# Improving Neurodivergent Experiences in the Workplace: Identifying Barriers and Facilitators to Employment for Autistic Adults

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### Abstract

Autistic adults have higher rates of unemployment and underemployment than both non-autistic disabled and non-disabled adults. Given the positive relationship between employment and quality of life, it is essential to gain a better understanding of the obstacles to and facilitators of employment for autistic adults. A mixed methods approach is used to study the landscape of accommodations for autistic adults (N = 85) who are currently or were previously employed. Additionally, the positive and negative factors related to employment are considered within an ecological systems framework. Approximately half of the participants reported that they did not receive any workplace accommodations, while 73.2% of these individuals believed they would benefit from accommodations. Of the factors impacting employment, task training received the most positive, and mental health challenges received the most negative average rating. Qualitative analyses of free responses revealed positive and negative contributors to employment experiences impacting five levels of interaction across four themes (acceptance of neurodivergence, communication, autonomy, and formal/informal accommodations). The themes act differentially across the levels. Recommendations for novel accommodations are described relating to each theme and level. Importantly, increased top-down support for employees and cultural changes are essential for the long-term employment success of autistic adults.

### Lay Abstract

Autistic adults have much higher rates of unemployment than non-autistic adults. The reasons for positive and negative experiences in the workplace for autistic adults are not well understood. While some positive and negative factors related to employment experiences of autistic adults have been studied on their own, there is limited research on how these factors interact. Further, previous work in this area focuses largely on the transition to employment. This paper explores the workplace experiences of 85 autistic adults, half of whom have a co-diagnosis of ADHD. It describes the most commonly received accommodations, the perceived usefulness of these supports, the most and least helpful contributing factors, and how these factors interact to impact employment. Combined quantitative and qualitative analyses (survey data and thematic analysis from open-ended/free responses) reveal novel insights into the factors that support employment across multiple levels of interaction. On average, specific task training had the most positive impact on employment experiences, while mental health challenges had the most negative impact on employment experiences. An analysis of free responses from participants suggest five levels (individual, workplace, colleagues, supervisor, society) and four themes (acceptance of neurodivergence, high-quality communication, autonomy, availability of formal/informal accommodations) that are important for improving experiences in the workplace. This paper outlines concrete actions that all individuals in the workplace can take to improve the employment experiences of autistic adults, while also calling for larger cultural shifts and policy changes to make these steps effective and sustainable in the long term.

Autistic adults have strikingly high disparities in employment outcomes compared to their non-autistic peers with and without other disabilities. These discrepancies include higher rates of unemployment (ranging from 50% to 71%) and lower rates of being employed least once (63%; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2023; Office for National Statistics, 2022; Newman et al., 2011; Roux et al., 2013; Shattuck et al., 2012). The notable gap in employment rates suggests the need for greater insight into the barriers and facilitators to employment for autistic individuals.

Autism is diagnosed based on (1) social communication challenges and (2) restricted and repetitive behaviors (American Psychological Association, 2013). Previous research has examined how features of the workplace can create specific challenges for individuals with these diagnostic characteristics (e.g., Waisman-Nitzan, Gal, & Schreuer, 2021). The poor employment outcomes of autistic adults have largely been attributed to stigma, communication challenges with non-autistic colleagues, and limited availability and accessibility of accommodations in the workplace (Black et al., 2020; Harmouth et al., 2018; Roux et al., 2013). However, many autistic adults also possess strengths that make them assets in the workplace, including strong focus, efficiency of task completion, and dedication (e.g., Cope & Remington, 2022). The barriers described above may prevent autistic employees from optimally utilizing their strengths and reaching their potential.

Furthermore, lack and/or loss of employment has been closely linked to decreased quality of life and worse mental health among autistic individuals (Moss et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 2022). Autistic individuals are also more likely to have co-occurring diagnoses, including diagnoses of attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder

(ADHD; 28%), anxiety disorders (20-65%), and depressive disorders (11-53%), than the general public, which may lead to additional challenges in the workplace (Fombonne et al., 2022; Hollocks et al., 2019; Hudson et al., 2019; Jadav & Bal, 2022; Lai et al., 2019). Despite the heterogeneous profiles of autistic individuals, existent research on employment of autistic people primarily includes autistic males with limited characterization of co-occurring diagnoses, limiting the generalizability of findings.

