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AUTISM IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM & THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EXTREME VIOLENCE

Inaugural Professorial Lecture: Professor Clare Allely
Thursday 25th May / from 12.30pm / The Old Fire Station



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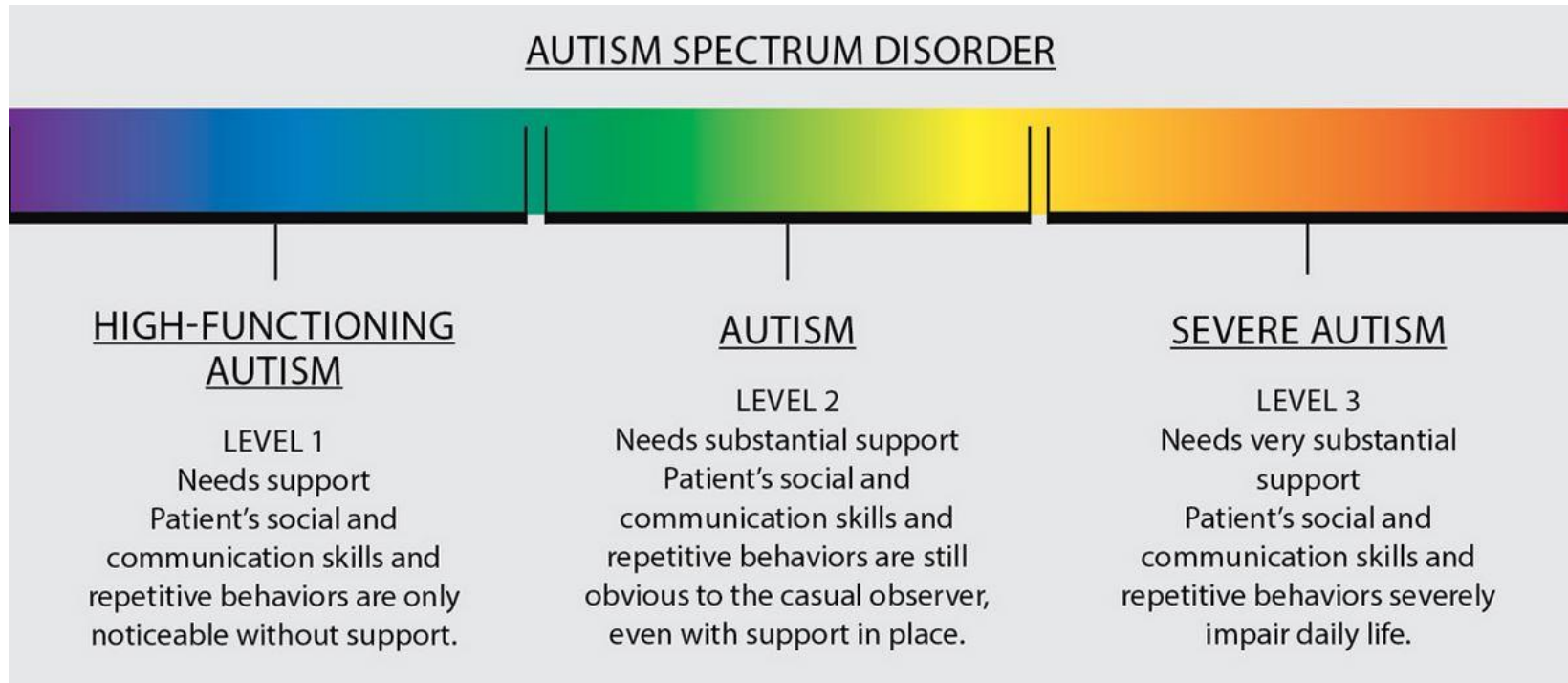
Inaugural Professorial Lecture: Professor Clare Allely

AUTISM AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM



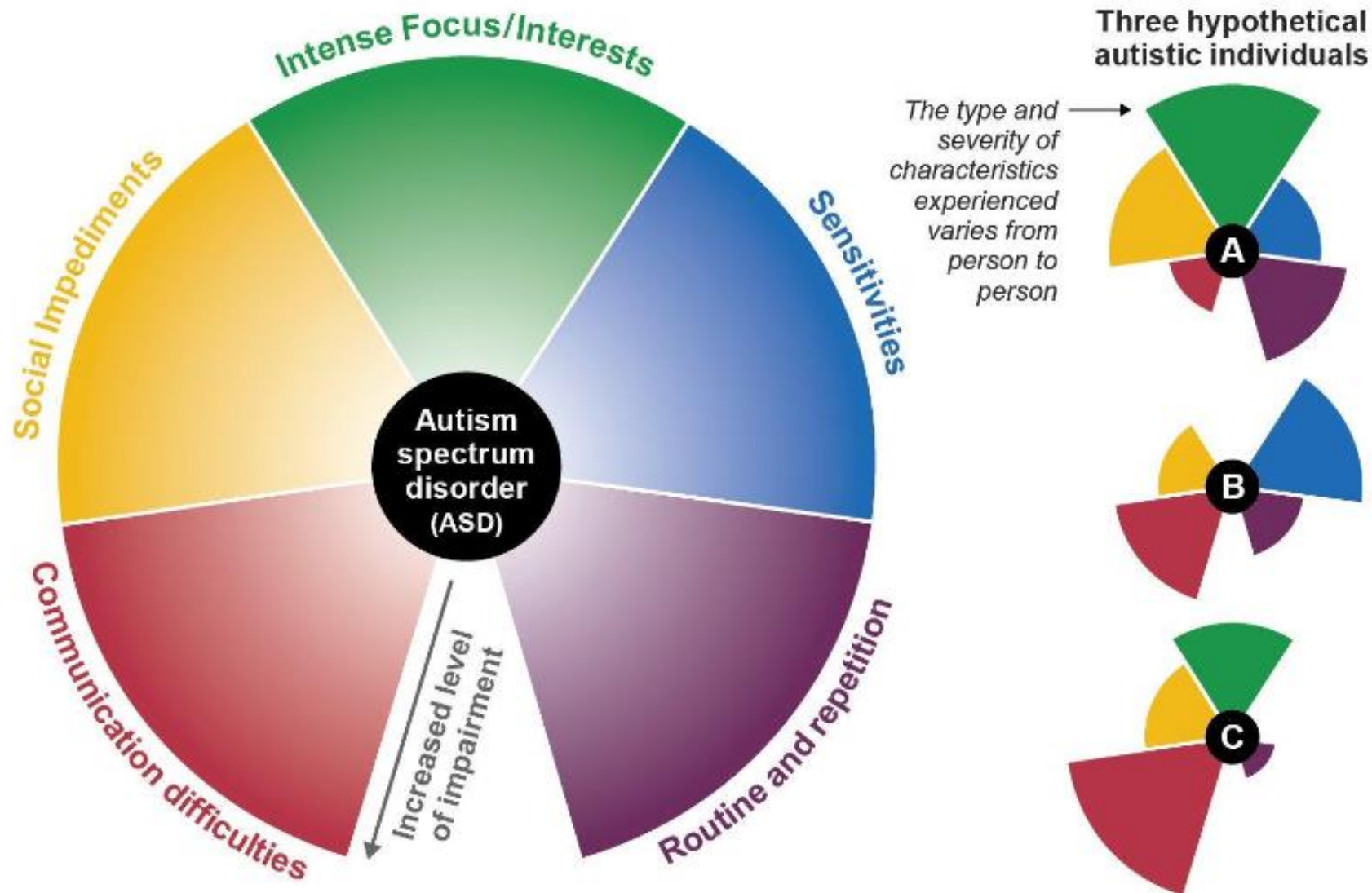
Autism Spectrum Disorder and the Criminal Justice System

