

Experiences of Autism Spectrum Disorder and Policing in England and Wales: Surveying Police and the Autism Community

Laura Crane¹ · Katie L. Maras² · Tamsyn Hawken² · Sue Mulcahy³ · Amina Memon⁴

Published online: 9 February 2016
© Springer Science+Business Media New York 2016

Abstract An online survey gathered the experiences and views of 394 police officers (from England and Wales) regarding autism spectrum disorder (ASD). Just 42 % of officers were satisfied with how they had worked with individuals with ASD and reasons for this varied. Although officers acknowledged the need for adjustments, organisational/time constraints were cited as barriers. Whilst 37 % of officers had received training on ASD, a need for training tailored to policing roles (e.g., frontline officers, detectives) was identified. Police responses are discussed with respect to the experiences of the ASD community (31 adults with ASD, 49 parents), who were largely dissatisfied with their experience of the police and echoed the need for police training on ASD.

Keywords Autism spectrum disorder · Police · Criminal justice system · Interviewing · Offending · Victimisation · Witness

Introduction

Involvement with the police can be a difficult experience for anyone, let alone a person with an autism spectrum disorder (ASD). Although there are no figures for ASD involvement in the criminal justice system (CJS) (see King and Murphy 2014), evidence suggests that individuals with ASD can and do come into contact with the legal system—both as victims (e.g., Lindblad and Lainpelto 2011; Mayes 2003), and suspects (see Woodbury-Smith and Dein 2014).

When an individual encounters the CJS, their first point of contact is typically a police officer (Bradley 2009). Procedural justice theory (Lind and Tyler 1988) provides a framework for considering how individuals with ASD perceive their encounters with the police; suggesting that perceptions of the police are not shaped by the outcome of an encounter (e.g., whether or not the perpetrator is eventually found guilty), but by whether an individual believes they were treated fairly (and with dignity and respect) throughout the process (Cascardi et al. 2000; Livingston et al. 2014; Watson and Angell 2007).

Unfortunately, there have been several widely publicised cases in which encounters with the police have been less than favourable for individuals with ASD. For example, in the case of *ZH v The Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis* (2012), police officers were judged to have acted ‘hastily’ and to have been ‘ill-informed’ after restraining ZH, a 16-year-old boy with severe ASD and epilepsy. A subsequent report by the Independent Commission on Mental Health and Policing (Adebowale 2013) highlighted the “lack of mental health awareness and knowledge amongst staff and officers” (p. 7) and stressed that there needs to be “sufficient information and training on communication skills for people with mental health issues or learning disabilities, including autism” (p. 45).

Laura Crane and Katie L. Maras have contributed equally to this work.

✉ Katie L. Maras
K.L.Maras@bath.ac.uk

¹ City University London, London, UK

² Department of Psychology, University of Bath, Claverton Down, Bath BA2 7AY, UK

³ University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK

⁴ Royal Holloway, University of London, London, UK

In England and Wales, the complex difficulties posed by ASD during public service engagement are recognised by the Autism Act 2009 (the only disability-specific legislation within the jurisdiction, H.M. Government 2009) as well as by generic equality legislation. However, the ASD-specific mandatory requirements placed on public health, social care and education services do not apply to the police, and wider CJS, equivalents. Consequently, lack of proper understanding of ASD means that those with ASD may be especially vulnerable in police and wider CJS settings. The specific issue of ASD within the CJS has been prioritised for action by the UK Government,¹ emphasising that those with ASD need support from police agencies (Cummins 2011). Support is needed in view of the considerable difficulties that may arise during arrest and detention (within general community settings as well as at formal interview). These include the sensory issues that may be faced by autistic suspects when encountering the busy, noisy police custody environment; as well as an appreciation of effective communication, to ensure that autistic witnesses and suspects do not respond to questions without understanding the implications (Autism West Midlands 2015). The Equalities Act 2010 calls for frontline police to have a proper understanding of ASD as they go about their duties. Charities in the UK emphasise that effective police responses need to be specifically tailored for ASD, and that staff should be offered training on the needs of those with ASD in all police settings (e.g., Autism West Midlands 2015; National Autistic Society 2011).

Encouragingly, psychologically-guided and evidence-based implications for practice have begun to emerge in recent years, particularly in relation to police interviewing of individuals with ASD (e.g., Maras and Bowler 2010, 2014; Mattison et al. 2015). These complement a variety of mandatory and discretionary measures to ensure that police obtain best evidence from vulnerable victims and witnesses, which includes all individuals with an ASD diagnosis (Ministry of Justice 2011).

A relatively recent development in this regard is the possibility of appointing a Registered Intermediary (RI)—a communication specialist—to facilitate the process of police officers obtaining best evidence from vulnerable victims and witnesses (via the Witness Intermediary Scheme, Home Office 1999). The intermediary role is also impartial (intermediaries are responsible directly to the court). Some police services provide “non-registered” intermediaries in some cases involving vulnerable suspects. This is separate from the mandatory provision of an Appropriate Adult (AA), whose role it is to protect the

rights and welfare of a suspect throughout their time in police custody (for example, by providing emotional and practical support and facilitating communication) (Home Office 2011). The role of the intermediary extends beyond police interviews is more wide-ranging than that of the AA and also extends beyond police interviews (see Plotnikoff and Woolfson 2015); for example, it includes advising CJS professionals (e.g., legal advocates and the courts) on how best to frame questions. However, provision of these measures is reliant upon the victim, witness or suspect disclosing their diagnosis or, alternatively, the police recognising vulnerability.

Currently, little is known about the experiences and perceptions of the police regarding their interactions with individuals with ASD and the adaptations they may or may not make; nor do we know whether these match the views and experiences of the ASD community. The aim of this exploratory research was to survey police officers across England and Wales in order to determine: (1) Their experiences of working with victims, witnesses and suspects with ASD in their policing roles; (2) Their awareness, and use, of mandatory provisions and discretionary adjustments to support vulnerable victims, witnesses or suspects; (3) How satisfied they are in their professional dealings with the ASD community; and (4) Police training needs. A further aim was to interpret these results in the context of the views and experiences of ASD community members (adults with ASD, as well as parents), who have engaged with police.

Methods

Surveys

Three surveys (one for police officers, one for adults with ASD, and one for parents of a person with ASD) aimed to elicit both quantitative and qualitative responses regarding experiences of ASD and policing.² The surveys were hosted online, in order to reach a larger sample than otherwise possible. Although comparable as a whole, questions differed slightly between the surveys to suit the participant group profile (e.g., only police officers were

¹ The UK government comprises England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland; however, for this study, only England and Wales are considered as they share the relevant legal framework.

