits manifested by children with ADHD (Prior & Sanson, 1986). Moreover, this theory could not explain the way in which the aforementioned deficits eventuate in the clinical manifestations of ADHD symptoms.

Nevertheless, Douglas's theory was so influential that seems to have played a pivotal role in the reconceptualization of the disorder in DSM-II (APA, 1980), where a new diagnostic label was adopted, and the disorder was renamed *Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD, with or without hyperactivity)*. In this edition, deficits in sustained attention and impulse control were officially recognized as more critical than hyperactivity in establishing a diagnosis.

This shift of focus from hyperactivity to impaired attention was important at the time because there was considerable evidence that (a) hyperactivity was not specific to this particular disorder but was a symptom of other psychiatric disorders as well (anxiety, mania, autism, etc.); (b) there was no clear delimitation between "normal" and "abnormal" levels of motor activity; (c) the term "activity" was actually a multidimensional construct; and (d) in many children hyperactivity was situational in nature (Barkley, 2015a). In fact, a decade thereafter, similar concerns were raised about the construct of attention.

1.4.4 Theories of Environmental Causes

During the 1970s, the impact of stimulant medication on school-aged hyperactive children was investigated more thoroughly, and its use spread at a rapid rate. Nonetheless, the inappropriate or excessive use of these drugs attracted the attention of the mass media in the United States,

creating a scandal over the pharmacological treatment for ADHD. It was argued that ADHD was not a real disorder but a “myth” fostered in Western societies by intolerant teachers and parents in combination with an inadequate educational system (see Section 1.8.2; Anderson, 1996; Conrad, 1975; Schrag & Divoky, 1976). Meanwhile, it was claimed that hyperactivity in children was the consequence of environmental causes.

At the same time, healthy diet and the improvement of the quality of life via environmental manipulations was excessively emphasized. Within this framework, a new theory on ADHD emerged, suggesting that hyperactive behavior was the result of an allergic or toxic reaction to some food substances, such as color additives or preservatives (Feingold, 1975). It was claimed that poor diet could account for problematic behavior in half of the cases of hyperactive children. This view became so popular that parent groups were formed with the aim of promoting Feingold’s diet. In California, legislation was proposed requiring that “harmful” foods be removed from school cafeterias. Eventually, the National Advisory Committee on Hyperkinesis and Food Additives (1980), which was convened for this purpose, concluded that there was no sufficient evidence to support Feingold’s theory. Nevertheless, almost ten years had passed by before the popularity of this theory waned among the public.

Another theory concerning the role of the environment in the development of hyperactive behavior in children was proposed by Block (1977), who postulated that technological advancement and the hectic pace of cultural changes cause increased excitation and stimulation. These environmental factors interact with a predisposition in some children to produce the manifestation of hyperactive and impulsive behavior. Block presumed that the increasing incidence of hyperactivity in Western developed societies buttressed the validity of his theory.

Block’s view was criticized by Ross & Ross (1982), who concluded that it was not sufficiently corroborated by research data. Undoubtedly, ADHD is closely related to social and cultural factors, not with reference to etiology but relatively to its impact on the individual’s socialization process. In the context of an increasingly competitive world economy where particular emphasis is placed on self-control, completion of duties, and discipline, children who struggle to respond to these demands find themselves in a disadvantageous position to conform to educational and societal expectations. In a society or era with less intense pressures for achievement and performance, however, individuals with this disorder might not be confronted with these adaptation challenges (Hinshaw & Scheffler, 2014).

Another widespread theory suggested that hyperactivity is the result of inappropriate child-rearing and ineffective parenting strategies (Barkley, 2015a). This perspective was adopted by both psychoanalysts and behaviorists, although each part viewed the etiological mechanisms involved differently. On the one hand, psychoanalysts (Bettelheim, 1973; Hartocollis, 1968) contended that parents who are intolerant of their infants’ increased motor activity may react with extremely negative and demanding responses, giving rise to clinical levels of hyperactivity. On the other hand, behaviorists (Willis & Lovaas, 1977) highlighted that poor conditioning of children to stimulus control by commands and instructions leads to noncompliant and antisocial behavior.