Autism

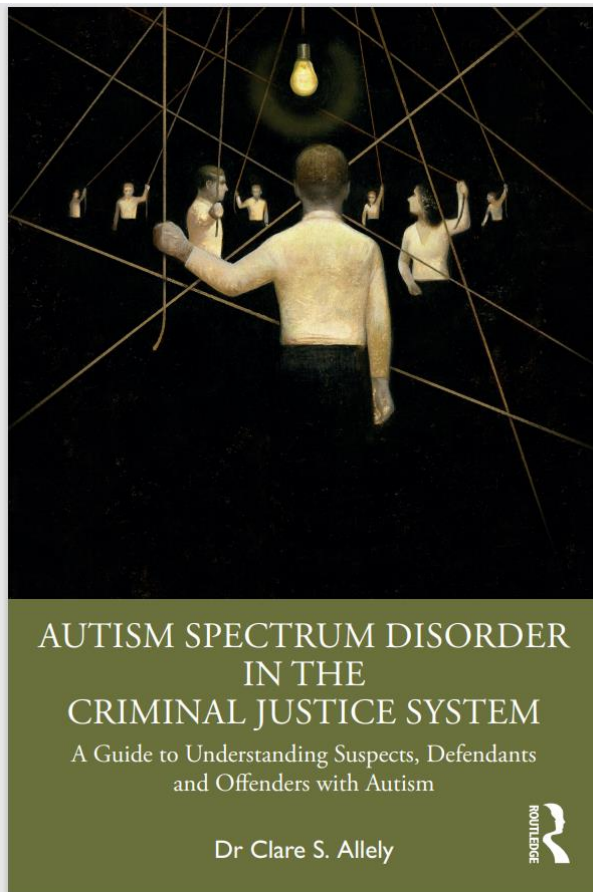


- It is important to highlight that to think of someone with ASD as being on a spectrum (ranging from severely impaired to mildly impaired) is inaccurate.
- It is more appropriate and accurate to consider each person with ASD separately and their particular profile of strengths and weaknesses – in other words, that individual's particular variation in ASD characteristics or features/traits.

GAO grouped the characteristics associated with autism into five broad categories, with some overlap between categories.



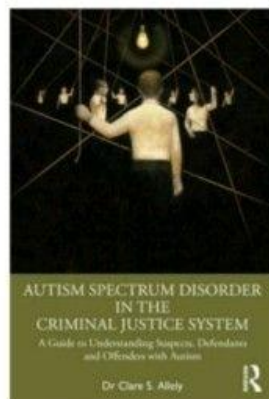
How certain features of ASD may provide the context of vulnerability to engaging in a number of types of offending behaviours



- Arson
- Sexual Offences (Offline and Online)
- Cybercrime
- Violent Offending
- Radicalisation and Extremism
- Extreme Violence
- Stalking



Autism Spectrum Disorder in the Criminal Justice System by Dr Clare S. Allely



We are thrilled to invite you to an evening celebrating the launch of 'Autism Spectrum Disorder in the Criminal Justice System' by Dr Clare S. Allely.

Dr Allely will be giving a talk on her experiences and findings in the field of autism and the criminal justice system as both a Reader (Associate Professor) in Forensic Psychology and an Expert Witness.

Barrister Michelle Clarke, of Church Court Chambers, will be discussing her recent case where she worked with Dr Allely, dealing with the defendant, and considering how best to help someone with autism in the Criminal Justice System.

The presentations will be followed by a Q&A session, with the evening compered by Colin Witcher.



The contributory role of autism symptomology in child pornography offending: why there is an urgent need for empirical research in this area

Clare Sarah Allely and Larry Dubin

Abstract

Purpose – *As recently highlighted by Creaby-Attwood and Allely (2017), it is crucial that the possible innate vulnerabilities that contributed to sexual offending behaviour in an individual with an autism spectrum disorder (ASD) are taken into consideration for the application of a diversion programme to avoid the stigma of a criminal conviction or during sentencing for a non-custodial outcome. Specifically, in those defendants with a diagnosis of what used to be referred to as Asperger's syndrome (AS) and now is recognised as an ASD and who are charged and convicted of a non-contact sexual offense, education and mental health intervention will best serve the interests of justice. The paper aims to discuss this issue.*

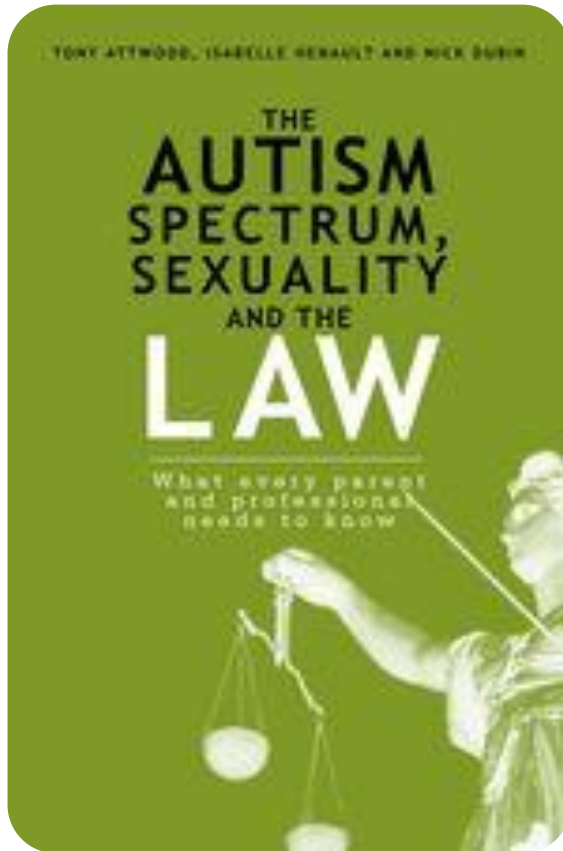
Design/methodology/approach – *This paper focusses on one particular type of sexual offending behaviour, namely, possession of child pornography. A systematic PRISMA review was conducted.*