² Note: The ASD community surveys asked about experiences of the CJS (from initial encounters with police through to experiences during a court case, if appropriate). All respondents completed the section about their views and experiences of the police (reported in this paper), but those respondents whose cases progressed to court were asked to complete further questions about these experiences. The latter data is not reported in this paper, but is available by contacting the authors. Note that scores regarding ‘overall satisfaction with the CJS’ (on page 14) may or may not include the respondents’ views on the court process.

questioned on training needs, and only ASD community³ members were required to confirm that a clinical diagnosis of ASD had been received).

Both surveys sought biographical information: for police officers, this included information concerning their specific role, the number of years they had worked for the police, and their geographical location; for autism community members, this included their age, gender and geographical location. Adults were also asked to specify their diagnostic label(s), their living arrangements, their education/qualifications, and their employment status. Parents were asked to provide information regarding their child's age, diagnostic label(s), and schooling arrangements.

Next, all respondents were asked to estimate how many times they had encountered either (a) an individual with ASD in their professional role (police respondents), or (b) the police (ASD community respondents). Questions probed how frequently the individual was a victim, witness or a suspect; the type of offence(s) involved; and the age of the individual with ASD at the time of the encounter. Exploring the disclosure of an ASD diagnosis, police respondents were questioned about the point at which the diagnosis was disclosed. ASD community members were asked whether they/their dependant's ASD diagnosis was disclosed to the police, and what influenced this decision.

Police respondents were asked to rate how easy or difficult they found various aspects of their encounters (including explaining procedures, obtaining a written statement, interviewing and providing adequate interviewing facilities), as well as how they managed different features of ASD relevant to policing (e.g., meeting communication needs, managing sensory issues and coping with unexpected changes). They were also probed for information pertaining to what adaptations, interviewing strategies and adjustments they had employed when working with individuals with ASD, and how helpful these were. ASD community members were questioned on what adjustments and accommodations were offered to them and how satisfied they were. Police officers were asked to rate their knowledge of ASD, before answering questions in relation to the training they had received, and the training they would like. Finally, all respondents rated their satisfaction with either (a) their overall professional performance in relation to ASD (for police), or (b) one specific encounter involving the police (for ASD community members). All respondents were asked to reflect on which aspects were particularly positive or challenging, and were invited to explain why.

The majority of questions included within the survey provided forced-choice options, but respondents were encouraged (throughout) to elaborate on their responses (using open-ended text boxes).

Participants

Police

Police respondents were recruited via advertisements circulated within police forces in England and Wales, the National College of Policing, social networking sites, and through snowball sampling via existing police contacts. Although 464 police respondents completed the survey, 57 were excluded as they either failed to complete questions aside from demographic information ($n = 56$) or did not work in England or Wales ($n = 14$). This resulted in a final sample of 394. The majority were at the rank of Constable (63 %, including 22 % who were Detective Constables), but all ranks up to Superintendent were represented.

Respondents had varying amounts of police service (29 % = 6–10 years, 28 % = 11–20 years, 26 % > 20 years), and declared encounters with around 20 individuals with ASD in their role (range = 0–500, mode = 10). Although most encounters involved young adults (33 % = 18–24 years; 21 % = 25–39 years) or teenagers (17 % = 12–17 years), all age groups had been encountered (2 % ≤ 4 years; 15 % = 5–11 years; 10 % = 40–64 years; 2 % ≥ 65 years).

ASD Community

ASD community members who had encountered the CJS were recruited through advertisements placed on ASD websites (including the websites of charities, e.g., the UK's National Autistic Society), via social media (Twitter, Facebook) and by snowball sampling within the ASD community. Of the 31 adults with ASD (16 males, 15 females) who completed the survey, 10 % were aged 18–24, 55 % = 25–39 and 35.5 % = 40–64. The majority (74 %) described their diagnosis as Asperger syndrome, 16 % as autistic disorder and 10 % as ASD. Co-occurring diagnoses were reported for 23 adults in the sample (74 %). Of these 23 adults, the most common co-occurring conditions were: mood disorder (60 %), anxiety disorder (43 %), and other developmental disorders (26 %). Most of the adult group were educated in mainstream schools (87 %), and held at least GCSE level (age 14–16) qualifications (86 %). Half the ASD participants (50 %) were in paid/voluntary employment, and 29 % were currently in education. Based on their ability to complete an online survey independently, it can be assumed that this sample was relatively high functioning (verbally and intellectually).

³ We use the term “ASD community” to refer collectively to adults with autism (Adults) and parents/carers of children and adults with autism (Parent/carer).

To capture the perspectives of those who support individuals with ASD, as well as to sample the experiences of people with ASD who are not able to respond to online questions themselves (e.g., due to their young age or severity of their autism), we also invited parents to share their experiences of autism and the CJS. Of the 49 parents who completed the survey, four were male and 43 were female (two respondents did not provide information on gender), and the majority (83 %) were aged 40–64 years (one respondent did not provide their age). Their dependents tended to be male (92 %) and were most commonly diagnosed with Asperger syndrome (66 %) or autistic disorder (28 %). Less frequently, the children were diagnosed with atypical autism (2 %), childhood autism/childhood disintegrative disorder (2 %) or Pervasive Developmental Disorder-Not Otherwise Specified (PDD-NOS) (2 %) (two parents did not provide information on diagnostic labels). Co-occurring diagnoses were reported for 33 children (70 %) [Two parents did not provide information on additional diagnoses]. Of these 33 children, the most frequent co-occurring conditions were: developmental disorder (45 %), anxiety (33 %), or mood (30 %) disorders. Providing information on education ($n = 48$), parents reported that 60 % of the children were educated in mainstream schools; the remainder were educated in specialist schools/units (35 %) or at home (4 %).

Ethical approval for this study was granted by Royal Holloway, University of London and the University of Bath research ethics committees. All participants provided their informed consent before commencing the survey. In addition, respondents from the ASD community were required to confirm that they were no longer experiencing distress from the event.

Results

Data Analysis Plan

Not all participants answered every question, so responses do not always tally to the total number of participants. Missing data were not reconstructed. Responses were largely analysed using descriptive statistics; presenting the percentage of responses per category for each question. Most questions were answered on a 5-point scale (e.g., ‘very difficult’; ‘quite difficult’; ‘neutral’; ‘quite easy’; ‘very easy’); however, for ease of interpretation, we report findings condensed into 3-points (e.g., ‘easy’; ‘neutral’; ‘difficult’) as the overall patterns remained the same. Respondents were given opportunities to elaborate on their responses to closed questions and to provide additional comments throughout. Responses to these open questions were analysed collectively using a thematic analysis

approach (Braun and Clarke 2006). This involved identifying and understanding each respondent’s perspective on their experience, in order to identify overarching themes. These were assimilated and accommodated as they emerged. Analyses were independently conducted by one of the authors (TH), with LC and KM each also coding the data independently. Findings were reviewed and discrepancies resolved before nine themes and subthemes were identified. These are presented in Table 1.

