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Defining and Evaluating Overdiagnosis in Mental Health: A Meta-research Review

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28 **ABSTRACT**

29 **Background:** Overdiagnosis is thought to be common in some mental disorders, but it has not been defined
30 or examined systematically. Assessing overdiagnosis in mental health requires a consistently applied
31 definition that differentiates overdiagnosis from other problems (e.g., misdiagnosis), as well as methods for
32 quantification.

33 **Objectives:** Our objectives were to (1) describe how the term ‘overdiagnosis’ has been defined explicitly or
34 implicitly in published articles on mental disorders, including usages consistent (*overdefinition*,
35 *overdetection*) and inconsistent (*misdiagnosis*, *false positive test results*, *overtreatment*, *overtesting*) with
36 accepted definitions of overdiagnosis; and (2) identify examples of attempts to quantify overdiagnosis.

37 **Method:** We searched PubMed through January 5, 2019. Articles on mental disorders, excluding
38 neurocognitive disorders, were eligible if they used the term ‘overdiagnosis’ in the title, abstract, or text.

39 **Results:** We identified 164 eligible articles with 193 total explicit or implicit uses of the term
40 ‘overdiagnosis’. Of 9 articles with an explicit definition, only one provided a definition that was partially
41 consistent with accepted definitions. Of all uses, 11.4% were consistent, and 76.7% were related to
42 misdiagnosis and thus inconsistent. No attempts to quantify the proportion of patients who were
43 overdiagnosed based on overdetection or overdefinition were identified.

44 **Conclusions:** There are few examples of mental health articles that describe overdiagnosis consistent with
45 accepted definitions and no examples of quantifying overdiagnosis based on these definitions. A definition
46 of overdiagnosis based on diagnostic criteria that include people with transient or mild symptoms not
47 amenable to treatment (*overdefinition*) could be used to quantify the extent of overdiagnosis in mental
48 disorders.

49

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50 Over-diagnosis of any sort is bad; bad for the patient physically, financially, and psychically; bad for
51 the physician mentally and morally; bad for the country economically.
52

53 J. D. Adamson (1924)

54 INTRODUCTION

55 The term ‘overdiagnosis’ has been used in the medical literature as far back as 1924.[1] Nonetheless,
56 the lack of a standard definition and challenges in its quantification continue to complicate research, policy,
57 and communication between health care providers and patients.[2-4] One important challenge for
58 quantification and communication is that overdiagnosis occurs in individuals, but its presence and magnitude
59 can only be evaluated in aggregate.[4]

60 Overdiagnosis has been most frequently described in the context of screening to detect early-stage
61 asymptomatic cancers, [2] where it is said to occur when an asymptomatic person is diagnosed with a
62 condition that would have remained unrecognized and would not have gone on to cause symptoms or death
63 in the person’s lifetime in the absence of screening.[2-12] Generally, overdiagnosis is understood to reflect
64 the application of a diagnosis based on agreed upon standards to a person who cannot benefit from the
65 diagnosis and who may be harmed.[2-4, 12]

66 In mental health, unlike cancer, overdiagnosis may occur when people do experience symptoms, but
67 where definitions of disorders include potentially transitory or mild symptoms that reflect ordinary life
68 experiences that, as such, are not amenable to improvement or management benefits through medical
69 intervention. Symptoms of depression, for example, including sad mood, insomnia, and fatigue, are
70 experienced by most or all people at some point. Overdiagnosis occurs not in the absence of these
71 symptoms, but rather when symptoms occur as part of normal experiences and are transformed into disease
72 and diagnosed in people for whom diagnosis and subsequent treatment will do more harm than good.[2, 4,
73 12-16]