Findings – *The authors linked examples of child pornography in the research literature to the ASD symptomology and describe how the symptomology explains such behaviour as not reflecting actual sexual deviance.*

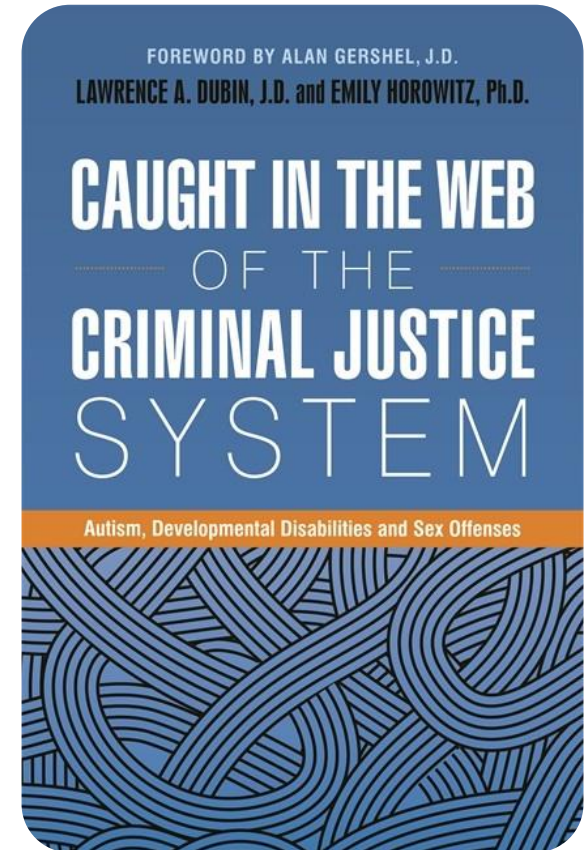
Clare Sarah Allely is Reader in Forensic Psychology at the University of Salford, Salford, UK.

Larry Dubin is based at Mercy School of Law, University of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan, USA.

Autism and IIOC

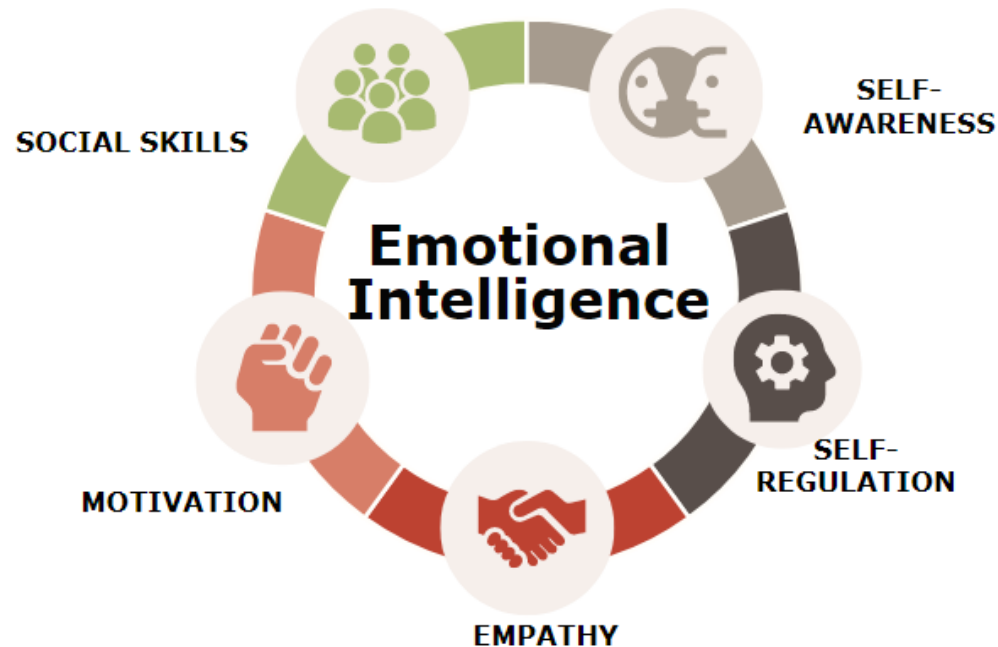


Case of Nick Dubin



Social Maturity

- Some individuals with ASD may gravitate towards and feel more comfortable with individuals who are the same level as them in terms of social maturity.
- Many individuals with ASD have an average or above average intelligence while their social maturity can be comparable to that of someone much younger which often leads them to be more interested and comfortable in befriending people who are much younger than them (they are at the same level as them socially and emotionally) (Cutler, 2013).



Literal Thinking

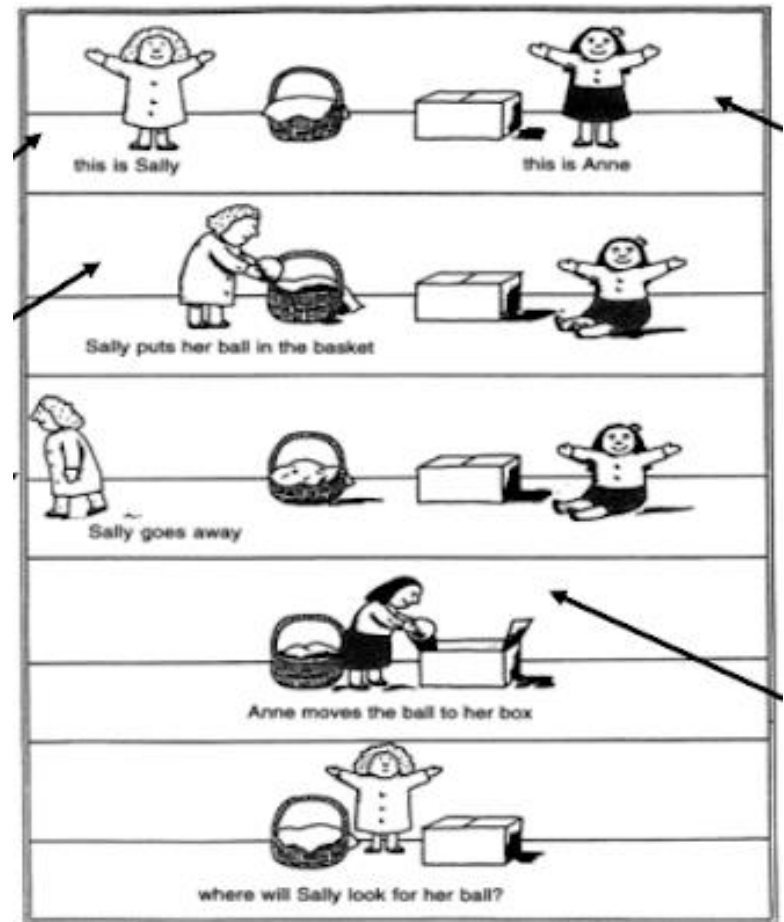
- Because of their literal view of the world, they would not consider that something that is illegal could be so freely available on the internet.