Both psychoanalysts and behaviorists held mothers mainly responsible for the development of the disorder in children. This point of view found some support in studies reporting that negative mother-child interactions in preschool years are associated with the persistence of hyperactivity into subsequent developmental stages (Campbell, 1987). However, it is common knowledge that correlational data do not prove causal connections between the variables that are investigated. Therefore, these studies did not prove that negative interactions between parents and children *cause* hyperactivity but that they are *associated* with its persistence and course over time. In general, scientific research did not provide any support for theories on mothers’ responsibility for the development of hyperactivity in children for reasons that are

discussed in Section 5.4.2. Nevertheless, parenting practices still constitute a decisive factor for the outcome of the disorder.

1.5 The Period 1981–2000

1.5.1 *The Publication of DSM-III and DSM-III-R*

A radical change in the conceptualization of ADHD occurred in 1980, with the publication of the third edition of DSM (DSM-III; APA, 1980). This edition added a new perspective on the diagnosis of mental disorders. It came as a complete turnaround to the tradition of utilizing psychoanalytic reasoning for the explanation of symptoms and justification of diagnoses, and incorporated an approach based on a descriptive (symptom-based) multiaxial diagnosis (Kirk & Kutchins, 1992). DSM-III included a much broader definition for its previous hyperkinetic reaction of childhood, which was renamed ADD.

Three categories of symptoms were presented: attention deficit, impulsivity, and hyperactivity. The symptoms referring to attention deficit and impulsivity were described as the predominant characteristics of the syndrome. Hyperactivity was no longer an essential diagnostic criterion for the disorder as it occurred in two types, *with or without hyperactivity* (ADD+H/-H). In this respect, DSM-III departed from the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-9) by the World Health Organization (1978), which continued to focus on hyperactivity as indicator of the disorder.

Moreover, at that time there was not sufficient research data to justify this subtyping, and to point to the usefulness and validity of the second type. It was not evident if the attention deficit of the subtype of ADD-H was qualitatively similar to that of the subtype with hyperactivity, or if the two types had to be considered as two separate psychiatric disorders (Barkley, 2006b). Only during the next decade, research showed that children of these groups differed in many aspects. Children with ADD-H were described as being daydreaming and less aggressive, with more learning difficulties, and with fewer peer rejection experiences relative to children with ADD+H (Barkley, Grodzinsky, & DuPaul, 1992).

DSM-III did provide a landmark definition for ADD+H/-H. The new diagnostic criteria defined symptoms more explicitly, provided guidelines for a diagnosis based on age of onset and duration of symptoms, and considered the exclusion of other childhood psychiatric disorders to be a prerequisite for the diagnosis. It also energized the application of neuroscience techniques (Taylor & Sonuga-Barke, 2008). However, it continued to carry many of the overtones of the MBD that it replaced. According to Taylor (2011), the nature of this concept also led to limitations, among which he included (a) the assumption of “deficit”; (b) the focus on “attention” at the expense of other cognitive changes; (c) the lack of operational definitions of the behavioral criteria; (d) the “universal” approaches to psychological treatment; (e) the confounding of behavioral attention with cognitive function; and (f) the scarcity of work on the determinants of course, cultural effects on prevalence, or metacognitive and self-perception changes.

During the next years, the creation of subtypes of ADD on the basis of the presence or absence of hyperactivity continued to be discussed controversially (Barkley, 2006b). In order to further improve the diagnostic criteria, in particular with respect to empirical validation, the revision of the third edition of DSM (DSM-III-R; APA, 1987) removed the concept of two subtypes, incorporated once again hyperactivity into the name of the disorder, and renamed it *Attention Deficit-Hyperactivity Disorder* (ADHD).

The revisions suggested in DSM-III-R were fundamental for many reasons. The symptoms of inattention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity were collapsed into a single list of symptoms with

a single cutoff score. This list included 14 criteria, four of which were new ones and nine of which had been reworded (Quay, 1999). Emphasis was placed on the necessity of assessing ADHD symptoms with reference to the child's mental age. The exclusion of affective disorders was no longer a prerequisite for the diagnosis of ADHD. In addition, there was now a criterion for onset before age 7 and a mild-to-severe rating scale. These changes were reportedly empirically derived through rating scales and a field trial (Conners, 2000a).