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74 There is concern that expanded definitions of mental disorders have in some cases medicalized
75 ordinary life experiences [12-17] and that many people diagnosed with some disorders, such as mild cases of
76 depression, recover quickly without treatment.[18, 19] This is problematic because those who are diagnosed,
77 nonetheless, are exposed to possible harms from the diagnosis and treatment. Iatrogenic effects from mental
78 health treatments include adverse medication effects but are increasingly recognized to also include negative
79 experiences with psychological treatments for some patients.[20]

80 Despite the negative consequences of overdiagnosis, there is little research, however, on the topic.
81 Determining the extent to which overdiagnosis may be present requires that it is defined consistently and
82 differentiated from other problems, such as misdiagnosis, and that there are methods for assessing the extent
83 to which it may be present. Defining overdiagnosis is not straightforward, particularly in mental health, and
84 even beyond mental health, there is definitional uncertainty.[2-4] In mental health, an important
85 complication is the subjective nature of symptom reporting and assessment and in interpreting diagnostic
86 criteria. Nonetheless, on a population level, it is important to be able to understand how common
87 overdiagnosis may be, and a framework put forward by Brodersen et al. is helpful to clarify phenomena that
88 reflect overdiagnosis and other phenomena that are sometimes described as overdiagnosis but are distinct.[2]

89 Brodersen et al. [2] have categorized overdiagnosis into two types: (1) *overdetection*, which refers to
90 the testing and identification of asymptomatic people with abnormalities that would not have led to
91 symptoms or death because they would have resolved spontaneously, would not have progressed, or would
92 have progressed too slowly to cause harm; and (2) *overdefinition*, which occurs when definitions of risk
93 factors are expanded without evidence of improved quality of life or longevity or when disease definitions
94 are expanded to include patients with fleeting or mild symptoms who would not be expected to gain
95 meaningfully from diagnosis, either through symptom reduction or improved management and coping, but
96 who would be exposed to negative physical, social, psychological, or financial consequences.

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97 Brodersen et al. [2] also described phenomena that do not constitute overdiagnosis but are often
98 confused with overdiagnosis, including (1) *false-positive* test results, which occur when test results identify
99 possible abnormalities that are determined not to be diseases upon further investigation; (2) *overtreatment*,
100 which occurs in the context of overdiagnosis, or, more generally, when a treatment is applied for a correctly
101 diagnosed condition, even though the best available evidence indicates that the treatment does not provide
102 benefit for the condition (e.g., overtreatment of middle ear infections in children with ineffective antibiotics);
103 (3) *overtesting*, which refers to the overly frequent use of a test or the use of a test when not indicated; and
104 (4) *misdiagnosis*, which occurs when the wrong diagnosis is applied rather than the correct diagnosis or
105 when a diagnosis is improperly applied to a person who does not meet standard diagnostic criteria for any
106 diagnosis.

107 The objectives of our study were (1) to describe how the term ‘overdiagnosis’ has been defined
108 explicitly or implicitly in published articles on mental disorders, including usages that are consistent with the
109 essence of overdiagnosis (*overdefinition, over-detection*) and usages that are inconsistent (*misdiagnosis, false*
110 *positive test results, overtreatment, overtesting*); and (2) to identify examples where attempts have been
111 made to quantify overdiagnosis in a way consistent with its intended meaning. We focused exclusively on
112 how overdiagnosis has been defined and on attempting to identify examples of studies that have evaluated
113 the extent that it may be present, but we did not address other related topics, such as disease mongering or
114 drivers of overdiagnosis, for example.

115 MATERIALS AND METHODS

116 Identification and Selection of Eligible Articles

117 The authors of a 2017 scoping review searched Medline via PubMed to August 2017 and identified
118 1,851 eligible articles that discussed overdiagnosis, which they categorized based on type of article (e.g.,
119 primary study, review) and medical discipline area.[21] There were 171 included articles classified as related
120 to mental disorders.