Impaired Theory-of-Mind (ToM)

Unaware of the broader issues of the images/videos including:

- where and how they got those files
- who else might be able to access them
- what the consequences (and impact on) are for the minors in the images they are viewing.



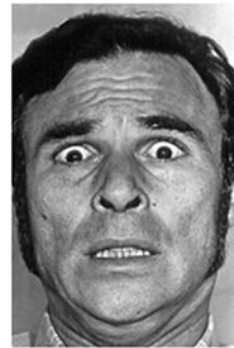
Impaired Ability to Correctly Guess Age



-
- A full-page fashion advertisement for 'CADEAUX'. The central figure is a young girl with dark hair pulled back, wearing a shimmering, long-sleeved gold dress and matching gold high-heeled shoes with ankle straps. She is sitting on a dark green sofa with large leopard-print pillows. Two small dogs, a white and black pug and a tan and white dog, are sitting on the sofa with her. The background is a plain, light-colored wall. The word 'CADEAUX' is printed in large, black, serif capital letters at the top. In the bottom left corner, there is small text: 'Photographie: David Laundy', 'Modèles: Milla Jovovich', 'Stylisme: Patricia Brown & Morgan'.

Impaired Ability to Recognise Negative Facial Expressions in IIOC

- Regarding the viewing of child pornography, issues occur when individuals with ASD are unaware that what they have done is a criminal offense.
- One explanation for the lack of awareness that they have committed a crime is their inability to recognise the facial expressions in the images of the children.
- Such an inability to recognise facial expressions (such as fear) is supported by a large amount of studies (e.g. Woodbury-Smith et al., 2005; Uljarevic & Hamilton, 2013).



Fearful



Angry



Sad



Happy



Disgusted



Surprised

The Need for a Structured Approach to Violence Risk Assessment in Autism

Alexander Westphal, MD, PhD, and Clare Allely, PhD

The relationship between autism spectrum disorder (ASD) and violence is poorly understood. Several violence risk factors are either modified by or are unique to ASD; clinicians conducting violence risk assessment of people with ASD must consider these factors. An ASD-specific risk assessment tool is clearly needed. In the absence of this, clinicians often use risk assessment tools designed for other populations, highlighting the importance of establishing their predictive validity in people with ASD. Girardi and colleagues have taken a very important step in this process in their paper, “Assessing the Risk of Inpatient Violence in Autism Spectrum Disorder,” by examining whether the Historical Clinical Risk Management-20, Version 3, can predict violence in male patients with ASD in a forensic setting. Further research is needed to design a risk assessment tool specific to ASD and its unique features.

J Am Acad Psychiatry Law 47:437–39, 2019. DOI:10.29158/JAAPL.003896-19

AUTISM AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

A collage of legal symbols. On the left, a judge's wig and a wooden gavel with a gold band. In the center, several open books and a stack of closed books. On the right, a statue of Lady Justice holding a sword. The background is a sunset over a body of water.

**ASD in the Courtroom:
Why it is Important to Recognise
this Disorder in Defendants**

ASD in the Courtroom: Why it is Important to Recognise this Disorder in Defendants

There is a strong risk of a judge and jury drawing adverse inferences from a defendant with ASD's demeanour, attitude and general comportment in court. They could – by virtue of their idiosyncrasies – be perceived as aloof, disinterested or even imperious to jurors unfamiliar with the disorder (O'Sullivan, 2018).

There are a variety of behaviors that individuals with ASD can exhibit during court proceedings that may make them appear bizarre and misunderstood.

NILQ 68(1): 35–58

You can't judge a book by its cover: evolving professional responsibilities, liabilities and 'judgecraft' when a party has Asperger's Syndrome

PENNY COOPER¹

University of London and 39 Essex Chambers
and

CLARE ALLELY^{2, 3}

University of Salford and Gothenburg University

Abstract

In the context of increasing legal emphasis on fairness for people with disability, this article analyses the responsibilities and liabilities of lawyers in relation to the recognition and identification of client disability, and specifically Asperger's Syndrome, prior to a hearing. This article also analyses the judge's responsibilities when a party has Asperger's Syndrome. Lord Justice Gillen's seven points of principle and practical guidance for fair hearings when a party has a disability (Galo v Bombardier Aerospace UK)⁴ are used as a framework to explore the art of judging, or 'judgecraft'.

But always in the attic of my mind I dreamed of a magical machine that would
soothe me and make me less different⁵