The most important revision, however, was the removal of the category "ADD-H" and its replacement by a residual category, named *undifferentiated attention deficit disorder*. It was mentioned that this revision was made due to lack of empirical data to support the presence of this category. However, this change received sharp criticisms by authors claiming that ADHD with and without hyperactivity are very different disorders in children (Edelbrock et al., 1984; Lahey et al., 1987). Finally, ADHD was classified with two other behavioral disorders (ODD and CD) in a broader category named *disruptive behavioral disorders*, owing to their frequent symptom overlap and comorbidity.

1.5.2 Toward the Publication of DSM-IV

In the latter half of the 1980s, some doubts arose as to the central role of a deficit in attention in ADHD. Findings of some studies conducted during this period failed to verify the existence of attention deficits in hyperactive children under all experimental conditions (van der Meere & Sergeant, 1988). Furthermore, given that attention involves the perception, filtering, and processing of information, researchers did not report deficits in these areas. To the contrary, some of them observed that motivational factors significantly affected the presence and degree of ADHD symptoms during an experiment (Glow & Glow, 1979; Rosenthal & Allen, 1978).

Following these observations, a new scientific view began to emerge that motivational factors and deficits in reinforcement mechanisms were of major importance (Barkley, 2006b). This perspective was grounded on the view that the main difficulty of children with ADHD lies in self-regulation and rule-governed behavior, as well as in impairments in their responses to behavioral consequences (Barkley, 1981a; Benninger, 1989; Quay, 1988). This reduced sensitivity to consequences was considered to be of neurological nature. This idea was not innovative. In fact, at the beginning of the century, Still (1902) discussed deficits in "inhibitory volition" (self-regulation) and "moral control of behavior" (rule-governed behavior). Comparable ideas had also been supported by Wender (1971) and the Australian scientists Glow and Glow (1979). In the 1980s, however, these views were more clearly expounded and substantiated by empirical data.

According to Barkley (2015a), this new scientific approach could explain the situational variability in ADHD symptoms. Moreover, it was congruent with neuroanatomical studies that indicated decreased activation of brain reward centers (Lou, Henriksen, & Bruhn, 1984), as well as with studies of the functions of dopamine pathways in regulating motivation (Benninger, 1989). More important, the theoretical framework of such a model could form a more solid basis for the development of effective treatments.

During the 1980s, plenty of new diagnostic tools for ADHD were developed. The development of direct behavioral observation measures was also of paramount importance, as they could be more objective and useful in assessment in conjunction with parent and teacher rating scales (Abikoff, Gittelman-Klein, & Klein, 1977).

During the 1990s, one of the most noteworthy developments was the occurrence of studies investigating the neurological and genetic basis of ADHD. In 1990, a landmark study was conducted at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) (Zametkin et al., 1990). The

researchers investigated brain metabolic activity in 25 adults with ADHD who also had children with ADHD. For the purposes of the study, they used Positron Emission Tomography (PET), an exquisitely sensitive technique for detecting various states of brain activity and their localization within the cerebral hemispheres.

At the same time, other researchers used Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) to evaluate brain structures in children with ADHD (Hynd et al., 1990). Additionally, a series of studies, particularly those conducted by Biederman and colleagues (1995), clarified and verified the hereditary nature of ADHD. Finally, some researchers began to employ molecular genetic techniques to analyze DNA taken from children with ADHD and their family members, in order to identify genes that may be associated with the disorder (Blum, Cull, Braverman, & Comings, 1996; Comings et al., 1991). This field of research continues to be an intriguing and fruitful area of research endeavor.

1.5.3 The Publication of DSM-IV and DSM-IV-TR

The task force on DSM-IV began its work soon after the publication of DSM-III-R to comply with the expected publication of ICD-10 in 1993 (Frances, Pincus, Widiger, & Davis, 1989). Before the fourth edition of DSM was outlined in 1994, a number of more comprehensive and better structured field trials were conducted (Lahey et al., 1994). In general, the revisions made were more extensively and more systematically based on empirical data and provided better substantiation. Consequently, they rendered DSM-IV (APA, 1994) the main guide for the diagnosis of mental disorders, including ADHD, until it was superseded by its recent 5th revision (Beauchaine, Klein, Erickson, & Norris, 2013).

DSM-IV criteria for ADHD reveal several novelties, including being noticeably longer and more detailed. ADHD is classified with CD and ODD in the category *attention-deficit and disruptive behavior disorders* and in the broader category *disorders usually first diagnosed in infancy, childhood, or adolescence*. In order for a diagnosis to be established, some symptoms must be first presented prior to age 7, have persisted for at least six months, be inconsistent with the individual's developmental level, and cause clinically significant impairment in two or more settings.

