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Review article

Conceptualising paranoia in ASD: A systematic review and development of a theoretical framework



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ABSTRACT

Paranoia, unfounded ideation that others deliberately intend harm, has predominately been studied in schizophrenia. Increasingly, it is recognised that there is a spectrum of severity of excessive mistrust across the general population. Relatively little is known about paranoia in individuals with autism spectrum disorders (ASD), but rates could be expected to be higher given both difficulties in understanding others' mental states and frequent experiences of negative social interactions. A systematic search of English-language peerreviewed publications was undertaken to synthesise empirical research about paranoia in ASD. Seven studies, comprising a total of 180 ASD participants, met the inclusion criteria. All the studies were cross-sectional, thereby limiting causal interpretations. Individuals with ASD were consistently found to have higher levels of paranoia compared to nonclinical controls, and lower levels than individuals with current psychotic experiences manifesting in the context of schizophrenia. Furthermore, the initial evidence indicates that paranoia in ASD may be linked with theory of mind performance, negative affect, and jumping to conclusions, but not to attributional style. As in typically-developing populations, causal and maintaining mechanisms for paranoia in ASD, against a background of genetic and environmental risk, most likely include cognitive and affective processes interacting with social factors. We hypothesise, however, that core ASD characteristics and associated neurocognitive impairments also serve to precipitate and perpetuate paranoia. A framework to guide further investigation is outlined.

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Contents

| | | uction | |
|----|--------|----------------------------------------|-----|
| 2. | Metho | od | 99 |
| | 2.1. | Search strategy | 99 |
| | 2.2. | Study inclusion and exclusion criteria | 100 |
| | | Analysis plan | |
| 3. | Result | s | 100 |
| | 3.1. | Search results and data extraction | 100 |
| | 3 3 | Overview of studies | 103 |

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| | 3.3. | Participant characteristics |
|----|--------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| | 3.4. | Quality assessment of included studies |
| | 3.5. | Establishing rates of paranoia |
| | 3.6. | Associations between autistic traits and paranoia |
| | 3.7. | Psychological variables associated with paranoia |
| | | 3.7.1. Theory of mind |
| | | 3.7.2. Attributional style |
| | | 3.7.3. Self-representation and self-awareness |
| | | 3.7.4. Reasoning style |
| | | 3.7.5. Anxiety and depression |
| | | 3.7.6. Fear of negative evaluation |
| | | 3.7.7. Self-esteem |
| | | 3.7.8. Suggestibility, vulnerability and compliance |
| 4. | Discus | ssion |
| | 4.1. | Overview |
| | 4.2. | Conceptualising paranoia in ASD |
| | 4.3. | Limitations |
| | 4.4. | Research implications |
| | 4.5. | Clinical implications |
| | 4.6. | Conclusion |
| | Ackno | wledgements |
| | Refere | ences |
| | | |

1. Introduction

Autism spectrum disorders (ASD) are childhood onset, behaviourally defined, neurodevelopmental conditions. Core ASD characteristics include socio-communication impairments, adherence to non-functional rituals and routines, and engagement in a narrow repertoire of interests and activities (APA, 2014; WHO, 1992). ASD prevalence rates are reported to just exceed 1% of the population (Brugha et al., 2011), however given significant clinical heterogeneity, and potential sex differences in symptom profiles (Van Wijngaarden-Cremers et al., 2014), it is conceivable that rates are underestimated (NICE, 2011, 2012).

Although diagnostic overshadowing may mar a full assessment of psychopathology, studies consistently indicate that individuals with ASD are highly likely to experience psychiatric co-morbidities (Joshi et al., 2013; Russell et al., 2015; Simonoff et al., 2008), including anxiety disorders (White, Oswald, Olendick & Scahill, 2009), obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD) (Cadman et al., 2015), low mood and depression (Ghaziuddin, Ghaziuddin & Greden, 2002), and psychosis (Chisholm, Lin, Abu-Akel & Wood, 2015). Similarly, transdiagnostic characteristics – i.e. symptoms which can manifest across a range of psychiatric disorders – occur commonly. Such characteristics can include problems with eating and 'food selectivity' (Marí-Bauset, Zazpe, Mari-Sanchis, Llopis-González & Morales-Suáres-Varella, 2014), sleep disturbance (Elrod and Hood, 2015), emotion dysregulation (Weiss, 2014), and paranoia (Blackshaw, Kinderman, Hare & Hatton, 2001).



Fig. 1. The paranoia hierarchy (Freeman et al., 2005).

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