Experiences and Views of Police Officers

*Nature of Reported ASD Involvement with Police*⁴

Reflecting on their professional encounters with individuals with ASD, police respondents ($n = 259$) estimated that 36 % involved the person as a victim, 43 % as a suspect, 10 % as a witness, and 13 % in a different capacity (only two officers provided detail of what this referred to: one reported that a police colleague was diagnosed with ASD; the other reported that the individuals encountered were involved in antisocial behaviour or domestic incidents). Respondents were asked to provide an indication of the kinds of crimes with which they had been involved. Officers ($n = 263$) reported that their most frequent encounters with individuals with ASD were in relation to crimes of violence: suspects (17 %), victims (21 %), witnesses (21 %). The next most frequent encounters were: for suspects, criminal damage (16 %) and sex offences (12 %)/domestic violence (12 %); for victims, sex offences (16 %) and harassment (13 %); for witnesses, domestic violence (14 %) and criminal damage (11 %).

Recognition and Disclosure of ASD

Where a disclosure was made, most police respondents (90 % of $n = 260$) reported that a person’s ASD diagnosis was ‘always’ or ‘sometimes’ made known to them prior to, or during, first contact. The most frequently reported source of the disclosure was the individual with ASD (always = 11 %; sometimes = 79 %) or the parent (always = 15 %; sometimes = 47 %).

Use of Appropriate Adults (AA)

An AA is a person appointed by the police to act as an independent safeguard for a vulnerable suspect in police

⁴ Note that these data are presented to provide an insight into the experiences (in terms of types of crime and whether the individual was a victim, witness or suspect) of the police officers who took part in this survey; it is not intended to provide prevalence data regarding ASD and engagement with the police.

Table 1 Themes identified from open questions in online survey

Theme	Subtheme	Stakeholder group(s)	Example quotes
1 Training	1.1 Lack of training	Police	“This is an area of policing that is woefully under resourced.” Police
		Parent	“There is completely insufficient training provided through the Force and we encounter a great many individuals with ASD during our day to day activities. There are many officers who have had no training at all on the subject.” Police “The police officers told me they had no understanding of autism and struggled to use appropriate language and to understand his responses in relation to his autism.” Parent
	1.2 Need for training (both general and role-specific)	Police Parent	“The training I have received has been around general awareness rather than tactical training to cover investigative/supportive processes.” Police “The most important thing I would like to see introduced is communication skills when talking to someone with ASD, with victims and suspects alike, we need to facilitate meaningful communications at the earliest opportunity and many officers lack even a basic understanding of the barriers to this as regards ASD.” Police
	1.3 Effective training received	Police	“An excellent introduction that dispelled a lot of myths and gave practical advice on how to approach and overcome difficulties.” Police “Presentation given by ASD sufferer to make us aware of ASD. We were given an insight into the thought processes and some scenario based training on dealing with Autism.” Police
2 Planning and preparation for interviews		Police	“Very careful preparation was required for the interview structure and in the phrasing of questions to not upset or confuse the victim.” Police “In regards to planning the interview a week prior the Intermediary undertook a series of cognitive tests with each boy and during the interview plan we discussed what each child understood and wouldn’t be able to.” Police “Ideally, if you are aware of a condition part of your planning for interview is to research it... but how practical is this? Time constraints imposed by both the requirements for a rapid investigation, lack of concise and specific information readily available and simply the ever greater constraints of not enough time due to too much police officers.” Police
3. Catering for needs and managing expectations	3.1 Needs, expectations and adaptations	Police Adult	“The needs of each individual person vary, so establishing the needs and then doing what you can to fulfil these, within the custody process and investigative environment.” Police “I was not supported at all—everything that helped came via autism charities and my own initiative. The sad thing is the support was there but the CJS were not aware of any of it or even that they could refer me to the autism charities.” Adult “No support, was treated like a nasty person. No one helped me understand what was going on. Absolutely no one with mental health/disability training was available, only a brand new duty doctor who knew nothing about my conditions.” Adult
		Police Parent Adult	“Outdated facilities with bright lights, strange smells and ambient noise make it very difficult to create a comfortable environment for people with ASC.” Police “Suspect interviews cannot be changed if the suspect has been arrested due to PACE clock [referring to the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) legislation of the maximum time a suspect can be kept in police custody], interview room set up for officer safety”. Police “It wasn’t like a typical interview room—I expected it to be like on The Bill [a police drama series, formerly screened in the UK]—it was comfortable and had carpets—not like I imagined it to be. It was in a special suite.” Adult “The location was totally inappropriate due to the noise, smell, and lighting and also because of the limited waiting area which was over crowded due to an overload of work.” Parent
	3.3 Emotional	Police Adult Parent	“Issue here for me has not been managing the distress, but identifying what is likely to cause distress in advance. I have found this difficult to predict so am not always as quick to respond as I would like to be.” Police “The police were very accommodating. We had breaks and they said that I could have a break if I wanted to. We didn’t do the whole interview in one go. It was all on the same day though.” Adult “Scary and unfamiliar, unhomey environment. Also, highly distracting due to new environment. My son could not focus because he wanted to talk about police cars and explore the rooms, hidden cameras etc. This affected his ability to cope with the interview.” Parent