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121 Articles were included in the scoping review [21] if (1) they were articles in English on humans, (2)
122 included a full-text version, and (3) it was determined based on review of the title and abstract that
123 overdiagnosis was likely a “dominant theme” of the article. Overdiagnosis was considered a dominant theme
124 if it was clearly a focus of discussion in the article or was investigated by the study described in the article.
125 The review did not evaluate how the term ‘overdiagnosis’ was used in included articles, and inclusion was
126 not restricted to articles that used the term in a manner consistent with its intended meaning.

127 For the present study, we used the same eligibility criteria as the scoping review, except we excluded
128 articles if they focused only on neurocognitive disorders (e.g., Alzheimer’s disease, dementia, Parkinson’s
129 disease); if they mentioned a mental disorder along with other types of disorders in a more general
130 discussion on overdiagnosis, but did not focus primarily on a mental disorder or disorders; or if they did not
131 use the actual term ‘overdiagnosis’ or a derivative of the term (e.g., ‘over-diagnosed’) in the article title,
132 abstract, or text.

133 We initially reviewed the 171 articles from the original scoping review, using a database provided by
134 the authors. We then updated the search on January 5, 2019, using the same search query: overdiagnos*[tw]
135 OR over diagnos*[tw] OR overdetect*[tw] OR over detect*[tw] OR ‘insignificant disease’[tw] OR
136 overscreen*[tw] OR over screen*[tw] OR overtest*[tw] OR over test*[tw] OR overmedical*[tw] OR over
137 medical*[tw] OR ‘pseudodisease’[tw] OR ‘pseudo disease’[tw] OR ‘inconsequential disease’[tw] OR
138 ‘Quaternary prevention’[tw]. Additionally, to identify any possibly eligible articles that were not captured by
139 the search, we queried the corresponding authors of all articles identified through the scoping review
140 database or our updated search that included explicit definitions of overdiagnosis.

141 In both our review of articles included in the original scoping review and in our updated search, we
142 first screened titles and abstracts for potential inclusion using a liberal accelerated approach.[22] Thus,
143 articles were included in the full-text review stage if one reviewer deemed them potentially eligible in the

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144 title and abstract review, but two reviewers were needed to exclude an article. At the full-text review stage,
145 two reviewers independently reviewed all articles with any disagreements resolved by consensus.

146 **Data Extraction**

147 For each eligible article, in addition to article characteristics provided in the scoping review database
148 (first author last name; year of publication; journal; type of article coded as primary study, systematic
149 review, narrative review, or commentary or letter), we coded whether the article included an explicit
150 definition or implicit definition of the term ‘overdiagnosis’. Articles were considered to have included an
151 explicit definition if they labelled a definition as such or otherwise clearly defined overdiagnosis (e.g.,
152 “overdiagnosis is...”; “overdiagnosis occurs when”). Explicit definitions were extracted from the articles.

153 Articles were considered to have implicitly defined overdiagnosis if they did not provide an explicit
154 definition but if overdiagnosis was operationalized in the procedures of a primary research study or if the
155 definition had to be inferred based on its use in a review, commentary, or letter. For example, if a primary
156 study reported the percentage of false-positive screening tests and labelled this the percentage of patients
157 overdiagnosed, it was considered that overdiagnosis was implicitly defined as the percentage of false
158 positive screening tests.

159 For all included articles, we classified explicit and implicit definitions of ‘overdiagnosis’ that were
160 consistent or inconsistent with the intended meaning of the term, using the framework described by
161 Brodersen et al.[2] See Supplementary Table 1 for coding definitions. If a single article used the term
162 ‘overdiagnosis’ in multiple ways or in a way that reflected more than one category, each type of usage was
163 extracted.

164 We classified whether overdiagnosis, as defined explicitly or implicitly by the article authors, was (1)
165 the main focus of the article; (2) addressed by the article, but not the main focus; or (3) mentioned, but not
166 addressed directly. See Supplementary Table 2 for classification rules on the degree of focus for primary
167 studies, systematic reviews, narrative reviews, and commentaries or letters.