This work addresses several gaps in the literature. First, participants with a range of co-diagnoses and diverse gender identities are included, increasing the representation of autistic experiences and the generalizability of the results. Second, a mixed-methods approach including both quantitative and qualitative analyses is utilized to capture the rich and varied experiences of participants. Finally, the authors consulted with autistic collaborators to refine the data interpretation and to increase the relevance of the findings within the autism community.

The study addresses three primary research questions: (1) What is the landscape of workplace accommodations for autistic adults?; (2) Which factors (positive and negative) do autistic adults identify as being the most relevant to their employment experiences?; (3) How can workplace experiences and accommodation processes be improved across multiple levels of interaction?

#### Methods

### **Participants**

This online, survey-based, study was conducted with autistic participants recruited in collaboration with Simons Powering Autism Research ("SPARK"; SPARK Consortium, 2018). The SPARK database of autistic individuals has been confirmed to

have a high degree of autism diagnosis validity (Fombonne et al., 2022). All SPARK participants reside in the United States (US).

#### **Recruitment and Enrollment Procedures**

Potential participants were first screened by SPARK team members between August and December of 2022. Eligible participants met the following criteria: legally independent adults (specified in SPARK's questionnaire); aged 18 to 65 years; currently employed for pay or employed for pay in the past five years. Interested and eligible participants were contacted by the study coordinator and completed the consent form and surveys online via Qualtrics (Qualtrics.org) on the Prolific online experiment website (Prolific.co). Participants were compensated with a gift card.

### **Enrolled Participants**

A total of 86 participants were enrolled; one participant was excluded for incomplete survey data (survey completion < 80%). The final sample consisted of 85 autistic adults, including adults with (n = 43 [28 female]) and without (n = 42 [27 female]) a co-occurring ADHD diagnosis (**SI-1**). Participants' gender identities and race are included in **SI-1**.

#### Measures

Participants completed four online surveys. Additional information about each, including a copy of the *Novel Custom Employment Experiences Survey,* is included in SI-Methods.

The novel employment survey included questions about employment history, accommodations, and positive and negative factors related to employment experiences. The survey was designed based on the author's review of existing literature about the

employment experiences of autistic individuals and non-autistic individuals with disabilities (Harmuth et al., 2018; Hammel et al., 2015; Hayward et al., 2019; Hendricks et al., 2010). The authors extracted accommodations and relevant factors for the employment experiences of autistic adults and organized them into an ecological systems-theory framework spanning the individual-, work environment- (sub-levels: accommodations and general work environment), and societal-level (**Figure 1**). The survey included Five-point Likert scale ratings and multiple-choice options. Free response questions were used to capture additional information about participants' employment experiences. The survey also included questions about other employmentrelated topics, including the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on employment, attitudes toward employment, and perceived employment experiences compared to their peers. These data are beyond the scope of the current paper and are not included here.

#### Additional Characterization Measures

Participants completed the Patient-Reported Outcomes Measurement Information System (PROMIS) Short-Form Instrument, Emotional Distress-Anxiety Short Form (PROMIS Health Organization), the Quality of Life Survey (QoLS; Burckhardt & Anderson, 2003), and the Autism Quotient (AQ; Baron-Cohen et al., 2001). Scores on the PROMIS can range from 7 to 35; higher scores indicate greater severity of anxiety. Scores on the QoLS can range from 16 to 112; higher scores indicate a higher quality of life. Scores on the AQ can range from 0 to 50; higher scores indicate more autism-related symptoms.