Table 1 continued

Theme	Subtheme	Stakeholder group(s)	Example quotes
4. Disclosure	3.4 Social	Police	“I have to remind myself that lack of eye contact does not mean that they are avoiding in issue in people with ASD as this is usually an avoidance tactic in other people.” Police
		Adult	“I didn’t want to be on my own. However when I gave my video statement, possibly the most stressful interview, I did not have anyone with me.” Adult
		Parent	“It helped enormously having his social worker present as she knows my son so well and is able to tell when he is becoming stressed.” Parent
	3.5 Cognitive	Police	“With the suspect interview it was very difficult for them to concentrate. They would wander off of the subject or become confused with what had been asked.” Police
		Police	“Conventional Cognitive interview model doesn’t work—Tell me everything is too wide, concise parameters must be set, or a more management of conversation model applied.” Police
		Police	“Style of questioning very definitely had to be changed (no multiple questions, and certainly more specific) and the time allowed for the interview. Lots of breaks were taken too. Use of sketch plan helped with explanations.” Police
	3.6 Appropriate adults and intermediaries	Police	Intermediary: “Invaluable. He had a very good rapport [sic] with the victim and made her feel at ease.” Police
		Adult	“Intermediaries are too thin on the ground and the waiting time to obtain their services is too long.” Police
		Parent	“Some [appropriate adults] were excellent and able to assist in teaching me what needed to be done to help the interviewee. Others were useless and had no personal knowledge of the person they were there to assist”. Police
	4.1 Perceived as helpful for the provision of support and adjustments	Adult	“I always disclose to ask for extra support and to request reasonable adjustments.” Adult
Parent		“We said my son was a vulnerable adult because we felt he needed support when being questioned.” Parent	
Parent		“To ensure that those working within the CJS understood his diagnosis and were prepared for how to direct questions clearly and in a way they could be answered correctly. I also wanted to ensure that an appropriate adult was present.” Parent	
Parent		“I was concerned that my lack of eye-contact would make me look dishonest, and I (perhaps naively) thought it might help my case as I am a very honest person.” Adult	
4.2 To help police understand behaviours	Adult	“I Disclosed my (then Unconfirmed) diagnosis as I felt people often misunderstood me and found my behaviour and manner indicative of guilt or suspicion. By disclosing the nature of my condition I felt safer to give evidence as myself and not be misunderstood.” Adult	
	Parent	“To explain his unpredictable reactions and possible inappropriate behaviour.” Parent	
	Parent	“For fear of being victimized by the police.” Adult	
4.3 Perceived as not helpful	Adult	“Was concerned that the diagnosis would devalue my evidence.” Adult	
	Adult	“Once a complainant discloses a neurological disability they cease to be regarded by officers as a human having capacity to be considered a victim of crime.” Adult	
	Adult	“The NAS encouraged me to tell the police I had autism but I also wanted to tell them, as the man who raped me also did the same to other people with autism.” Adult	
4.4 Due to nature of offence	Adult	“I felt it was relevant to why I was targeted.” Adult	
	Parent	“To explain how he may have been vulnerable to the crime in the first place.” Parent	
	Parent	“You got treated totally differently, like you were a complete twat and stupid because you have something called Asperger’s.” Adult	
5. Feelings of discrimination and victimisation by police	Adult	“My son now hates police because of the way he was treated.” Parent	
	Parent	“Was told on one occasion that my son wasn’t credible witness because he had autism. On the other occasions was told my son was making it up as he couldn’t remember specific details after time had passed and he kept laughing when he was anxious.” Parent	
	Parent	“Was told on one occasion that my son wasn’t credible witness because he had autism. On the other occasions was told my son was making it up as he couldn’t remember specific details after time had passed and he kept laughing when he was anxious.” Parent	

Table 1 continued

Theme	Subtheme	Stakeholder group(s)	Example quotes
6. Lack of information, explanation and consultation with family members	Adult		"Lack of clarity and of anyone to go to for information and adjustments." Adult
	Parent		"My son did not have sufficient explanation of proceedings before I got there." Parent "Following the interview the police gave very inaccurate and misleading reassurances with regards probable outcome and the time scale for this." Parent
7. Delays	Police		"Some concerns raised about intermediaries causing delays in the process." Police
	Parent		"The police officers involved in the case were quite sympathetic and kept us informed of what was happening, although the wait we had to endure was unacceptable, especially as all the defendants/victim and witnesses were all youths." Parent
8. Time constraints	Police		"Due to time restrictions of and the demand on operational police officers, I have not been able to invest the time I would like to have done when dealing with a victim who has ASD." Police "Extra time needed with ASD offenders and victims to aid understanding. Not always understood by organisation." Police "If you don't have the time to spend it can be very difficult to explain things clearly enough. Especially when some say they understand but it is apparent that they haven't." Police
	Police		"Police stations operate a one size fits all approach." Police
	Parent Adult		"It really depends upon the individual, and structure even if it is their own imposed structure is important to some individuals. As all people with an ASD are different and can be anywhere on the scale, and sometimes not exhibiting any outward signs." Police "In my view police officers should be able to meet individual needs of all vulnerable persons no matter what their circumstances. The key to that is communication and understanding that individuals needs to shape how they then progress." Police

custody. Almost all of the 192 police who responded to this question reported that an AA had always (67 %) or sometimes (31 %) been involved. Views on the utility of the AA involvement ($n = 189$) were mixed: 51 % of respondents found them helpful whereas 30 % reported that they were unhelpful (20 % = neutral). Responses to the open-ended questions ($n = 40$) indicated that negative views related to the AA not knowing the person (and therefore lacking understanding of their personal condition) or not fully understanding their roles. As can be seen in Table 1 (Section 3.6), most police respondents felt that family members and key workers, who knew the individual well, were useful AAs because they could use their knowledge of the person to provide individualised support.

Adjustments and Provisions for ASD

Police responded to questions about measures and adjustments used when interviewing someone with ASD ($n = 199$). As illustrated in Fig. 1, the most frequent adjustments that police made were avoiding long-winded or multiple part questions (92 %), allowing extra time to process questions (91 %) and being mindful of the vocabulary used (89 %). Responding to the question regarding how easy or difficult it was to make these adjustments ($n = 175$), 49 % reported it was easy and 19 % said they found it difficult (32 % = neutral). As can be seen in Table 1 (Sections 1 and 8), themes that emerged from police respondents' open-ended responses ($n = 47$)

indicated that factors such as time constraints and a lack of training were viewed as major barriers in enabling them to make appropriate adaptations and adjustments to support individuals with ASD in their policing roles.

Use of Intermediaries

To reiterate, the role of an intermediary is to facilitate communication during police interview, as well as throughout the criminal justice process (Ministry of Justice, 2012). Of 130 police respondents, 12 % reported that an intermediary was always involved in cases concerning individuals with ASD; 55 % stated 'sometimes', and 33 % stated 'never'. The perceived helpfulness of the intermediary was mixed: 42 % (of $n = 113$) found them helpful and 23 % said they were unhelpful (35 % = neutral). Facilitating communication was cited as an important reason for the utility of intermediaries, but many police respondents commented that the delay in obtaining them was unhelpful (Table 1, Section 3.6).

When asked to rate how well they knew/understood the Witness Intermediary Scheme (Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act; Home Office 1999) and how comfortable they felt working with an intermediary, most police respondents (61 %, of $n = 240$) felt they had little or no knowledge of the scheme (30 % reported having some or excellent knowledge (10 % = neutral) but 38 % reported feeling comfortable working with an intermediary (45 % = neutral; 17 % = uncomfortable).

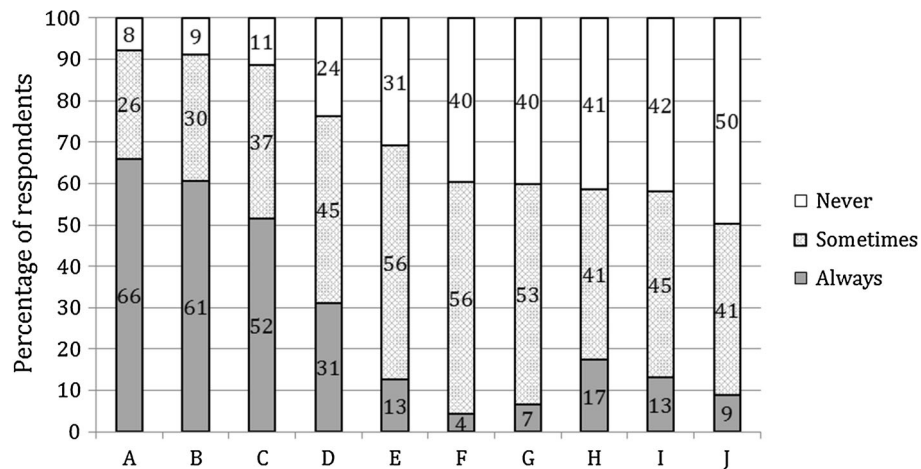


Fig. 1 Frequency of measures and adjustments reported by police respondents. A = Avoid long winded, multiple part, negative or tag questions (n = 194). B = Allow extra time to process questions/adapt the pace of the interview (n = 191). C = Use or avoid particular vocabulary (e.g., literal) in questioning (n = 194). D = Provide extra breaks or timeout in interviews (n = 186).