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168 Among primary research studies that used an explicit or implicit definition of overdiagnosis consistent
169 with its intended meaning, we determined if analyses were conducted to evaluate whether overdiagnosis was
170 present or to attempt to quantify the extent of overdiagnosis. If analyses were conducted, we extracted a
171 description of what was done.

172 One investigator initially extracted all data, and a second investigator reviewed and validated all
173 extracted data. Any disagreements were resolved by consensus, including a third reviewer if necessary.

174 **Descriptive Analyses**

175 We described how the term ‘overdiagnosis’ was defined explicitly and implicitly in included articles
176 and how often it was used in each category of consistent and inconsistent uses. We additionally described
177 examples of attempts to operationalize overdiagnosis by estimating the extent to which it occurred.

178 **RESULTS**

179 **Characteristics of Included Articles**

180 Of the 171 articles in the original scoping review that were classified as related to mental
181 disorders,[21] 15 were excluded after title and abstract review because they were about neurocognitive
182 disorders, and an additional 9 were excluded after full-text review, leaving 147 included articles. The
183 updated search identified 879 unique citations, of which 847 were excluded after title and abstract review
184 and 20 after full-text review, resulting in an additional 12 articles for inclusion. Our query of authors from
185 included articles that used explicit definitions of overdiagnosis resulted in 5 additional eligible articles for a
186 total of 164 included articles. See Supplementary Figure 1.

187 As shown in Supplementary Table 3, of the 164 included articles, there were 35 commentaries or
188 letters (21.3%), 36 narrative reviews (22.0%), 4 systematic reviews (2.4%), and 89 primary studies (54.3%).
189 Overdiagnosis, regardless of how defined, was the main focus of 90 articles (54.9%), was addressed but was
190 not the main focus of 48 articles (29.3%), and was mentioned but not the focus of 26 articles (15.9%). There
191 were 9 articles (5.5%) that explicitly defined overdiagnosis and 155 (94.5%) coded as using an implicit

192 definition.

193 **Explicit and Implicit Definitions of ‘Overdiagnosis’**

194 As shown in Supplementary Figure 2, among the 193 total explicit or implicit uses, there were 22 uses
195 consistent with the intended meaning of overdiagnosis, including 21 (10.9%) that described overdefinition
196 and one (0.5%), a commentary on the possibility that imaging could be used in the future to diagnose mental
197 disorders, related to overdetection. There were 171 (88.6%) uses that were inconsistent with the meaning of
198 overdiagnosis, including 148 (76.7%) related to misdiagnosis, either due to the application of a diagnosis of
199 the wrong mental disorder or the application of a diagnosis when criteria were not met for any mental
200 disorder; 5 (2.6%) related to false-positive test results; and 18 (9.3%) that were either too vague to categorize
201 or that described other phenomena. Usage of the term to describe the application of one diagnosis instead of
202 another included both “overdiagnosis” of potentially more severe disorders (e.g., bipolar rather than unipolar
203 depression) and vice versa. Supplementary Table 3 shows the number of included articles with explicit and
204 implicit definitions by type of consistent and inconsistent usage and by article focus and type of article.

205 As shown in Table 1, there were 9 articles, all published between 2007 and 2017, that provided an
206 explicit definition of overdiagnosis.[15, 23-30] Of these, one article [15] defined overdiagnosis as occurring
207 when patients without significant impairment who would not be expected to benefit from treatment are
208 diagnosed. The definition indicated that this could occur “even when diagnostic criteria are met.” Thus, the
209 definition reflected both a consistent use of overdiagnosis (overdefinition) but also suggested an inconsistent
210 use (misdiagnosis of people who do not meet diagnostic criteria).

211 The other 8 articles all included definitions that reflected misdiagnosis (inconsistent usage). In 2 cases,
212 this reflected diagnosing the incorrect mental disorder,[23, 24] and in 6 cases this reflected the application of
213 diagnoses to people who did not meet diagnostic criteria.[25-30]

214 In the 155 articles that included only an implicit definition, there was a total of 183 uses, since some
215 articles used the term in a way consistent with more than one category of consistent and inconsistent usage.