The single list of symptoms that was given in DSM-III-R is replaced by two groups of criteria, and it is stated that in each of these groups six out of the nine criteria must be met. Consequently, the previously heterogeneous category of ADHD is subdivided into three subtypes: a predominantly inattentive type, a predominantly hyperactive-impulsive type, and a combined type with symptoms of both dimensions. By using this categorization, the concept of the two separate dimensions of attention deficit and hyperactivity-impulsivity was reverted (Conners, 2000a), and the possibility of a diagnosis of a purely inattentive form of the disorder was reintroduced (Barkley, 2006b). Therefore, the DSM-IV diagnostic criteria moved forward in order to correct the mistaken idea that ADHD represents a unipolar disorder (Goldstein & Goldstein, 1998).

In order to bridge the span between DSM-IV and DSM-5, a text revision was undertaken in 2000 (DSM-TR; APA, 2000). In this revision, there were no alterations in the diagnostic categories and their criteria, yet additional sections were included with supplementary information about diagnosis.

In the late 1990s, it was clear that ADHD was a disorder of neurological and genetic background and not the outcome of familial or social effects. Furthermore, it was widely argued among scientists that the primary feature differentiating ADHD from other mental and developmental disorders was behavioral disinhibition, leading to impaired self-regulation. In addition, it became evident that ADHD is a chronic disorder that does not subside in adolescence.

As far as treatment is concerned, multidimensional models were recommended, including medication, intervention for the child (training in self-control and social skills, behavior modification, etc.), and also parent and teacher training. Moreover, a significant longitudinal study was undertaken by the NIMH (MTA Cooperative Group, 1999), which focused on investigating the efficacy of various treatments. This study will be presented in depth in Section 11.4.

1.6 The Period 2000 to the Present

1.6.1 *International Recognition of ADHD and the Publication of DSM-5*

Since 2000, there has been an explosion in the scientific ADHD literature, which has doubled in 2013 alone. New candidate genes for the understanding of the disorder have been identified, apart from those that are involved in the regulation of dopamine and norepinephrine networks in the brain. These new genes are involved in brain cell growth and neuronal sprouting.

Moreover, comorbidity in ADHD and the impact of various types of comorbidity on the individual's functioning were further investigated. In this period, sustained-release stimulants were introduced as well as two new nonstimulants for treating ADHD. Finally, the need for a multidimensional approach of the disorder, combining various interventions, became imperative. New psychosocial methods were suggested for the treatment of the numerous difficulties experienced by these children in various domains of functioning.

In the 21st century, ADHD gained international recognition and acceptance as a chronic neurodevelopmental disorder. Scientific societies for ADHD were established, and conferences were held throughout the world with the aim of sharing and managing new knowledge. Associations were formed by parents of children with ADHD as well as by adults with the disorder with a view to raising awareness and supporting individuals with ADHD and their families.

One of the recent scientific developments is the latest revision of DSM, which started in 1999 and led to the publication of DSM-5 in May 2013 (APA, 2013).

In this latest revision of DSM, ADHD is classified in the supraordinate category of neurodevelopmental disorders and bears the same name without considerable changes in the diagnostic criteria. However, the three subtypes of ADHD are removed and are replaced by three different *presentations*, depending on the current symptom pattern of the disorder during assessment. The age-of-onset criterion also changes from 7 to 12, and the number of symptoms that are required for diagnosis in older adolescents and adults changes from six to five. Additionally, three severity specifiers of the disorder are added, and comorbidity with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) is now accepted. All major changes in DSM-5 as well as the current diagnostic criteria for ADHD are presented in detail in Section 9.2.

1.6.2 *Questioning the Existence of ADHD*

1.6.2.1 *ADHD as “an Invention of the Pharmaceutical Industry”*

Although research regarding ADHD has led to the prevailing view that it is a chronic neurodevelopmental disorder with a neurophysiological and genetic background, its conceptualization remains a controversial issue. There is still ongoing and wide-ranging dispute over the nature of ADHD, which is considered ambiguous by a minority of the scientific community. In other words, there are scientists who question the fact that it is a real disorder. Some critics go as far as to completely reject the notion of ADHD, and call it “a scandalous fraud” (Breggin, 2007). This issue has been known as the *ADHD debate*.