E = Change the interview time (n = 188). F = Change the interview location (n = 187). G = Change the chronology of topics asked about in questioning (n = 182). H = Change the interview room layout (n = 184). I = Break down questioning into multiple interviews (n = 184). J = Use props in questioning (n = 189)

Challenges and Aspects of Policing that Work Well

Police respondents rated (on a five-point scale) how easy or difficult they found various aspects of policing in relation to people with ASD (n = 239). As seen in Fig. 2, police reported that they found obtaining a written statement and conducting interviews with someone with ASD to be the most difficult. Understanding ASD and conducting identification parades with individuals with ASD were reported to be the easiest.

Police Knowledge and Training

Rating their overall knowledge of the disorder, almost half (48 %) of the 238 officers who answered this question felt they were knowledgeable (20 % = little or knowledge; and 32 % = neutral). Around half of respondents (48 %, of 237) also indicated they felt well equipped to work with individuals with ASD, but 29 % reported feeling poorly equipped (24 % = neutral).

A total of 242 police officers responded to question on police training: 37 % of officers reported that they had received training on ASD; and, of these, 13 % had received further refresher training. This covered a wide range of topics, but largely involved improving general knowledge of ASD (86 %), as well as techniques to enhance communication (66 %) or minimise distress (64 %). Training tended to be provided by police services (70 %), or by charitable or ASD-specific organisations (16 %). Almost half (49 %) of police officers who had received ASD

training were satisfied, but 28 % reported that they were unsatisfied' (23 % = neutral).

Police (n = 82) indicated which aspects of training they felt were positive. After general knowledge of ASD (79 % of respondents), the top three were: minimising distress of an individual with ASD (51 %); practical application and usefulness for their police role (44 %); and modifying interviewing techniques (35 %). Aspects of training that police (n = 58) deemed not satisfactory (top three) were: lacked sufficient focus on ASD in the CJS context (47 %); overly simplistic (45 %); and lacked practical application and relevance for their policing role (34 %).

Of 151 officers who had not received ASD training, 92 % reported that it would be useful (particularly general training on ASD = 86 %). The top three training needs identified by police (n = 138) were: enhancing communication (82 %); minimising distress (78 %); and training for working with someone with ASD that was specific to their policing role (71 %).

Qualitative analyses of the responses to open-ended questions (see Table 1) reiterated these findings, with police officers reporting a lack of existing training (Section 1.1 of Table 1) and demonstrating a strong desire for high-quality training on the topic of ASD, especially training that is role-specific (Section 1.2 of Table 1). Nevertheless, a minority of officers reported having received excellent training on ASD (Section 1.3 of Table 1). This highlights that pockets of good practice do exist but need to be more widespread.

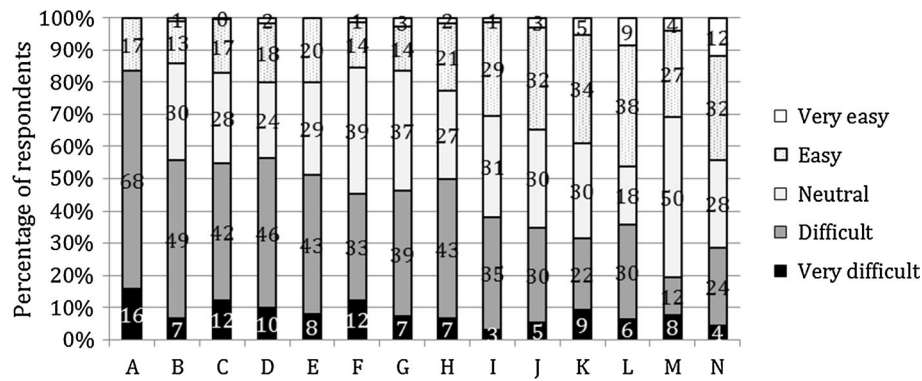


Fig. 2 Police ratings of ease/difficulty for their experiences with people with ASD in different aspects of policing. *A* = Obtaining a written statement ($n = 128$). *B* = Interviewing ($n = 186$). *C* = Managing distress ($n = 209$). *D* = Managing unexpected changes to procedures ($n = 185$). *E* = Explaining procedures ($n = 228$). *F* = Managing sensory issues ($n = 161$). *G* = Managing

memory issues ($n = 184$). *H* = Helping to focus, engage and/or cooperate ($n = 233$). *I* = Meeting communication needs ($n = 236$). *J* = Building and maintaining rapport ($n = 230$). *K* = Providing adequate interviewing facilities and environment ($n = 189$). *L* = Finding appropriate support ($n = 214$). *M* = Carrying out identification parades ($n = 28$). *N* = Understanding ASD ($n = 233$)

Overall Experiences

Questioning police ($n = 230$) on how satisfied they felt with the way they had worked with individuals with ASD in their role, 42 % felt satisfied, and 21 % were not satisfied (37 % = neutral). A variety of factors were cited in relation to this satisfaction/dissatisfaction, as summarised in Table 1.

Experiences and Views of the ASD Community

Overall Satisfaction

Asking adults ($n = 26$) to describe one particular experience of the CJS (including their encounters with police) and rate how satisfactory they found it, responses were largely negative: 69 % = unsatisfactory; 11.5 % = neutral; 15 % = satisfactory; 4 % = not sure. Parent ($n = 38$) views were equally negative: 74 % = unsatisfactory; 13 % = neutral; 13 % = satisfactory.

Focusing on policing specifically, adult and parent respondents were asked how satisfied they were with: (1) the treatment they received when they first encountered the police; (2) the way they were treated at the initial stages of the investigation; (3) the explanation of what would happen during the police investigation; and (4) whether they felt they were treated appropriately by police interviewers. Data are presented in Table 2.

Elaborating on these ratings, qualitative analyses of open-ended responses provided by ASD community members (adults $n = 31$; parents $n = 49$) highlighted: police officers lacked awareness and knowledge of ASD; the needs of individuals with ASD (physically,

emotionally, cognitively and emotionally) were not being met; there was a lack of information, and explanation, given by police officers; delays at various stages were unacceptable; and some individuals felt victimised or discriminated against by police officers (see Table 1 for details).