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216 See Supplementary Table 4 for representative examples of implicit definitions [31-39] and Supplementary
217 Table 5 for the coding for all 155 articles.

218 **Quantifying Overdiagnosis**

219 No primary research studies included an explicit definition consistent with the intended meaning of
220 overdiagnosis. There were 4 included primary research studies with a main focus on overdiagnosis and a
221 consistent implicit definition (overdefinition).[31, 40-42] Of these, one [40] surveyed psychiatrists and
222 family doctors about their views on the diagnosis and treatment of depression and anxiety. Another study
223 [31] compared prevalence of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder based on a revised version of the
224 Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-5), which required fewer symptoms than the DSM-IV. The authors
225 reported a higher prevalence with the DSM-5 and suggested that this could increase overdiagnosis but
226 reduce missed cases; however, no evaluation was done to determine the proportion of patients who only met
227 DSM-5 criteria who could have benefitted and the proportion who were likely overdiagnosed. A third study
228 compared comorbidity profiles of patients who met DSM-IV criteria for attention deficit hyperactivity
229 disorder versus those who only met DSM-5 criteria. The authors found that there were similar comorbidity
230 profiles in both groups and concluded that broadening diagnostic criteria was not associated with
231 overdiagnosis [41]. The fourth study [42] reported that approximately 10% of major depression diagnoses
232 based on the Composite International Diagnostic Interview were deemed mild cases and concluded that this
233 was not consistent with the idea that depression is overdiagnosed. None of these studies attempted to
234 quantify the proportion of patients with a diagnosis of a mental disorder who might be overdiagnosed.

235 **DISCUSSION**

236 The main finding of this study was that there were few examples in the academic mental health
237 literature where the term overdiagnosis has been used in a way that is consistent with its intended meaning
238 of applying a diagnosis that will not lead to benefit, either through reducing symptoms or improving
239 management and coping skills, but will expose a patient to possible harms.[2-4] Only 22 of 193 uses of the

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240 term (11.4%) in the 164 articles reviewed were related to overdefinition (N = 21) or over-detection (N = 1),
241 and only one of those articles [14] included an explicit definition, but that definition was only partially
242 consistent because it included an element related to misdiagnosis.

243 Because of the subjective nature of mental health diagnosis, on an individual level, there is some
244 degree of diagnostic uncertainty, and the line between overdiagnosis and misdiagnosis is not always clear
245 cut. Nonetheless, it is important that the concepts are understood and definitions applied correctly if we are
246 to address overdiagnosis. In essence, overdiagnosis occurs with correctly applied diagnoses, whereas
247 misdiagnosis occurs with incorrectly applied diagnoses. In the articles we reviewed, over 75% (148 of 193)
248 of uses of the term overdiagnosis were related to misdiagnosis, either the incorrect diagnosis of people who
249 did not meet criteria for a mental disorder or the misdiagnosis of one mental disorder instead of another.
250 Misdiagnosis is an important problem in mental health care. Most patients who receive treatment for
251 depression in non-psychiatric settings, for example, do not meet criteria for a depressive disorder and would
252 not likely benefit from depression treatment.[37, 43-45] Among patients receiving care in psychiatric
253 settings, many are diagnosed incorrectly and do not receive treatment that best matches their presenting
254 problem. For example, large percentages of patients diagnosed with bipolar disorder do not appear to meet
255 diagnostic criteria for that disorder, but may meet criteria for other disorders, such as major depressive
256 disorder or borderline personality disorder.[46, 47] Similarly, it is possible that people with major depression
257 or borderline personality disorder could be misdiagnosed with bipolar disorder. Possible solutions to the
258 problem of misdiagnosis include strategies such as improved diagnostic tools and training. Reducing
259 overdiagnosis, which occurs in the context of correctly applied diagnoses,[2-4] presents a different type of
260 challenge.