#### Analyses

# **Employment Sector Classification**

To understand the job sectors in which participants were employed, two research team members independently reviewed and classified participants' answers to a free response question about their current or most recent previous job title and role. Each role was classified according to the major U.S. employment group sectors (www.bls.gov). The initial inter-rater agreement was 73%. All disagreements were resolved through discussion. For participant responses with insufficient information, the raters followed the procedure outlined in **SI-Methods**.

#### Quality of Life and Anxiety Comparisons

Comparisons of anxiety scores (PROMIS), quality of life scores (QoLS), and autism characteristics (AQ) were made between (1) participants with versus without ADHD; and (2) Participants who were currently versus previously employed. Given the equal variances between groups, independent t-tests were used.

#### Characterizing Accommodations

Participants were provided a list of accommodations and prompted to select all the accommodations that they had received in their workplace. If they selected the option "I do not/did not receive any of these accommodations", the same list was provided again. Participants were then asked to select the accommodations that they thought could potentially be beneficial. The percent of people who received/would benefit from receiving at least one of the accommodations and the percent that each accommodation was received/would be beneficial to receive were calculated.

#### Likert Scale Analyses

Participants used a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Very Negative*; 2 = *Negative*; 3 = *Neutral*; 4 = *Positive*; 5 = *Very Positive*) to indicate how various factors affected their employment. The ratings of all factors, as well as factors within each level and sub-level, were ranked based on their average values (i.e., most positive to most negative) and statistically compared using the Friedman test with the Conover test post hoc. The Friedman test was chosen given the non-normally distributed, ordinal data. Notably, some factors and accommodations had missing Likert scale ratings due to participants reporting "I have not experienced this." To address this missing data, all ratings of "I have not experienced this." Were converted to neutral ratings of 3, to avoid skewing the results positively or negatively.

### Figure 1

Factors hypothesized to impact employment experiences of autistic adults, across the individual, work environment, and societal level, based on literature review



**Qualitative Thematic Analyses** 

Free responses were analyzed; The positive and negative factors that impacted participants' employment were extracted. Two raters on the research team completed the following: Firstly, the raters read all responses and independently identified the system level and sub-level that each factor acted upon (e.g., individual, workplace, society). Secondly, the raters independently classified how the barriers and facilitators highlighted in the responses clustered together within broad themes. Thirdly, the raters re-read quotes within each broad theme and sorted them into sub-themes. Finally, the raters discussed and compared their sub-themes until a consensus was reached. Interrater reliability was not calculated, as the goal was to capture as many details and perspectives as possible (see Busetto et al., 2020). Themes and sub-themes were then discussed and refined with the other authors.

#### Community Involvement

To ensure that the interpretations of the findings are accurate and relevant to the daily lives of autistic adults, the authors received feedback from two autistic community members with employment experience and two neuroinclusion consultants who specialize in improving neurodivergent employment experiences. The collaborators provided feedback primarily related to Table 3, which the authors utilized to modify the results and interpretations.

All procedures were approved by the relevant Institutional Review Board in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki.

#### Results

### **Employment Profiles**

Across all autistic participants, 67.1% reported being currently employed and 32.9% reported being previously employed (years worked: M = 3.9 years). The breakdown of the number of years and hours worked, and salary ranges are included in **SI-2**. The participants included employees across a wide range of employment sectors, including Computer/Mathematics, Arts/Design, Management, Entertainment, Sports/ Media, Office and Administrative Support (**Figure 2**).

# Figure 2



*Employment sectors in which autistic participants are currently, or were previously, employed* 

*Note*. Participants who reported more than one job are included in each category that they reported. Individuals in the "General Worker" category did not provide sufficient information for characterizing their employment sector in either the survey or SPARK database.

# Quality of Life and Anxiety Scores by Employment Status

Autistic adults with and without ADHD did not differ in their scores of selfreported stress (PROMIS-T-score) (p = .17, t = -1.40), quality of life (QoL) (p = .48, t = 0.71), or Autism Quotient (p = .62, t = 0.50) (**S1-2**). As such, all subsequent findings reported are collapsed across these two groups, unless stated otherwise.