The Advocate's Gateway



**Planning to question someone with
an autism spectrum disorder
including Asperger syndrome**

Toolkit 3

1 December 2016

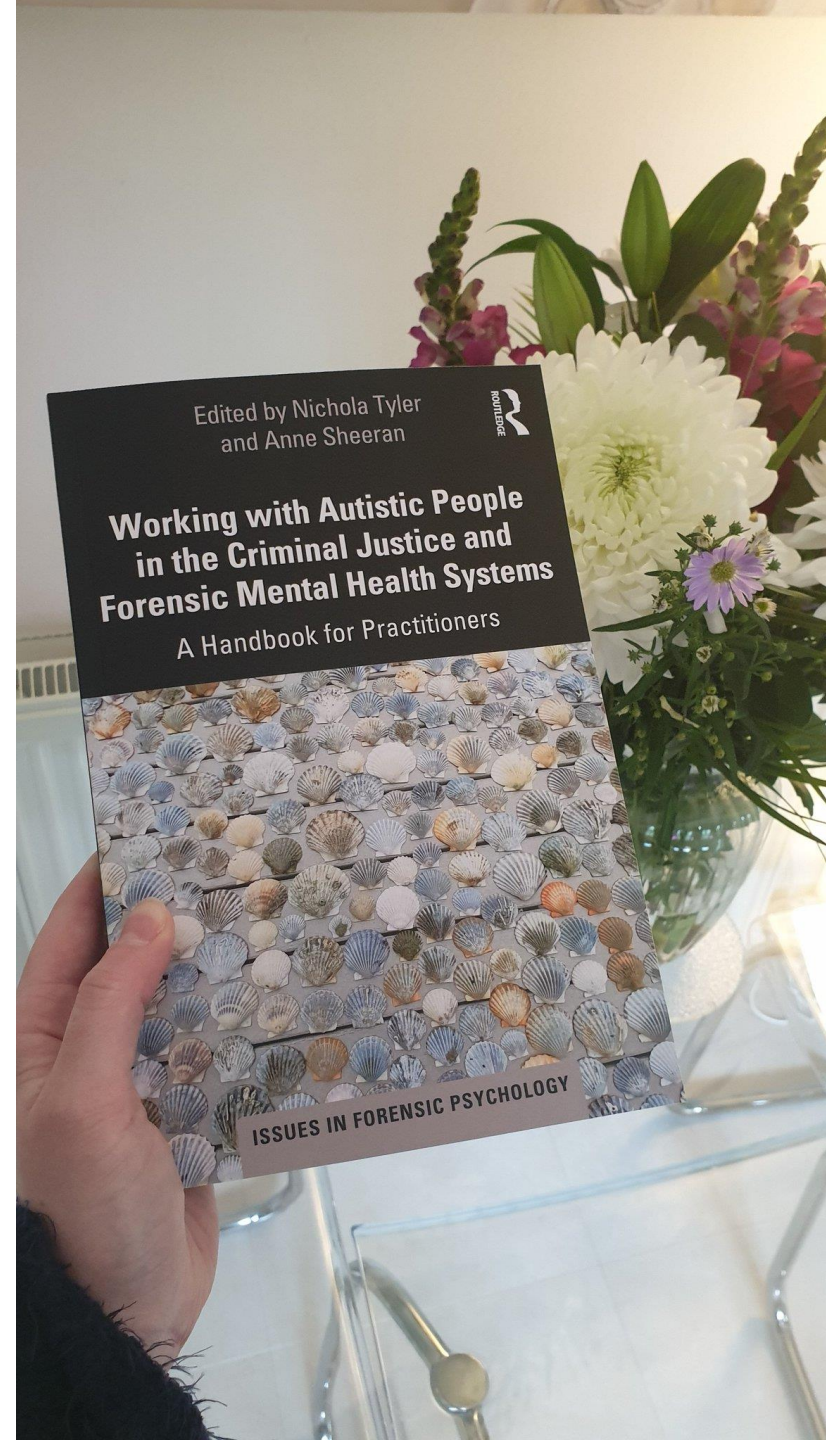
Questioning autistic people

Police and courts

By *Michelle Mattison* , *Clare Allely* 

Book [Working with Autistic People in the Criminal Justice and Forensic Mental Health Systems](#)

Edition	1st Edition
First Published	2022
Imprint	Routledge
Pages	12
eBook ISBN	9781003036722



Some of the common features of ASD that might make a defendant with ASD appear evasive, remorseless, lacking in empathy and guilty

- Difficulty with making or maintaining eye contact
 - Echolalia or repetitive vocalisations
 - Issues with time to respond
 - Misinterpretation or lack of understanding of repetitive interests or behaviours
 - Impaired social communication and interaction
 - Issues with compliance
 - Unusual ways of speaking
 - Presence of paranoia
-
- **Issues with memory**
 - **Lack of outward emotional expression**
 - **Inappropriate expressions or behaviours**

Issues with Memory

- Compared to individuals without ASD, individuals with ASD often have difficulties in recollecting or remembering past personally experienced events and tend to remember fewer of them and also take more time to do this (e.g., Crane et al., 2012).
- Individuals with ASD have a tendency to rely on feelings of familiarity in order to guide their memory (e.g., Bowler, Gardiner & Grice, 2000; Maras & Bowler, 2012; Johnson, Goodman, & Mundy, 2018).
- Two types of memory. One is knowledge-based information (e.g., names of capital cities) referred to as **semantic memory**. The other is memory for an event or a specific episode which is referred to as **episodic memory**.
- Individuals with ASD are typically unimpaired in their memory for semantic and general information (knowledge-based information) while, on the other hand, much more prompting is often needed in order to retrieve specific episodes (memory for specific events/episodic memory) (Crane & Goddard 2008; Bigham et al., 2010; Crane & Maras, 2018).

Issue with Memory

- An individual with ASD may be able to remember the details of the event but not when it happened. For instance, an individual with ASD may have memory for what they were wearing on a particular night but have difficulty in recalling other aspects, such as the timing of events.
- Individuals with ASD can be perceived erroneously as being uncooperative and non-responsive as they often exhibit impairments in their **ability to recall events in a sequential manner and with sufficient detail** - they often cannot recall a clearly sequenced narrative of events (Kroncke, Willard, & Huckabee, 2016).
- ASD may also impact on an individual's **perception of time** and they can exhibit a difficulty with determining 'how long' specific events were (The Advocate's Gateway, 2016).

Lack of Outward Emotional Expression

- Given that individuals with ASD are often impaired in their ability to appreciate the subjective experiences of others they may not display any outward expressions of empathy or intersubjective resonance.
- This can lead observers to assume that they are cold, calculating and remorseless. This apparent lack of emotion or remorse displayed by the defendant with ASD can be detrimental to them. It can make the court perceive them to be arrogant or having no interest in the court proceedings (Archer & Hurley, 2013; Allely & Cooper, 2017).
- These outward expressions may not be reflective of what the individuals with ASD is actually feeling or thinking internally (Allely & Cooper, 2017).



Inappropriate Expressions or Behaviours

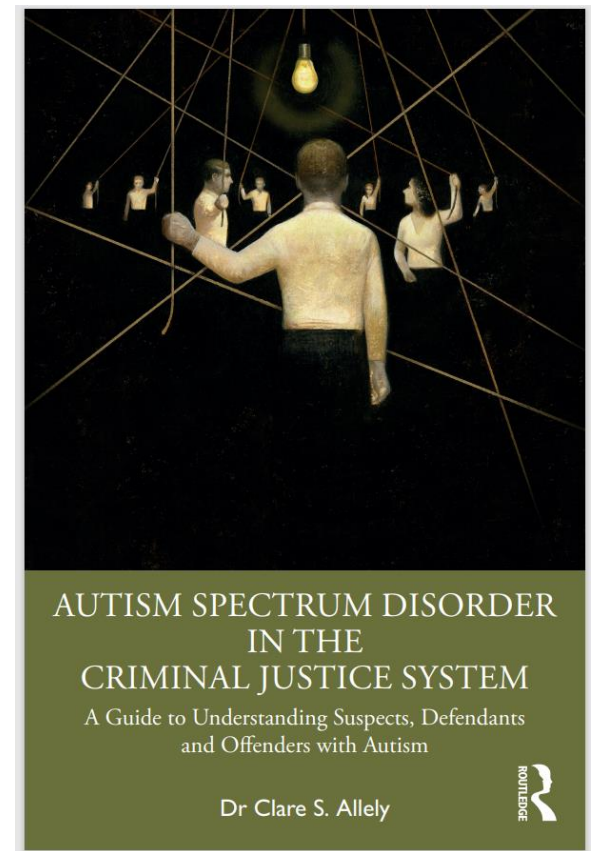
- Individuals with ASD often display awkward or inappropriate facial expressions or behaviours.
- A defendant with ASD may laugh or smile during court proceedings.
- However, this outward expression may not be reflective of what they are feeling internally (Allely & Cooper, 2017). Instead, it is a form of coping strategy they employ because they do not know what to do in the situation they are in (or understand or know what is expected of them).