261 Several studies included in our review quantified how many people would be diagnosed based on one
262 set of diagnostic criteria versus another. None of these studies, however, attempted to determine if this
263 reflected overdiagnosis based on diagnosing people who could not benefit from the diagnosis. A shift in

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264 diagnostic criteria can lead to overdiagnosis, but it can also benefit some people. Thus, it is important that
265 future studies evaluate the number of people who could benefit and those who could not benefit and would
266 therefore be overdiagnosed.[48]

267 Since people who are diagnosed in clinical practice are typically treated, evaluation of the extent of
268 overdiagnosis that might be present requires counterfactually attempting to determine how many patients
269 would not have experienced consequences of the disease without diagnosis and intervention. Thus, the
270 identification and quantification of overdiagnosis can only be evaluated in aggregate.[4] In cancer, the extent
271 of overdiagnosis is often examined by comparing increases in early-stage disease detected via screening
272 programs to reductions in late-stage cancer or by comparing incidence in screened and non-screened
273 populations.[4, 49]

274 In mental health, tests are not used to identify asymptomatic people who have early-stage conditions
275 that can be detected through imaging or blood tests, for instance (overdetection). But, the concept of
276 overdefinition can guide how to identify when overdiagnosis may be present and how many patients may be
277 affected. Patients who would not be expected to benefit from a properly applied diagnosis of a mental
278 disorder, in the context of overdefinition, include (1) those with transitory symptoms that resolve quickly
279 without treatment and (2) those with symptoms that are very mild and, although possibly stable, will not be
280 improved by medical treatment.

281 Non-benefit, or non-improvement, from diagnosis and treatment is less easily encapsulated in mental
282 health than in the diagnosis of asymptomatic cancer, since symptoms of mental disorders are present across a
283 spectrum that ranges from normal to pathological with levels that fluctuate in virtually all people and are,
284 thus, more difficult to dichotomize. Furthermore, people can benefit from diagnoses in ways other than
285 symptom reduction. For instance, some people with severe mental illness who do not experience measurable
286 symptom reduction may benefit from better management and developing skills or obtaining services to
287 reduce the impact of the disorder. It is important to point out that overdiagnosis occurs not when any given

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288 individual fails to benefit from a potentially beneficial treatment, but when people are diagnosed even
289 though they cannot benefit because their symptoms are so mild as to reflect normal function or transitory and
290 would resolve without treatment.

291 Despite these complexities, we do have access to evidence that could be used to estimate how common
292 overdiagnosis may be. In depression, the main goal of treatment is symptom reduction. But, evidence from
293 depression treatment trials, for instance, shows that many patients who meet diagnostic criteria recover
294 quickly without treatment.[50] A meta-analysis of 177 trials and over 44,000 patients reported that 38% of
295 patients with major depression assigned to the placebo arms of trials were classified as treatment responders
296 compared to 54% assigned to receive antidepressants.[18] This, however, may overestimate overdiagnosis
297 because placebo can be a beneficial intervention.[51] Evidence from diagnosed patients who do not receive
298 treatment, however, leads to similar conclusions. A meta-analysis of psychotherapy trials found that 48% of
299 patients who received usual care only (no psychotherapy) no longer met criteria for major depression post-
300 trial compared to 62% of those assigned to treatments.[19] These rates suggest a high degree of
301 overdiagnosis, but they may actually underestimate the extent of the problem, since many trials include
302 “washout periods” to eliminate early responders pre-randomization or require that trial participants meet
303 severity criteria beyond diagnostic thresholds.[52]

304 It may also be possible to identify classes or groups of patients beyond those with short-lived
305 symptoms who are not likely to benefit from diagnosis. It has been suggested, for instance, that this might
306 include people with uncomplicated episodes of depression without suicidal ideation, psychotic ideation,
307 psychomotor retardation, or feelings of worthlessness.[53]