The currently employed autistic participants had significantly higher QoLS ratings (M = 73.4, SD = 16.3) than the previously employed (M = 65.8, SD = 12.3) participants (t(75) = 2.04, p = .045). The currently employed group also had significantly lower PROMIS scores (M = 60.1, SD = 8.1) than the previously employed (M = 64.4, SD = 10.1) participants (t(84) = -2.12, p = .037), indicating lower levels of anxiety in the currently employed group. The currently and previously employed groups did not differ in their AQ scores (t(84) = 0.38, p = .71).

#### Accommodations Received by Autistic Adults

Across all autistic adults (currently and previously employed), 51.8% (17.6% M, 30.6% F) reported receiving at least one accommodation in the workplace. The most common accommodations received were a flexible work schedule (27.6%), modified job tasks (15.3%), and a job coach (12.2%). Of all the people who reported that they did *not* receive any accommodations, 73.2% reported they *believe they would benefit* from accommodations. The most commonly reported accommodations by these people were extended time for tasks (23.8%), flexible work schedule (17.5%), and modified job tasks (15.9%).

Participants also rated how positively or negatively different accommodations impacted their employment experiences. *Flexible hours* (M = 3.7, SD = 1.2) and *Transportation to and from work* (M = 3.5, SD = 1.2) were rated significantly more

positively (p's < 0.01) than an *On site job coach* (M = 3.0, SD = 1.2) and *Assistive technology* (M = 3.0, SD = 1.3). The other accommodations included in the survey (*Individualized accommodations*, *Hybrid work format*, and *Opportunities for remote work*) had relatively neutral ratings (**Figure 3**).

# Figure 3

Likert Scale Ratings (1-5) of the usefulness of specific accommodations at the level of a) the individual, the work environment consisting of b) accommodations in the workplace and c) the general work environment, and d) society



*Note*. The percent value under each accommodation/factor represents the percent of participants who reported that they currently or previously received each. Participants who did not have experience with a given accommodation contributed a neutral rating of 3 (neither positive nor negative). Only participants who reported experiencing each accommodation rated the usefulness of each (indicated by the percentages below each factor in the figure).

# **Ratings of Positive and Negative Factors**

To better understand the relative impact of various barriers and facilitators in the workplace, the factors that most positively and negatively impacted participants' employment experiences across levels and sublevels were compared. Across all factors, a visual analysis revealed that participants reported being most positively impacted by (ordered from most positive): specific task training (M = 4.1, SD = 0.9); prior education (M = 3.8, SD = 1.1); flexible hours (M = 3.7, SD = 1.2); and diversity, equity, and inclusion training (M = 3.6, SD = 1.3). They indicated that they were most negatively impacted by (from most negative): mental health challenges (M = 2.3, SD = 1.2), sensitivity to light and sound (M = 2.4, SD = 1.1), physical health (M = 2.5, SD = 1.1), and attitudes of ableism (M = 2.6, SD = 1.2) in the workplace (**SI-3**).

At the level of the individual, challenges with mental and physical health were significantly rated to be the most negative (p < .01). Prior education was significantly the most positive factor (p < .01), for all factors except for interactions with friends and family (p > .05). In the work environment, task training was significantly rated to be the most positive factor (p's < .01 for all comparisons except for DEI training which was p < .05), and sensitivity to light and sound was the most negatively rated factor (all p's < .01).

### **Qualitative Theme Extraction**

#### Thematic Analysis

An inductive qualitative analysis of participants' free responses was performed to gain greater insight into the barriers and facilitators for individual experiences. While the factors that participants provided ratings on within the level of the work environment included general aspects of the organization (training, culture, policies), the free

responses revealed the significance of social dynamics, interactions, and communication. Subsequently, the three levels identified *a priori* (Individual, Work Environment, Society) were expanded to include the following five levels that overlap and interact: personal/individual, peers/colleagues, supervisors/management, workplace environment, and society (**Figure 4**).