Importance of Informing the Jury of the Defendant's Diagnosis of ASD

It is recommended that expert witness evidence is given in order to:

- 1. Provide understanding of the behaviour and presentation of a defendant with ASD during court proceedings**
- 2. Assist the jury in understanding the ways in which the diagnosis of ASD, in particular the way certain features of the defendant's diagnosis of ASD, may have contributed to (or provided the context of vulnerability to) their offending behaviour** (Freckelton, 2012; Freckelton & List 2009).



Some Key Collaborators

- Dr David Murphy (Chartered Forensic & Consultant Clinical Neuropsychologist, Broadmoor Hospital, UK)
- Professor Eddie Chaplin (London South Bank University, UK)
- Professor Andrew Forrester (Cardiff University and a Consultant Forensic Psychiatrist with Swansea Bay University Health Board and Oxleas NHS, UK)
- Dr Louise Robinson (Consultant at The University of Manchester Lancashire and South Cumbria NHS Foundation Trust, UK)
- Professor Chris Gillberg (Gillberg Neuropsychiatry Centre, Sweden)
- Professor Helen Minnis (University of Glasgow, UK)
- Professor Phil Wilson (University of Aberdeen, UK)
- Dr Michelle Mattison (Psychologist and Registry Intermediary, UK)
- Professor Penny Cooper (Barrister and Professor of Law, UK)
- Professor Felicity Gerry (Barrister and Professor of Law, UK)
- Dr Lino Faccini (Psychologist, New York, USA)
- Dr Sally Kennedy (Deakin University, Australia)
- Dr Ian Warren (Deakin University, Australia)
- Professor Paul Gill (University College London, UK)
- Dr Jane McCarthy (Consultant Psychiatrist in Intellectual Disability with the East London NHS Foundation Trust)

- Sammie Wicks (Senior Program Manager at the National Policing Institute's Center for Mass Violence Response Studies, USA)
- Courtney Tassin (Program Manager of the City of Aurora Co-responder Teams (AMRT/CRT). CO-PTV. Threat Assessment Professional, USA)
- Sonya McLaren (Carleton University, Canada)
- Dr David Keatley (Murdoch University, Australia)
- Enzo Yaksic (Author and Researcher in the field of serial homicide, USA)
- Dr Alexander Westphal (Yale University, USA)
- Professor John Horgan (Georgia State University, USA)
- Mellow Parenting (Govan, Scotland, UK)
- Emma Jouenne (Parents for Peace, USA)
- Dr Frank Straub (Co-Director of the Michigan State University Department of Psychiatry/Safe & Sound Schools' Adolescent Targeted Violence Prevention Project, USA)
- Dr Neelkamal Soares (Western Michigan University, USA)
- Dr Melanie Penner (University of Toronto, Canada)
- Dr Christine Puckering (Scotland, UK)
- Dr Toni Wood (University of Salford, UK)
- Professor Penny Cook; Professor Raja Mukherjee; Dr David Gilbert; Dr Alan Price; Robyn McCarthy and Dr Kathy Perryman (FASD Hub at Salford University)

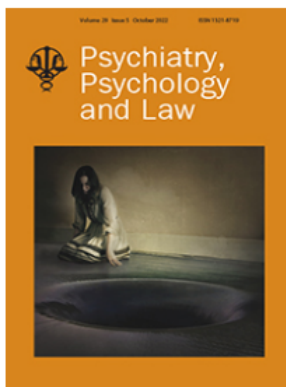


Assessing the Prevalence of FASD

Impact of Prenatal Alcohol Exposure & Trauma on child development

Criminal Justice: An exploration of factors that predispose individuals with FASD to involvement with the Criminal Justice System

SPECIFIC: Salford Parents and carers Education Course for Improvements in FASD outcomes In Children



Psychiatry, Psychology and Law

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tppl20>

Defendants with intellectual disability and autism spectrum conditions: the perspective of clinicians working across three jurisdictions

Jane McCarthy, Eddie Chaplin, Susan Hayes, Erik Søndena, Verity Chester, Catrin Morrissey, Clare S. Allely & Andrew Forrester

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Open Access

Severe mental illness, common mental disorders, and neurodevelopmental conditions amongst 9088 lower court attendees in London, UK



Eddie Chaplin^{1*} , Jane McCarthy² , Salma Ali¹, Karina Marshall-Tate^{1,3}, Kiriakos Xenitidis³, Denise Harvey¹, Jessica Childs^{1,4}, Samir Srivastava³, Iain McKinnon⁵, Louise Robinson⁶, Clare S. Allely^{7,8,9}, Sally Hardy¹⁰, Barry Tolchard¹¹ and Andrew Forrester¹² 

Psychiatric and Legal Issues Surrounding the Extradition of WikiLeaks Founder Julian Assange: The Importance of Considering the Diagnosis of Autism Spectrum Disorder

Clare S. Allely¹, Sally Kennedy², and Ian Warren²

¹ Department of Psychology, School of Health and Society, University of Salford

² Faculty of Arts and Education, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Criminology, Deakin University

Julian Assange is an Australian national and the founder of WikiLeaks, a nonprofit organization that publishes news leaks and classified information provided by anonymous whistle-blowers. In May 2019, a United States federal grand jury returned an 18-count criminal indictment against Assange. If convicted, Assange could face up to 10 years of incarceration for each Espionage Act (1917) charge and up to 5 years for conspiracy to access a government computer network. Due to Assange's current physical location in the United Kingdom, the United States has requested extradition. However, to date, there has been limited scholarly discussion of the relationship between Assange's autism spectrum disorder (ASD) diagnosis and his potential extradition and lengthy pretrial or postconviction imprisonment in the United States. This article explores the psychiatric submissions from Assange and the United States in light of available evidence on ASD and the risk of suicide among people who are imprisoned. The analysis will focus on common misperceptions about ASD, the particularly detrimental impacts of the prison environment on individuals with ASD, the varying opinions of Assange's ASD diagnosis, and the importance of considering Assange's risk of suicide in the context of ASD. From a human rights and individual fairness perspective, a complete understanding of the significance of these issues which does not minimize a diagnosis of ASD is paramount for Assange and any future case with similar elements.



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Aggression and Violent Behavior



Neurodevelopmental and psychosocial risk factors in serial killers and mass murderers



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ABSTRACT

Multiple and serial murders are rare events that have a very profound societal impact. We have conducted a systematic review, following PRISMA guidelines, of both the peer reviewed literature and of journalistic and legal sources regarding mass and serial killings. Our findings tentatively indicate that these extreme forms of violence may be a result of a highly complex interaction of biological, psychological and sociological factors and that, potentially, a significant proportion of mass or serial killers may have had neurodevelopmental disorders such as autism spectrum disorder or head injury. Research into multiple and serial murders is in its infancy: there is a lack of rigorous studies and most of the literature is anecdotal and speculative. Specific future study of the potential role of neurodevelopmental disorders in multiple and serial murders is warranted and, due to the rarity of these events, innovative research techniques may be required.