Disclosure of Diagnosis

Questioning adults with ASD ($n = 28$) on whether they disclosed their ASD diagnosis revealed mixed results: 39 % = always; 36 % = never; 25 % = on some occasions, but not others. Often, this decision was linked to a fear of discrimination or victimisation by police officers (see Table 1, Section 5). In contrast, the majority of parents ($n = 41$) reported that their dependant's diagnosis was disclosed either 'every time' or 'sometimes' (76 %). Only 10 % of parents deliberately chose not to disclose their dependant's diagnosis, with 12 % reporting that the investigation led to their dependant's diagnosis. The issue of disclosure was also identified in the qualitative analysis as an over-arching theme throughout survey responses (see Table 1, Section 4).

Adjustments and Provisions

Upon disclosing a diagnosis of ASD, individuals are entitled to receive mandatory support provisions and reasonable adjustments. They are, additionally, eligible for a range of discretionary provisions (throughout engagement with police and the broader CJS) to ensure their personal support needs are met. Adults and parents were questioned on whether they received such adjustments or provisions at

Table 2 ASD community satisfaction ratings with various aspects of policing

	Adults					Parents				
	N	Unsatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Information not given	N	Unsatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Information not given
Treatment by police on first encounter	26	73	15	11.5 %	N/A	40	60	17.5	22.5	N/A
Treatment by police at initial stages of investigation	23	61	17	22	N/A	34	59	15	26	N/A
Explanation of what would happen during the police investigation	23	30	26	17	26 %	29	34	17	48	0 %
Treatment by police interviewers	23	52	26	22	N/A	31	52	16	32	N/A

police interview and, if so, how helpful these were. As illustrated in Table 3, adults and parents were largely dissatisfied by interviews being held at the police station and few were satisfied with the number of breaks provided during interviews. In contrast, they tended to be fairly satisfied with the support provided at interview in the form of AAs and Interview Supporters.⁵ There were also many mixed responses (satisfied with some aspects of the adjustments and adaptations, but dissatisfied with other aspects).

Discussion

Little is known about how well equipped police officers consider themselves to be when dealing with individuals with ASD. Exploring the perspectives of almost 400 police officers, and 80 members of the ASD community, this study revealed discrepancies between their opinions and experiences: our police sample was fairly satisfied with how they worked with people with ASD while the ASD community sample was generally dissatisfied.

More specifically, police respondents were largely satisfied (42 %) with their dealings with the ASD community; with only 21 % reporting dissatisfaction (37 % gave a neutral response). Further, 47 % of police reported that they were ‘fairly knowledgeable’ about ASD. However, the possibility of a discrepancy between police self-reported competence and professional conduct in practice cannot be discounted. For instance, Dando et al. (2008) found that officers frequently reported using communication-enhancing techniques at interview (such as establishing rapport,

providing full explanations of procedures and allowing an uninterrupted account), yet a national evaluation of investigative interview training found the overall standard of interviews to be poor (Clarke and Milne 2001).

The majority of parents (74 %) and autistic adults (69 %) were dissatisfied with their experiences, reporting discrimination (e.g., Table 1, Section 5), a lack of clarity and explanation (e.g., Table 1, Section 6), and feeling that their needs were not met (e.g., Table 1, Section 3). In particular, many ASD community respondents felt that an inappropriate physical environment (e.g., interview rooms, custody suites) coupled with a lack of appropriate support and explanation led to emotional stress, along with breakdowns in communication (Table 1, Sections 3.1–3.4). Moreover, both police respondents and autism community members expressed frustration over delays in the process, for example in waiting times to obtain an intermediary (Table 1, Section 7).

Despite this, it is important to stress that police officers did not consider themselves naive to the difficulties faced by individuals with ASD within police settings. As noted in Table 1, for example, many police officers acknowledged the importance of making adjustments to work fairly with individuals with ASD. Many also recognised the need for very careful planning and preparation (Table 1, Section 2) to be able to cater for the diverse abilities and disabilities associated with ASD; but this was often hampered by legislative requirements (e.g., time constraints, Table 1, Section 8) and the police environment (e.g., a lack of suitable facilities, see Table 1 Section 3.2). Police officers also reported frustration with a lack of training, information and organisational support (Table 1, Sections 1 and 8), thereby limiting their capability to respond effectively to individuals with ASD. Yet police officers generally felt they were doing the best they could in the face of these constraints.

The majority of police respondents reported using AAs and intermediaries, but the perceived helpfulness of these was mixed. Further, 61 % of police officers reported having little or no knowledge of the Witness Intermediary

⁵ The discrepancy in the reported provision rates of AAs between police and ASD community responses may be due to unclear phrasing of the question and a lack of awareness by the ASD community that AAs are only provided for suspects and not victims/witnesses and that there is a distinction between ‘Supporter’, ‘Appropriate Adult’ and ‘Intermediary’ roles. Thus encounters as a victim/witness may have been included in responses, lowering provision rates. Due to the structuring of the questionnaire it is not possible to disentangle this issue further.

Table 3 ASD community satisfaction with adjustments/adaptations provided

	Adult			Parent		
	Had experience of? (n)	Satisfied n (%)	Dissatisfied (%)	Had experience of? (n)	Satisfied n (%)	Dissatisfied n (%)
Appropriate adult	V 3	2 (67 %)	–	8	4 (50 %)	1 (12.5 %)
	W 0	–	–	–	–	–
	S 7	2 (29 %)	1 (14 %)	19	4 (21 %)	12 (63 %)
Interview supporter	V 3	3 (100 %)	–	1	–	–
	W 1	–	–	–	–	–
	S 0	–	–	7	3 (43 %)	2 (29 %)
Interviewed at police station	V 8	2 (25 %)	5 (62.5 %)	4	1 (25 %)	3 (75 %)
	W 0	–	–	–	–	–
	S 10	1 (10 %)	6 (60 %)	29	4 (14 %)	17 (59 %)
Alternative interview location (not at police station)	V 10	6 (60 %)	2 (20 %)	8	5 (62.5 %)	2 (25 %)
	W 1	–	–	2	1 (50 %)	–
	S 4	–	1 (25 %)	4	3 (75 %)	–
Breaks during interview (if any)	V 4	–	4 (100 %)	11	4 (36 %)	2 (18 %)
	W 0	–	–	1	–	–
	S 10	1 (10 %)	5 (50 %)	24	1 (4 %)	8 (33 %)

As a ‘neutral’ response was offered, figures do not always tally to 100 %

V victim, W witness, S suspect

Scheme (Home Office 1999). It is worth noting, however, that, typically, only specialist police interviewers have access to Intermediaries, warranting some caution with these findings (as the majority of police respondents were frontline uniformed officers, with no responsibility for specialist interviewing). This suggests that some police respondents may have been interpreting the term ‘intermediary’ more broadly, as a third party who acts as a mediator between people. Indeed, confusion regarding terminology was an issue in this survey (see footnote 5 for further discussion).