The individual level is embedded within the work environment level, as various barriers and facilitators act solely for the individual but also arise through the individual's interactions with social, organizational, and physical aspects of the workplace. Additionally, supervisors and peers/colleagues are embedded within the work environment but are considered unique levels due to the considerations and challenges specific to each. These interactions are all embedded in society and are affected by broader societal attitudes and structures (**Figure 4**).

# Figure 4



Uni- and bi-directional interactions at each level (bolded, larger font) and sub-level identified by participants as being most relevant for employment according to qualitative analyses.

*Note*. The individual contributes to the culture and social dynamics of the work environment, but these interactions also affect the individual's personal well-being, expectations about employment, and sense of belonging in society. Similarly, supervisors play a pivotal role in influencing the work culture by setting the tone for social interactions at work. However, the work culture and values of the organization also inform how supervisors treat their employees. All of these interactions are influenced by societal awareness and attitudes towards neurodivergency.

Positive and negative factors were identified from the free responses that acted at and across all levels. These factors thematically clustered together to form the following four broad themes that can be addressed to improve employment experiences for autistic adults: *acceptance* of neurodiversity in the workplace, the quality of *communication*, the *autonomy* afforded to autistic employees, and the *accommodations* and supports provided formally through the company and informally on an individual basis (**Figure 5**).

Acceptance. Related to improving acceptance of neurodivergent individuals in the workplace, participants reported that having colleagues who had a *positive attitude towards their neurodivergence* and who treated them with *honor and respec*t helped to facilitate their employment experience. Participants also expressed that *improved awareness and understanding of neurodivergence* in the workplace, *offering inclusion/DEI training*, and having supervisors who provided a *safe space for them to disclose* their diagnosis and accordingly allowed for *flexibility* to support them, increased their feelings of acceptance in the workplace.

**Autonomy.** Within the theme of autonomy, participants described the usefulness of *flexibility in their schedule, pace, and work format*, as well as the ability to *control and adjust their physical environment*. This included being able to work with *minimal interruptions* and having time for *non-social breaks*. *Reducing micromanagement,* 

particularly as related to supervisors' underestimating the abilities of neurodivergent employees, was also indicated as a way to improve an individual's sense of workplace autonomy and independence.

**Communication.** Participants described differences in social communication from non-autistic individuals as a key experience in the workplace. Strategies highlighted by the participants to improve workplace communication and interactions included: increasing *written/documented instructions* for employees, providing very *clear instructions about what exactly a specific job/task entails and what constitutes completion of that task*, and consideration of each *individual employee's capacity when assigning tasks*.

Accommodations. Participants indicated that *explicitly provided* accommodations and company-wide policies to promote inclusivity were crucial aspects of their employment success. Beyond the explicit provision of accommodations, participants indicated that the *provision of informal and individualized supports* or allowing process adjustments on a case-by-case basis (e.g., allowing employees to use headphones) could improve performance. Participants also described how making these informal negotiations was most feasible when their employers were aware of the needs and challenges associated with autism. Thus, taking diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives to increase awareness about the challenges and strengths associated with neurodivergent profiles could offer additional visibility and opportunities to build inclusive workplaces.

Given the interconnected nature of the themes and sub-themes, some of the recommended steps can ameliorate multiple issues in the workplace (illustrated via the

connecting lines in **Figure 5**). For example, utilizing one strategy (e.g., providing choice in work format) is a process adjustment that also improves autonomy.

# Figure 5

Solution-oriented themes and sub-themes



*Note*. The four primary themes (blue boxes) emerged from the qualitative analysis of participant's free responses, interactions between these themes (connecting lines), and the solution-oriented sub-themes identified within each larger theme (white boxes). Given the intersecting nature of the themes, introducing one strategy (e.g., providing inclusion training) can provide benefits in more than one area (i.e., acceptance, accommodations).

# Deriving Novel Recommendations from Themes.

The four themes act within and between the five levels identified in the systems-

theory model. See Table 3 for specific illustrations of these problems and proposed

solutions through participant responses.