308 As with other conditions, screening for mental disorders has the potential to lead to overdiagnosis.
309 Depression screening, which involves the use of self-report symptom questionnaires to identify patients with
310 unrecognized depression,[54, 55] is recommended by the United States Preventive Services Task Force.[56]
311 The Canadian Task Force on Preventive Health Care [57] and the United Kingdom National Screening

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312 Committee [58], on the other hand, recommend against screening and have advised that there are no well-
313 conducted trials that have demonstrated benefit from screening and that it would lead to overdiagnosis of
314 some people. Mental health screening, is designed to detect patients whose symptoms are not sufficiently
315 severe or recognizable that they would be reported or identified by health care providers. Thus, many people
316 correctly diagnosed with depression after being identified via screening would have mild symptoms that may
317 be transitory and that would not be addressable by treatment. The extent of overdiagnosis that would occur
318 due to screening could be evaluated by comparing the number of patients who receive diagnoses in screened
319 and unscreened groups in trials to the number of patients who meet diagnostic criteria for the disorder in
320 each group at the end of the trials. We do not know, however, of any existing trials that have provided this
321 information.

322 Having a better understanding of overdiagnosis in mental disorders is important because of the
323 potentially serious harms involved. One set of possible harms relates to the consequences of labelling, which
324 may include stigma, implications for insurability and employment, and nocebo effects, which can occur
325 when expectations created by a diagnosis lead to negative health effects.[20, 59, 60] A second area of
326 concern relates to exposure to adverse medication effects or, in some cases, negative experiences with
327 psychological treatments. A third concern is that many people with mental health disorders who could be
328 helped by medical treatment cannot access the services that they need. Overdiagnosis diverts mental health
329 resources away from these people. All of these harms, if present, are generated without creating health
330 benefits for patients who are overdiagnosed.

331 One step that could be undertaken to reduce the risk of overdiagnosis would be to review and, as
332 indicated, revise diagnostic thresholds based on evidence of benefit and harms. The number of disorders and
333 the thresholds of disorders included in the DSM have expanded dramatically in recent iterations.[52,53,61]
334 There is a recognition, beyond psychiatry, that disease definitions are expanding and causing more and more
335 generally healthy people to be diagnosed and labelled as having a medical condition, even though many or

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336 most of these will be overdiagnosed and not benefit from the diagnosis. Recently, an international group of
337 leading researchers proposed a series of steps to move disease definition into the realm of evidence and away
338 from specialist and industry-driven definitions [62]. As argued by the members of that group, “There is a
339 need for estimates of how many people are currently being diagnosed unnecessarily—across common
340 conditions—accompanied by estimates of the consequent burden of harm and waste” (p. 2). Leaders in
341 mental health are encouraged to adapt the steps proposed by this group and address the unnecessary
342 expansion of definitions of mental disorders. Additionally, current approaches to mental health diagnosis
343 have been criticized as reductionistic and decontextualized,[63] and it is possible that better integration of
344 individual factors and context could help to reduce the adverse effects of overdiagnosis that occur with
345 current approaches.

346 Another step would be to only implement screening programs if there is evidence from well-conducted
347 trials of sufficient benefit to justify harms, including overdiagnosis. In the context of existing diagnostic
348 criteria, clinicians could use a stepped approach to diagnosis and treatment to reduce harms from
349 overdiagnosis for patients with potentially transitory or mild symptom presentations. This would include an
350 active monitoring stage rather than immediate diagnosis; initially using minimally intensive supportive
351 interventions, and applying a definitive diagnosis only when problems persist.[52, 64] The United
352 Kingdom’s National Institute for Health and Care Excellence guidelines for diagnosis and management of
353 depression and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder support such an approach.[65, 66]