The controversy over the true existence of ADHD arose in the 1970s and escalated in the 1990s, on the grounds of the fact that the diagnosis of ADHD and subsequent medical prescription for its treatment increased by almost five times in the United States (Olfson, Gameroff, Marcus, & Jensen, 2003). As a result, many claimed that ADHD was a fabrication that promoted the interests of the pharmaceutical industry (Timimi, 2002). In fact, it was reported that among the work group advisors of DSM-5, 78% received grants for their research from pharmaceutical companies (Cosgrove & Krinsky, 2012).

However, the fact that medication is excessively or wrongly prescribed in some cases does not negate the existence of ADHD but discloses malpractices followed by some clinicians (Timimi & Taylor, 2004). Excessive use of medication for the treatment of ADHD is a serious issue, but the existence of ADHD per se is an entirely different matter.

1.6.2.2 ADHD as “a Cultural or Political Construct”

Some authorities suggest that ADHD is a “cultural construct” that derives from poor and improper child-rearing and an inefficient education system (Hallahan & Kauffman, 2005; Timimi & Taylor, 2004). However, according to relevant meta-analyses, epidemiological studies that took place in less developed countries reported similar findings to those of the Western world, thus corroborating the cross-cultural validity of ADHD (Polanczyk, De Lima, Horta, Biederman, & Rohde, 2007; Rohde et al., 2005). Furthermore, as Taylor notes (Timimi & Taylor, 2004), if ADHD was a social construct based on the excessive demands made by society and school on children, then it would affect *all* the children and not just a part of them. Besides, it has been confirmed that ADHD is seen in all social classes. Undoubtedly, cultural factors can influence the degree to which ADHD is considered a problem by a certain society, but this does not challenge its existence.

Others dispute that ADHD is a real disorder, claiming that its etiology is not clearly defined, that diagnosis is based on subjective assessments and not on laboratory measures or medical examinations, and that the long-term effects of treatment are not well-established (Mayes, Bagwell, & Erkulwater, 2008; Visser & Jehan, 2009). Furman (2008), for instance, argues that because evidence for the genetic or neuroanatomical causes of ADHD is inconclusive, we cannot acknowledge it as a disorder. However, at this point, we should stress the fact that these limitations do not refer only to ADHD but to almost all the disorders within the realm of psychopathology. Thus, according to this line of reasoning, the whole psychopathology should be called into question as well.

Szasz (2001), who has been widely known for his anti-psychiatry stance, contends that ADHD has been created as a nosology by psychiatrists with the aim of putting a medical interpretation on antisocial features of people. In fact, he declares that ADHD “was invented and not discovered” (p. 212).

Another standpoint, within the framework of social constructivism, is that ADHD, like many other disorders, is part of governmental plans. More specifically, it is suggested that the subdivision of the population into an exponentially increasing number of categories renders manipulation of people’s conduct a much simpler task (Tait, 2005). In other words, it is claimed that both diagnosis and treatment for ADHD are an attempt to exercise “social control for deviant behavior” (Conrad, 2007).

1.6.2.3 ADHD and the Hunter Versus Farmer Hypothesis

One of the most controversial theories about ADHD is the *hunter versus farmer* hypothesis, which was formulated by Thom Hartmann (1995) and is based on the theory of evolution.

The theory states that ADHD has its origins in an adaptation of members of hunter-gatherer societies in response to the rise of farming societies.

Hartmann argued that people with ADHD seem to have retained some of the characteristics that were necessary for survival at the time when people were hunter-gatherers. For example, impulsive behavior, increased motor activity, novelty seeking, rapid shift of attention, and frequent risk-taking were critical aspects of human behavior at a time when our ancestors struggled to survive in adverse and unforeseen environmental circumstances before the advent of agriculture. Hunters had to be aware of signs of their prey and of dangers. They were also supposed to make quick decisions. This was a stimulating experience, where impulsivity and hyperactivity, two symptoms of ADHD, seemed beneficial.

With the evolution to farming as a way of life, and later to industrialization, different characteristics became better adapted for survival. Farmers had to work linearly. For the farmer to have a successful crop, things had to happen at certain times, in a certain way, interspersed with a lot of waiting. To organize the crops in order to maximize their yield, farmers had to develop more linear thinking.