# Table 3

Recommendations Extracted from Free Responses to Illustrate the Interactions Between Themes, Sub-Themes, and

Levels

Sub-theme	Level	Free Response	Recommendation
Honor and	Individual	"Appreciation, understanding of my	Foster a work environment that respects and
respect		condition, believing I have done [ <i>sic</i> ]	celebrates neurodiversity through employee
		ASD tendencies and what they are and	resource groups, regular workshops, seminars (e.g.
		that I am smart, I'm just different." (+)	related to intersectionality, and shared experiences),
			newsletters, and social events.
	Peers and	"Genuinely understanding and	
	Colleagues	trustworthy coworkers who don't take	Provide Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Justice
		my quirks and differences as personal	training for all employees to increase awareness
		affronts." (+)	about the needs and experiences of neurodivergent
			individuals.
	Supervisor	"Most employers have been	
		unforgiving of my neurodiversity, one	Train supervisors on neuroinclusivity and how to
		even going so far as to yell at me for	respond appropriately to and support employees
			who disclose their diagnosis.
	Sub-theme Honor and respect	Sub-themeLevelHonor andIndividualrespectPeers andColleaguesSupervisor	Sub-themeLevelFree ResponseHonor andIndividual"Appreciation, understanding of my condition, believing I have done [sic] ASD tendencies and what they are and that I am smart, I'm just different." (+)Peers and"Genuinely understanding and trustworthy coworkers who don't take my quirks and differences as personal affronts." (+)Supervisor"Most employers have been 

			taking time to think through tasks	
			before doing them and making lists." (-)	
Autonomy	Flexibility and	Work	"Working alone with a flexible schedule	Provide employees with seating areas with minimal
	Individualized	environment	in order to achieve tasks on time" (+)	distractions available upon request.
	supports	(culture and	"I have always had very supportive and	
		policies)	understanding supervisors who are	Make allowances for creative solutions that increase
			happy to give leeway as long as I get	task and schedule flexibility. For example, provide
			my work done" (+)	opportunities for independent work, options to set
				one's schedule and breaks, and options for reduced
	Micromanaging	Supervisors	"My managers continue to believe that	day-to-day oversight for individuals who typically
			because of my disabilities that I'm not	complete their tasks.
			able to perform my job and even ask	
			others to go check my work even	
			though it has been completed	
			satisfactory." (-)	

Communication Documentation	Work	"Instruction booklets, equipment	Provide clear task training and instructions through
	environment	manuals" (+)	multiple modalities (face-to-face, summary emails
	(training)		and written feedback, booklets with audio/pictorial
			instructions, etc.)
	Work	"Cannot express my neurodiverse	
	environment	issues, they don't get it" (-)	Having mechanisms in place between supervisors
	(culture and		and employees to clarify instructions and provide
	policies)		feedback without fear of censure. For example,
			anonymous surveys, weekly group check-ins in-
	Peers and	"The co-workers would constantly	person or via email, reserved time in supervisors'
	Colleagues	bicker and gossip about each other,	schedules for one-on-one meetings, etc.
		starting drama and fights about each	
		other, which would also limit their	Build a friendly work culture and increase
		ability to do their portion of the hotel	accessibility to HR specialists who can support
		duties which in turn would leave a	employees in escalated issues involving social
		huge amount of tasks to be done in	dynamics, mental health, and/or life events.
		addition to my own duties in order to	
	1		

		process the night audit and 'change'	Optionally anonymous survey to inform supervisors
		the day for the hotel. This increased	about how social dynamics are affecting individual
		stress of having to go far outside the	workloads.
		scope of dictated work duties, led to an	
		eventual mild mental breakdown." (-)	Provide management training to supervisors on
			adapting job roles around neurodiverse needs and
Clear	Supervisors	"Knowing exactly what is expected and	work with employees to create schedules/workloads
expectations		what constitutes completion." (+)	that are compatible with individual capacities.
		"Effective communication from	
		superiors was the only positive factor.	
		It was the only way I could understand	
		what was actually expected and so I	
		was able to build from that. It became	
		the main motivation and guide" (+)	
		"I have had supervisors whose	
		expectations are unrealistic and if	