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Violence is Rare in Autism: When It Does Occur, Is It Sometimes Extreme?

C. S. Allely^a, P. Wilson^b, H. Minnis^c, L. Thompson^c, E. Yaksic^d, and C. Gillberg^e

^aUniversity of Salford; ^bUniversity of Aberdeen; ^cUniversity of Glasgow; ^dSerial Homicide Expertise and Information Sharing Collaborative; ^eGillberg Neuropsychiatry Centre, University of Gothenburg



Case Study

On the 14th December, 2012, 20-year-old Adam Lanza killed 26 people, 20 of them young children, inside Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut



What were the Warning Signs and Pathway Behaviours?

- A 48-page summary of the official investigation into the tragedy in Newtown was published on the 25th November 2013.
- The summary provided new details regarding AL's behaviour prior to committing one of the worst mass shootings in United States history (Sedensky, 2013).



Preoccupation with mass shootings and a significant interest in firearms

- Spreadsheet chronologically recording and detailing the events of mass murders which Adam had compiled.
- Such is the level of detail that it is believed to have involved years of work and used as a “score sheet” (in terms of body counts of the mass shootings, weapons used, etc) by Lanza. One anonymous law enforcement veteran stated that *'It sounded like a doctoral thesis, that was the quality of the research'* (Lupica, 2013).
- Lanza particularly fascinated by Anders Behring Breivik. Breivik also reported to have been fascinated by other mass murderers (Lysiak, 2013).
- Wikipedia



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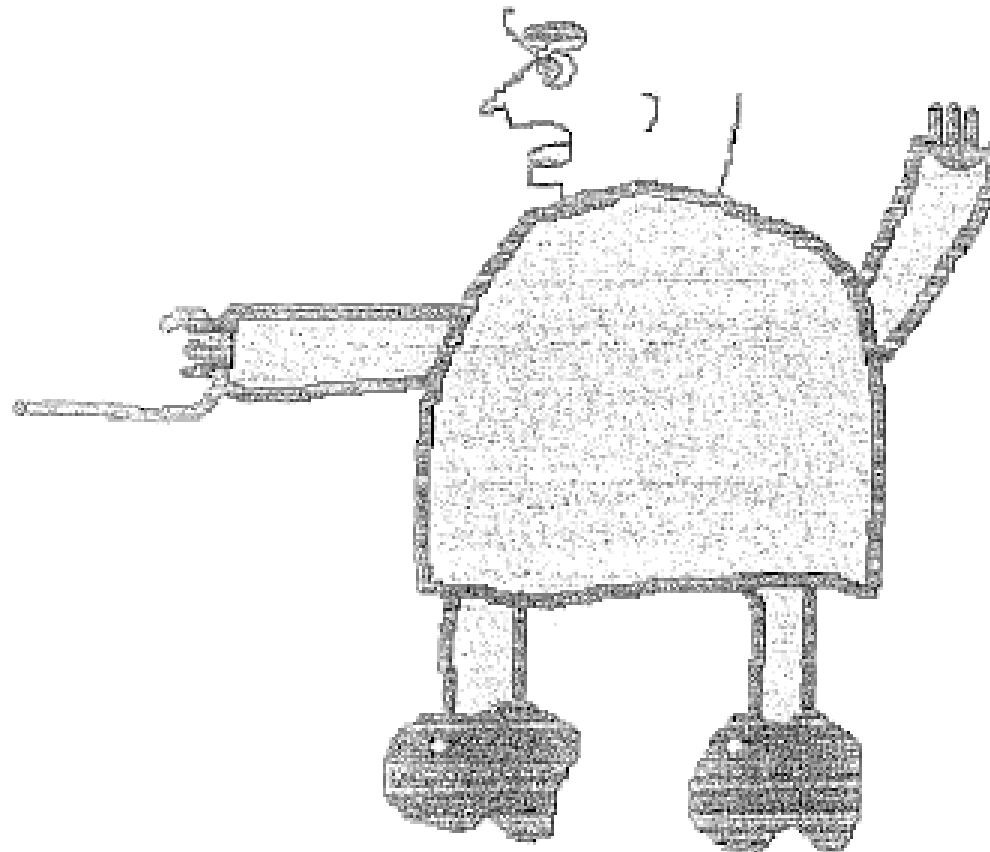
Lanza sealed the windows of his bedroom with rubbish bags and duct tape, which kept out all the natural light

Second floor computer room.

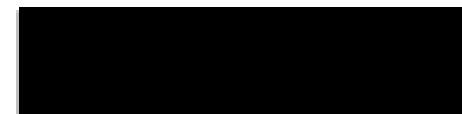


Granny is a trademark symbol of [REDACTED] the creator. Adam Lanza holds all rights to all of the following content. [REDACTED] is the creator of the Granny Picture and holds all rights to it.

The Big Book of Granny



Adam Lanza



Anorexia

The Office of the Chief Medical Examiner found that at death, AL was anorexic (six feet tall and 112 pounds), to the point of malnutrition and resultant brain damage.

This finding raises questions regarding how he, living at home and spending the majority of his time on his own, physically presented to his mother.



The Pathway to Violence



PTIV: Case Analysis

- Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad (Carlos Bledsoe) (Tassin & Allely, 2022).
- Brenton Tarrant (Allely & McLaren, 2023).
- Anders Breivik (Faccini & Allely, 2016).
- Elliot Rodger (Allely & Faccini, 2017).
- Dylann Roof (Allely & Faccini, 2019).
- Dean Allen Mellberg (Faccini & Allely, 2016).
- James Holmes (Allely, 2020).
- A number forth-coming!