Over many years, most humans adapted to farming cultures. However, Hartmann speculates that people with ADHD retained some of the older hunter characteristics that are no longer conducive to successfully adapting to the environment. Therefore, the hunter versus farmer hypothesis proposes that the high frequency of ADHD in the contemporary world represents otherwise normal behavioral patterns that become maladaptive in such evolutionarily novel environments as the formal school classroom.

There are some sporadic research findings consistent with Hartmann's theory (Arcos-Burgos & Acosta, 2007). For example, a genetic variation associated with ADHD was found with increased frequency among nomadic populations and populations that migrated often (Chen, Burton, Greenberger, & Dmitrieva, 1999). According to these data, it appears that ADHD characteristics might offer an advantage to certain cultural groups.

Evidence for this theory is also provided by the study of Eisenberg, Campbell, Gray, and Sorenson (2008) on an isolated tribe in Northern Kenya, the Ariaal. About 40 years ago, this tribe was divided. Some members, who had been leading a nomadic lifestyle until then, permanently settled in a place and adopted an agricultural lifestyle. The two groups of the tribe were tested for carrying the DRD4/7R allele, which is associated with ADHD. It was revealed that members of the group who maintained a nomadic lifestyle and had this allele were generally healthier than the members who did not have it. On the contrary, the presence of this allele in members who had turned to an agricultural lifestyle produced an adverse effect, as the members who carried it exhibited worse outcomes. According to this study, the ADHD associated allele of the DRD4 gene promotes behavioral/psychological traits that are helpful in some social and ecological contexts but detrimental in others.

Building on this theory, Jensen and colleagues (1997) regard ADHD as a "disorder of adaptation" and suggest that many emotional and behavioral responses may not just be "symptoms" of a disorder, but they might reflect adaptive responses of an individual to environmental demands. The same view is adopted by Gallagher, who suggests that ADHD constitutes an evolutionary mechanism that enhances creativity and inventiveness of the population. Therefore, it does not constitute a neurological "defect" but rather a variant temperament that has a detrimental impact on the individual due to a lack of social tolerance for individual differences (<http://borntoexplore.org>).

To conclude, these evolutionary theories do not offer any substantial evidence in order to become widely accepted. They provide, however, an interesting theoretical framework for understanding the way in which the interaction between the individual's genetic characteristics and environmental demands or expectations can lead to adaptation or dysfunction.

1.7 Conclusion

As Thapar, Langley, & Muñoz-Solomando (2013) note, when issues with major social, clinical, and practical implications are investigated, including ADHD, it is important to start with a hypothesis concerning the nature of the problem. However, it is of equal importance for researchers “not to fall in love” with their hypotheses but to empirically test and substantiate them. Therefore, it is crucial that mental health practitioners remain informed about the latest scientific developments, refresh and update their knowledge, and ensure that they provide the best possible services to people who seek their help. As Thapar, Cooper Eyre, and Langley (2013) state, “we might not like genetics but when evidence emerges we need to understand and appraise it so that we are able to communicate and clarify findings to families who ask” (p. 221).

First, some of the views that have been discussed so far and question the existence of ADHD imply a false dichotomy between social/nonbiological and biological interpretations. However, these two aspects cannot be separated (Rutter, 2007). Psychosocial adversity can lead to biological changes, affecting the human brain (Hackman, Farah, & Meaney, 2010). Such changes can in turn result in psychosocial adversity or exacerbate the psychosocial stressors an individual is met with. Most mental health problems—as well as normal patterns of behavior—constitute a complex amalgam of inherited and environmental factors that coact and interact in a dynamic way (Thapar, Harold, Rice, Langley, & O’Donovan, 2007). Causality in these cases is circular or cyclical, not purely linear. Besides, most contemporary theories for the causality of ADHD have moved away from one-dimensional biological models and emphasize the role of early experiences in shaping the developing brain (see Section 5.5).

Second, the debate on whether ADHD should be recognized as a true disorder or not is primarily focused on medication, ignoring other treatments. At this point, a methodological error is committed. The acceptance of a disorder should be differentiated from the nature of interventions that clinical scientists, families, social policy, and the education system chose to employ for its management. The use of medication in children undoubtedly arouses many reservations and concerns. Overdiagnosis of the disorder on the grounds of financial interests and concomitant excessive prescription for medication is unethical and strongly disapproved. However, the way in which scientific findings are used is a different matter from the findings themselves. By the end of this book, we aim to reveal that available research data definitively prove the existence of ADHD as a true neurodevelopmental disorder.