			followed would lead directly to	
			burnout." (-)	
			"I do not get feedback. I have been	
			asking for an employee review for	
			literally years." "Lack of meaningful	
			feedback." (-)	
Accommodation	Provision/lack of	Work	"I work in the food industry so	Provide access to options for modifying/adapting to
s	supports	environment	everything is pretty much always	the physical work environment (e.g., using
		(physical	incredibly loud which gets hard to work	headphones/ear plugs, installing light dimmers
		environment)	around." (-)	and/or changing fluorescent light bulbs, modifying
				volume of background music, using scentless soaps
			"Ability to stim through fidgeting or	in the bathroom, using personal tools to fidget and
			listening to music makes it easier to	stim).
			work." (+)	

		Solicit feedback from employees about reasonable
	"To have my own office that I can close	adjustments to create sensory supportive physical
	my door" (+)	work environments.
	"I'm not social, so putting me in a low	Provide access to third-party individuals (e.g
	interaction area" (+)	mediators, employee resource groups) who can
		negotiate for accommodations and/or anonymously
		request support on behalf of employees with needs.
		Ensure the presence of quiet break rooms and allow
		flexibility in the use of these spaces.

Note: Researchers reviewed participants' free responses and categorized them according to major theme, sub-theme, and level.

Researchers then developed recommendations based on the free responses related to each theme. Quotes highlighted in green

followed by (+) indicate positive experiences. Quotes highlighted in red followed by (-) indicate negative experiences.

#### Discussion

In the present study, 85 previously and currently employed autistic adults with and without ADHD across a range of employment sectors, gender identities, and salaries indicated which factors most positively and negatively affected their employment experiences. Consistent with previous literature, the currently employed autistic adults reported lower levels of anxiety and higher quality of life than the unemployed autistic adults (Moss et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 2022).

Overall, approximately half of participants reported that they did not receive any formal accommodations in the workplace, although a majority of these individuals (73.2%) believed they would benefit from them. The most commonly reported accommodations were flexible work schedules and modified job tasks. The most commonly reported accommodations that people believed would be beneficial were extended time for tasks and flexible work schedules, which have received limited attention in prior literature but have become increasingly possible due to technological and cultural shifts driven by the COVID-19 pandemic (Mischke et al., 2023). Free responses from participants provide insight into why this accommodation was consistently rated positively; participants revealed that they benefit from having control over and being able to adjust their physical space, setting their own pace, taking breaks when needed, and minimizing interruptions, all of which are afforded by a flexible/hybrid work schedule.

Together, the accommodation ratings and qualitative analyses elucidate various factors that positively and negatively impact autistic adults in the workplace across five levels of interaction (Individual, Work Environment, Supervisors, Peers/Colleagues,

Society). Across these five levels, four themes were revealed to be most relevant to employment experiences (acceptance, accommodations, communication, autonomy). While the major themes extracted from the qualitative analyses act across every level of interaction, the authors' interpretation based on the thematic analysis suggests that certain themes are most relevant to particular levels (**Figure 6** and described below).

# Figure 6





*Note*. Each of the themes (in boxes/bubbles) derived from this study act differentially across the levels of interaction (in bold on the left). Notably, attitudes of acceptance and understanding at the societal level have a cascading effect that is relevant for improving employment experiences across all levels. An example quote from a participant in response to a question asking about negative experiences is provided to illustrate how each of these themes can intersect to affect the employment experiences of one individual. Color coding and arrows show the parts of the quote that correspond to the major themes and the asterisks show the part of the quote that is specific to the level of the work environment.