354 There are limitations that should be considered in evaluating the results of our study. One is that we
355 only included articles listed in PubMed and did not search other databases. Another is that there are no well-
356 defined search strategies to identify articles that discuss overdiagnosis, and it is possible that we may have
357 failed to identify some articles that have defined overdiagnosis in mental disorders, either explicitly or
358 implicitly. A third is that we only included articles published in English. A fourth is that we applied one
359 definition of overdiagnosis, delineated as occurring via overdetection and overdefinition, but there are other

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360 definitions that have been described.[2-4] Given the robustness of the findings from the study, we do not
361 believe that applying an alternative definition would have altered conclusions substantively. Finally, we only
362 identified 9 articles that explicitly defined overdiagnosis; although, rather than a limitation, this may be
363 understood to reflect the lack of research on overdiagnosis in mental health.

364 There has been very little scholarly work on overdiagnosis in mental health despite its important
365 implications for individual well-being and for our ability to utilize health care resources wisely and provide
366 effective mental health care to people who need treatment or other supports. There are still many
367 unanswered questions, some of which relate to the nature of some diagnoses themselves. For example, the
368 category of adjustment disorder, which was introduced in DMS-III-R but was previously known as
369 “transient situational disturbance” has been criticized for medicalizing problems of living consistent with
370 normal but not disordered experiences, for being a poorly defined “wastebasket diagnosis”, and for being
371 unstable diagnostically with the main intent to serve as a justification for service reimbursement.[67]
372 Consistent with this, it is not known whether there is benefit from applying the diagnosis and available
373 interventions compared to not applying the diagnosis.[68] In this and other areas, consideration of the
374 concept of overdiagnosis and how it can help us to improve our understanding of disorders and to provide
375 more effective and less harmful health care is needed.

376 In summary, we found few articles related to mental disorders that defined the term ‘overdiagnosis’,
377 either explicitly or implicitly, in a manner consistent with general definitions of overdiagnosis. We did not
378 identify any studies that attempted to quantify the extent to which overdiagnosis may be present among
379 people diagnosed with a mental disorder. Most articles that used the term ‘overdiagnosis’ used it to mean
380 other things, most commonly misdiagnosis. Development of a framework to conduct effective research on
381 overdiagnosis in mental health and to communicate effectively with policy makers, clinicians, and the public
382 will require the adaptation of a definition consistent with general understandings of overdiagnosis. Many
383 symptoms of mental disorders are experienced at some point by most or all people. Criteria and thresholds

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384 for diagnosis of mental disorders are based primarily on expert consensus rather than evidence of benefit to
385 patients who receive diagnoses.[13] Using the idea of overdefinition as a guide, studies are needed that
386 evaluate the proportion of people diagnosed with mental disorders who are likely overdiagnosed, either
387 because their symptoms are transient and resolve quickly without treatment or are mild and not amenable to
388 improvement by diagnosis and mental health treatment.

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398

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406 financial relationships with any organisations that might have an interest in the submitted work in the
407 previous three years; no other relationships or activities that could appear to have influenced the submitted
408 work.

409

410 **Ethics Statement:** As this study involved only the review of published articles, research ethics
411 approval was not required.

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413 **Transparency Declaration:** The manuscript's guarantor affirms that this manuscript is an honest, accurate,
414 and transparent account of the study being reported; that no important aspects of the study have been
415 omitted; and that any discrepancies from the study as planned (and, if relevant, registered) have been
416 explained.

417

418 **Data Sharing:** All extracted data are available in the main tables or in Supplementary File 1. No additional
419 data were extracted.

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562 **FIGURE LEGENDS**

563

564 **Supplementary Figure 1.** Flow diagram of selection of eligible articles from existing scoping review [19],
565 updated database search, and included article author query.

566

567 **Supplementary Figure 2.** Categories of explicit and implicit definitions or operationalization of
568 overdiagnosis (N = 164 articles with 193 explicit or implicit uses); there were 137 articles with a single
569 usage; 25 articles with uses in two categories; and 2 articles with uses in three categories.