It is also worth noting that, although there seems to be a general consensus amongst specialist interviewers that intermediaries are useful (notwithstanding delays in obtaining them), there is no published research on the impact of the presence of an intermediary (or indeed AAs or interview supporters) in ASD interviews. There is concern amongst police, however, over whether AAs always fully understand their role and whether they might, in some instances, be detrimental to an interview (e.g., by intervening inappropriately or even offering the suspect an alibi during interview) (Cummins 2011; Medford et al. 2003). Nevertheless, the mere presence of an AA has been shown to have some beneficial effects for vulnerable adult suspects, such as decreasing interrogative pressure in interviews, and encouraging the presence and better ASD informed involvement of legal representation (Medford et al. 2003). Moreover, many within the ASD community

in the present study felt that the presence of a supportive third party was, or would have been, beneficial.

Encouragingly, police respondents reported implementing a wide range of adjustments (e.g., avoiding particular question types and allowing extra time for interviewees to process questions during interview) and many appeared astute to the challenges facing people with ASD (see Table 1). For example, many officers observed that the “tell me everything” ‘gold standard’ interview mnemonic for victims and witnesses (Milne and Bull 2002) is unhelpful and that more concise parameters need to be set. The location of the interview itself was also reported to be an area of concern for both police and ASD community respondents, and this was often linked to the sensory issues associated with ASD (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Interviewing the person outside the police station (e.g., in a Vulnerable Person Interviewing Suite, or in their own home) was reported to be a useful solution, although this was not always an option (e.g., for those who are suspected of committing crimes that necessitate a custodial environment; due to legal representatives’ reluctance to attend; or due to the possibility that a suspect with an ASD will not realise the seriousness of the interview). However, officers recognised the diversity across the Autism Spectrum and the importance of tailoring interactions to the individual, as far as possible (see Table 1, Sections 3 and 9).

It is also important to stress that police responsibility for adapting procedures and protocols on the basis of

vulnerability arises either following disclosure of an individual's diagnosis of ASD, or on suspicion that an individual may be vulnerable. Our survey highlighted that many members of the ASD community (adults more often than parents) chose not to disclose an ASD diagnosis to police.⁶ This is a factor largely outside the police officer's control, but appears to depend on how the individual perceives the police officer's knowledge and understanding of ASD (see Table 1, Section 4). Many adult and parent respondents indicated that, in some cases, they chose to disclose the ASD diagnosis so that their vulnerabilities would be better understood and to ensure that their behaviours were not construed negatively (see also Brosnan and Mills 2015). Conversely, others chose not to disclose their diagnosis for fear of being negatively stereotyped. This fear would not be unfounded considering the widespread sensationalism and misconceptions around ASD (Huws and Jones 2011), and this is an important issue to address in police training.

Disclosure of ASD diagnosis is also important in cases of victimisation that are directly related to a person's vulnerability due to their ASD, as reflected in the comments of our parent and adult respondents (see Table 1, Section 4). A recent report suggests that victimisation in individuals with ASD and intellectual disability is not always reported to the police (Beadle-Brown et al. 2014). For victimised individuals to report alleged crimes against them, it is imperative that their experiences with police are positive. Failure to disclose their diagnosis may hamper investigations of crime where an incident relates specifically to the person's ASD (i.e., disability hate crime or targeting of their related vulnerability). Moreover, non-disclosure may result in victims and suspects not receiving the support to which they are entitled (e.g., an AA or intermediary). Our finding that many people with ASD are unwilling to identify themselves to police has implications for possible police reliance on 'Autism Alert Cards', which are offered by many ASD charities (e.g., the UK's National Autistic Society) to individuals with ASD (to carry and use when engaged with the police and other CJS professionals).

Notwithstanding disclosure, inadequate police understanding of ASD is also likely to result in inadequate support. Despite these concerns, nearly all of the police respondents in our sample had some ASD awareness, and many believed themselves to be capable of making appropriate adjustments for individuals with ASD. There were also examples of positive outcomes from police, adults and parents (see Table 1, Section 3). Clearly, police training is crucial for ensuring that individuals with ASD

are treated fairly (Adebowale 2013; Bradley 2009; Department of Health 2010, 2014; Equality Act 2010), as identified by both police and the ASD community respondents in this study (see Table 1, Section 1). A lack of understanding of ASD may lead to intentions and behaviours being misinterpreted. In this survey, only 37 % of officers had received police training on ASD, and over a quarter expressed dissatisfaction with this training (often in relation to its brevity and lack of relevance; or a lack of engagement and flexibility when delivered online). Police felt that several key barriers to effective management of ASD (such as failing to manage distress, sensory issues and communication needs) could be directly attributed to a lack of appropriate training. Our findings corroborate the Independent Commission on Mental Health and Policing (Adebowale 2013) report, which recognises a lack of ASD awareness amongst police and the need for sufficient information and training. These results also support the UK Government's aim for the ASD community to be consulted when developing training programmes, particularly from those who have encountered the police and the wider CJS (Department of Health 2010, 2014). Indeed, there has been growing recognition and awareness of the importance of actively including such input as an integral aspect of ASD research and service development more generally (e.g. Milton 2014; Pellicano et al. 2014).

Overall, this study is a foundational step, intended to promote further investigation into the implications of ASD for policing; however, it is not without many of the limitations commonly associated with initial exploration. In order to reach as wide a sample as possible, participants were recruited online. This had three main drawbacks. First, participants were self-selecting; therefore it is likely that the sample may have included a disproportionate number of respondents from the ASD community who were unhappy with their experiences, as well as police respondents who already had some knowledge of, and possibly also personal interest in, ASD. This latter point may also play a part in the apparent discrepancy between the overall satisfaction ratings of the police and ASD community samples. Moreover, given potential discrepancies between police self-reported behaviours and actual practice (e.g., Clarke and Milne 2001; Dando et al. 2008) it would be useful to carry out direct observations of how police procedures (e.g., interviews) are conducted with individuals with ASD. Second, it was not possible to verify the diagnostic status of the ASD sample (although participants were asked to confirm that they had received a formal diagnosis). A third issue that is worth noting is our adult sample necessarily comprised verbally and intellectually able individuals, not representative of all ages and abilities of the wider autism population. Future research developments, with carefully selected cross-sectional

⁶ Note that the survey did not specifically ask whether people with autism not identify themselves if they were *asked directly* (as the police may do with those they believe may be 'vulnerable') or would they not *volunteer* this information.

samples and alternative methodologies (aside from online surveys) will be important. Yet it is important to stress the exploratory nature and uniqueness of the present survey.