Third, respect for individual differences is a basic and fundamental principle among mental health professionals. On the basis of this principle, children have the right to be given the opportunity to develop their personal skills, follow their inclinations, and cultivate their talents. Such an endeavor is futile if children face difficulties that prevent them from fully developing their personality, acquiring knowledge, and effectively applying it. Respect for individual differences does not mean eliminating differences and ignoring difficulties in the name of a philosophical approach that promotes the children’s right to develop freely and follow their own developmental rate. Respect for differences means acknowledging them, exploiting strengths, and addressing weaknesses.

According to our clinical experience, many parents who have difficulty managing their emotions and accepting the diagnosis of ADHD for their child try to deny the existence of the disorder, using the following common arguments:

“Isn’t a child allowed to be naughty or overactive?”

“Why should a child always obey rules?”

“Is it bad for a child to be spontaneous?”

“Doesn’t everyone get distracted from time to time?”

“No child likes school.”

And the most impressive: “If impulsivity, hyperactivity, and inattention represent a disorder, then all children have ADHD.”

In our opinion, such viewpoints questioning ADHD provide a solid alibi for parents in order not to admit that their child faces a problem because this problem might undermine their own emotional integrity and dignity. We believe that the aforementioned generalizations and dogmatic views are not realistic. Through the pages of this book, we hope to give satisfactory and substantiated answers to each one of these questions and, at the same time, disprove oversimplistic and superficial views, including the one that “then all children have ADHD.”

We strongly believe that individuals who simply manifest symptoms of the disorder but can easily adapt to their environment without facing any impairment in their daily functioning should not receive the diagnosis of ADHD. In cases, however, where ADHD symptomatology seriously limits daily functioning and creates difficulties in people’s responses to environmental demands, the establishment of a diagnosis and the provision of evidence-based treatment is an obligation, not a choice. Lack of support to these individuals may have devastating effects on their development and progress. In addition, we should be aware that as societal expectations and demands increase, the number of people that fail to respond to them will increase as well.

In the end, regardless of whether critics of the notion of ADHD are right or wrong, what really matters is whether such attitudes help these people—who struggle and suffer—to cope with their difficulties. We know for certain that in cases where the presence of ADHD is recognized early and the opportunity for treatment is offered, the benefit that is gained is enormous. Besides, a diagnosis does not define the person. Diagnosis simply serves as a tool that offers a framework for evaluating evidence, applying it, and communicating to people who seek help for themselves or for their children.

If we take into account the professional backgrounds of the supporters of the dispute of ADHD, we will better understand their perspective, which guides the way they approach this issue. Gordon Tait is a sociologist. Thomas Szasz is a psychoanalyst. Thom Hartmann is a radio host, author, and entrepreneur. We believe that it is easy to make a philosophical analysis from the perspective of a sociologist, an author, and even a psychoanalyst concerning the existence of ADHD and the devastating role that demanding societies and bad education systems play in children’s learning and behavior. However, people who have not closely experienced the agony that parents of children with ADHD go through can perpetually contemplate whether ADHD is a real or a fictitious disorder.

Mary’s daughter is a pupil in the first grade of elementary school, who spends endless hours every afternoon doing her homework. Peter’s son has no friends because he teases and hits other children in his attempt to play with them and attract attention. Helen is summoned to school every week to receive complaints concerning her daughter’s disruptive behavior both by her teacher and by other mothers, who hold her responsible. David’s son dropped out of school at age 15, and is frequently taken to the juvenile detention center. Emily’s 30-year-old daughter is not able to maintain a relationship or keep a job. All of us, who have met Mary, Peter, Helen, David, Emily, and their children, do not wonder whether ADHD exists or not because *we know* it does, as we are confronted with it on a daily basis and recognize its implications.

In addition, as clinicians, we are often the receptors of the expression of gratitude by people who received effective treatment as children following the diagnosis of ADHD. Many of these grown-up children have experienced important positive outcomes in their lives, including studying at university, pursuing a successful career, or becoming good parents. At these moments, we feel grateful in our turn that science has progressed to such an extent that we can now *recognize* and *diagnose* ADHD and intervene early enough in order to *prevent* its adverse effects on functioning and quality of life of people with the disorder.

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