The Psychology of Extreme Violence

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: The Anatomy of Extreme Violence

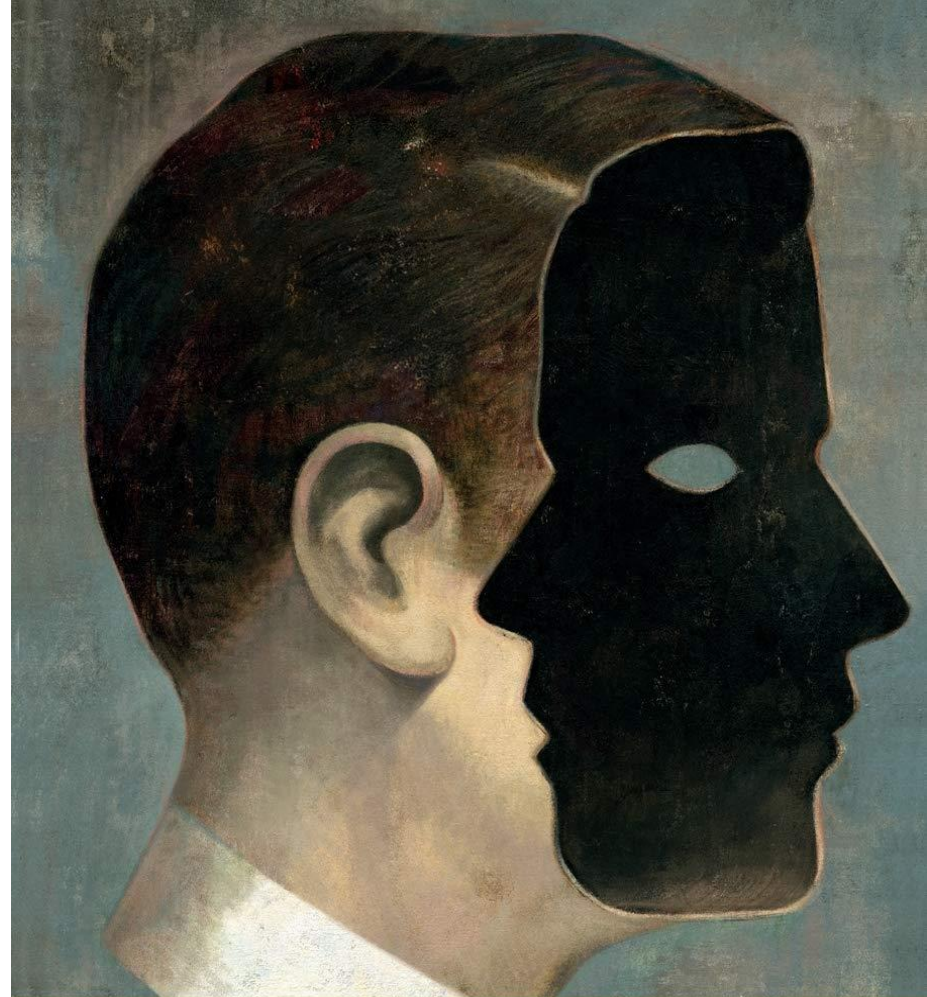
Chapter 3: Serial Homicide

Chapter 4: Mass Shooters

Chapter 5. Rampage School Shootings

Chapter 6: The Psychology of Terrorism and Lone-Actor Terrorists

Chapter 7: Conclusion: Threat Assessment and Prevention of Extreme Violence



THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EXTREME VIOLENCE

A Case Study Approach to Serial Homicide, Mass
Shooting, School Shooting and Lone-actor Terrorism

Dr Clare S. Allely

The Feasibility and Utility of the Terrorist Radicalization Assessment Protocol (TRAP-18): A Review and Recommendations

Clare S. Allely¹ and Sammie J. Wicks²

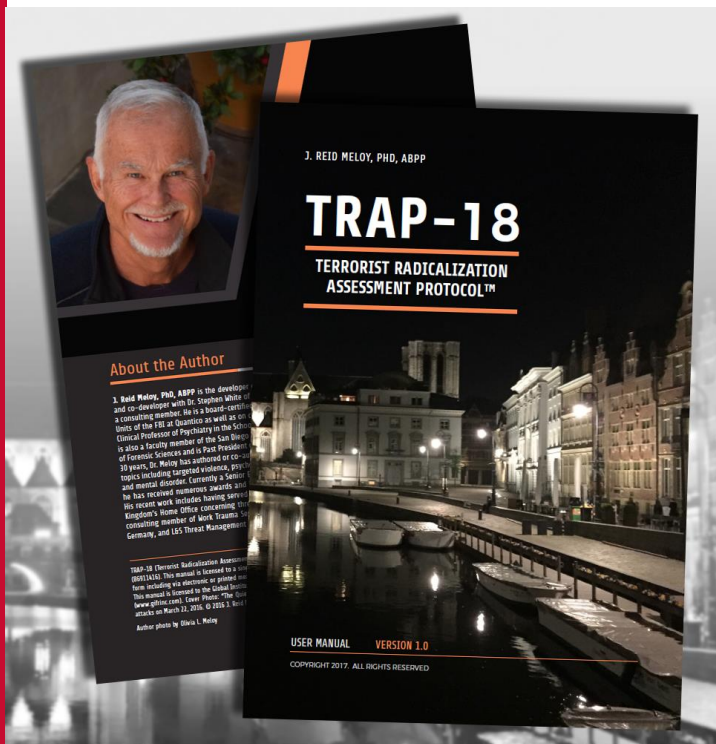
¹ Forensic Psychology, University of Salford

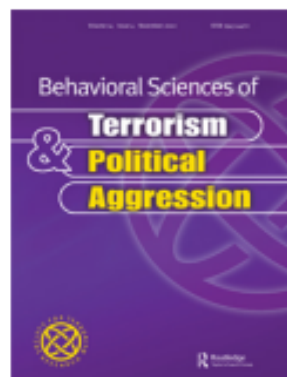
² Aurora Police Department Targeted Violence Prevention, Colorado, United States

The ability to accurately predict the risk of an individual committing an act of targeted violence is likely to be impossible given the low base rate of these acts (Goodwill & Meloy, 2019). Nevertheless, prevention is possible if there is a focus on fact-based behaviors, and threat management is in place. The Terrorist Radicalization Assessment Protocol (TRAP-18; Meloy, Habermeyer & Guldemann, 2015; Meloy, Roshdi, et al., 2015; Meloy & Gill, 2016; Meloy, 2017) is a collection of 18 behavior-based warning signs for terror incidents. There are eight proximal characteristics and 10 distal characteristics. The aim of this review was to identify studies which have utilized the TRAP-18 either prospectively (operational use) or retroactively or studies which have investigated the validity and reliability of the TRAP-18. A total of 17 relevant articles were identified in the review including six case studies and 11 empirical articles.

Public Significance Statement

Six case studies were identified in this review which utilized the TRAP-18 retroactively. Eleven studies were identified in this review which utilized the TRAP-18 to retroactively evaluate terrorist incidents. The majority of studies in this review has found the focus on 18 empirically based and potentially observable patterns of behavior to be a useful approach for the early detection and case management of radicalization processes.





Application of the Terrorist Radicalization Assessment Protocol (TRAP-18) to the case of the Army-Navy recruiting center attacker in Little Rock, Arkansas

C. Tassin & C. S. Allely

To cite this article: C. Tassin & C. S. Allely (2022): Application of the Terrorist Radicalization Assessment Protocol (TRAP-18) to the case of the Army-Navy recruiting center attacker in Little Rock, Arkansas, Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, DOI: [10.1080/19434472.2022.2118349](https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2022.2118349)

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