In sum, there is an urgent need for the development of national evidence-based guidelines and training on ASD for police services and, indeed, the wider CJS. An evidence base is only still emerging, and there is a need for further research that can be used to inform the development of police strategies for effective engagement with the ASD community (and, more specifically, police protocols tailored to ASD). The present findings indicate effective and attainable support and adjustments during interview as a research priority. In addition, we echo previous calls for widespread police training on ASD (Adebowale 2013; Department of Health 2010, 2014). This too should be evidence-based, informed by those personally affected by ASD, and tailored to specific policing roles, to ensure its suitability for improving job performance across the wide range of police settings.

Acknowledgments We gratefully acknowledge the police, as well as the adult and parent respondents, who generously gave their time to publicise and/or complete our survey. This work was completed under Grants to the first two authors from the Economic and Social Research Council (Grant Numbers ES/J020893/1 and ES/J003379/1).

Author Contributions KM and LC jointly conceived the study, participated in its design, coordination, analyses and drafted the manuscript; SM, TH and AM participated in the design and interpretation of the data and assisted in drafts of the manuscript; TH performed the qualitative analysis, alongside LC and KM. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

References

- Adebowale V. (2013). *The independent commission on mental health and policing report*. London.
- American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (5th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.
- Autism West Midlands (2015). Autism and the criminal justice system: Advice and guidance for professionals. Retrieved from: http://www.autismwestmidlands.org.uk/upload/pdf_files/1406643451_InformationSheets_CJS_Web.pdf.
- Beadle-Brown, J., Richardson, L., Guest, C., Malovic, A., Bradshaw, J., & Himmerich, J. (2014). *Living in fear: Better outcomes for people with learning disabilities and autism*. Main research report. Canterbury: Tizard Centre, University of Kent.
- Bradley, K. (2009). *The bradley report*. London: COI for the Department of Health.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.
- Brosnan, M., & Mills, E. (2015). The effect of diagnostic labels on the affective responses of college students towards peers with “Asperger’s Syndrome” and “Autism Spectrum Disorder”. *Autism*. doi:10.1177/1362361315586721.
- Cascardi, M., Poythress, N. G., & Hall, A. (2000). Procedural justice in the context of civil commitment: An analogue study. *Behavioral Science and the Law*, 18, 731–740. doi:10.1002/bsl.421.
- Clarke, C., & Milne, R. (2001). *National evaluation of the PEACE investigative interviewing course*. London: Home Office.
- Cummins, I. (2011). ‘The Other Side of Silence’: The role of the appropriate adult post-bradley. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 5(3), 306–312. doi:10.1080/17496535.2011.597163.
- Dando, C., Wilcock, R., & Milne, R. (2008). The cognitive interview: Inexperienced police officers’ perceptions of their witness/victim interviewing practices. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 13(1), 59–70. doi:10.1348/135532506X162498.
- Department of Health. (2010). *Fulfilling and rewarding lives: The strategy for adults with autism in England*. London: Department of Health.
- Department of Health. (2014). *Think autism: Fulfilling and rewarding lives, the strategy for adults with autism in England: an update*. London: Department of Health.
- H.M. Government. (2009). *Autism act*. London: HMSO.
- H.M. Government. (2010). *Equality act*. London: Office for Disability Issues.
- Huws, J. C., & Jones, R. S. P. (2011). Missing voices: Representations of autism in British newspapers, 1999–2008. *British Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 39(2), 98–104. doi:10.1111/j.1468-3156.2010.00624.x.
- King, C., & Murphy, G. H. (2014). A systematic review of people with autism spectrum disorder and the criminal justice system. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 44(11), 2717–2733. doi:10.1007/s10803-014-2046-5.
- Lind, E. A., & Tyler, T. R. (1988). *The social psychology of procedural justice*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Lindblad, F., & Lainpelto, K. (2011). Sexual abuse allegations by children with neuropsychiatric disorders. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 20(2), 182–195. doi:10.1080/10538712.2011.554339.
- Livingston, J. D., Desmarais, S. L., Verdun-Jones, S., Parent, R., Michalak, E., & Brink, J. (2014). Perceptions and experiences of people with mental illness regarding their interactions with police. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 37, 334–340. doi:10.1016/j.ijlp.2014.02.003.
- Maras, K. L., & Bowler, D. M. (2010). The cognitive interview for eyewitnesses with autism spectrum disorder. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 40(11), 1350–1360. doi:10.1007/s10803-010-0997-8.
- Maras, K. L., & Bowler, D. M. (2014). Eyewitness testimony in autism spectrum disorder: A review. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 44(11), 2682–2697. doi:10.1007/s10803-012-1502-3.
- Mattison, M. A., Dando, C., & Ormerod, T. (2015). Sketching to remember: Episodic free recall task support for child witnesses and victims with autism spectrum disorder. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 45(6), 1751–1765. doi:10.1007/s10803-014-2335-z.
- Mayes, T. A. (2003). Persons with autism and criminal justice: Core concepts and leading cases. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions*, 5(2), 92–100. doi:10.1177/10983007030050020401.
- Medford, S., Gudjonsson, G. H., & Pearse, J. (2003). The efficacy of the appropriate adult safeguard during police interviewing. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 8(2), 253–266. doi:10.1348/135532503322363022.
- Milne, R., & Bull, R. (2002). Back to basics: A componential analysis of the original cognitive interview mnemonics with three age groups. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 16(7), 746–753. doi:10.1002/acp.825.
- Milton, D. (2014). Autistic expertise: A critical reflection on the production of knowledge in autism studies. *Autism*, 18(7), 794–802. doi:10.1177/1362361314525281.
- Ministry of Justice. (2011). *Achieving best evidence in criminal proceedings: Guidance on interviewing victims and witnesses*,

- and guidance on using special measures*. London: Ministry of Justice.
- Ministry of Justice. (2012). *The registered intermediary procedural guidance manual*. London: Ministry of Justice.
- National Autistic Society (2011). Autism: A guide for criminal justice professionals. Retrieved from: <http://www.autism.org.uk/working-with/criminal-justice/a-guide.aspx>.
- Office, Home. (1999). *Youth justice and criminal evidence act*. London: HMSO.
- Office, Home. (2011). *National appropriate adult network: Guide for appropriate adults*. London: HMSO.
- Pellicano, E., Dinsmore, A., & Charman, T. (2014). What should autism research focus upon? Community views and priorities from the UK. *Autism*, 18, 756–770. doi:10.1177/1362361314529627.
- Plotnikoff, J., & Woolfson, R. (2015). *Intermediaries in the criminal justice system: Improving communication for vulnerable witnesses and defendants*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Watson, A. C., & Angell, B. (2007). Applying procedural justice theory to understanding police interactions with persons who have mental illness. *Psychiatric Services*, 58, 787–793.
- Woodbury-Smith, M., & Dein, K. (2014). Autism spectrum disorder (ASD) and unlawful behaviour: Where do we go from here? *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 44(11), 2734–2741. doi:10.1007/s10803-014-2216-5.
- ZH v The Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis (2012). EWHC 604 (QB).