# Individual

At the level of the individual, challenges with mental and physical health were consistently rated to be the most negative factors and prior education was rated to be the most positive factor across all participants. However, mental health considerations have been infrequently mentioned in previous literature related to employment experiences. These may have been highlighted in the present study due to the inclusive recruitment strategy used. The qualitative analysis suggested that the themes of acceptance and accommodations are the most relevant to improving workplace experiences at the individual level. Participants described how acceptance and knowledge of *their own* neurodivergence were important for them to identify. understand, and subsequently advocate for their needs in the workplace. Formally provided supports (e.g., mental health counseling/coaching) and/or informally provided supports (e.g., third-party individuals who negotiate for accommodations) can address barriers at the individual level, while also taking away the pressure of seeking out these supports from the individual. Participants also indicated that factors such as a later age of diagnosis and/or cultural stigma towards autism can pose additional barriers, highlighting the importance of a concurrent cultural shift towards increased knowledge and acceptance of neurodivergence.

#### Work Environment

At the level of the *work environment*, sensitivity to light and sound was rated as the most negative factor and task-specific training was rated as the most positive factor. Qualitative analyses revealed that the intersection of communication, acceptance, and accommodations is crucial for facilitating effective interactions between autistic employees and their colleagues and supervisors in the workplace. These include

enabling employees with different sensory needs to modify their workspaces and ensuring clear communication of job role requirements and expectations. Further, the theme of autonomy also plays a crucial role at the level of the work environment (**Figure 6**). Allowing flexibility in scheduling and deadlines, factoring in employee feedback on pace/workload, and allowing reasonable modifications to physical workspaces would create inclusive workplaces for autistic and non-autistic employees alike.

### **Redefining accommodations**

Current systems for accessing workplace accommodations pose several challenges to neuroinclusion efforts; three of which are highlighted here. Firstly, medical documentation of a disability and/or the need for an accommodation is typically required to receive one. This requires substantial coordination between practitioners, employees, and employers and can introduce expensive testing and bureaucratic delays (Lindsay et al., 2021; Shattuck & Grosse, 2007). Secondly, once a diagnosis has been disclosed, employers are required to provide "reasonable accommodations" as long as they do not create "undue hardship" for the company (including high financial or administrative costs; Americans with Disabilities Act; U.S. Department of Labor, n.d.). The identification of "reasonable" accommodations often requires the employee to define what accommodations they need in a discussion with their employer. Employees may not be aware of the types of accommodations available to them, know which tools will be most helpful, or be comfortable advocating for themselves. For example, a familiar accommodation that an employee receives in a school environment (e.g., extra time on tests) may not be helpful within the workplace. Thirdly, while legally mandating accommodations has been useful in establishing a baseline for implementing supports,

it does not incentivize supervisors to identify informal strategies to support their employees, which can often be easier and quicker to implement.

The authors propose broadening societal understanding of accommodations to consider accommodations as "any tool that can be used to help someone do their job better" (Neurodiversity in the Workplace, 2023) while continuing to acknowledge the legal definitions associated with the term. While the recommendations in Table 3 were specifically designed to support neurodivergent individuals, their positive impact can improve the employment experience and productivity of all employees. This positive impact can be further amplified by proactively making providing accessible to everyone in a top-down manner. One example of this outside the context of employment has been the use of closed captioning by media streaming services. While this feature was originally designed to increase the accessibility of media for individuals who are deaf or hard of hearing, captions have become integrated with and enhanced how many hearing individuals also prefer to consume content. Within the work environment, one such approach could be to allow all individuals to wear earplugs/headphones while performing their duties. This could be useful for many non-autistic employees who find it easier to focus when using these devices while being especially beneficial for autistic employees struggling with sensory overload. Importantly, these kinds of approaches would also mitigate the need for neurodivergent employees to undergo potentially stigmatizing processes like disclosing their diagnosis in order to receive accommodations, ensuring that the burden of seeking these resources does not fall entirely on the individual employee.

#### Implications at the Level of Society

Importantly, each level exists within, and is directly and indirectly impacted by, society (e.g., cultural beliefs, legal policies, and economic structures). In the present study, the analyses were designed primarily to probe relevant factors *within* the workplace, and recommendations were developed accordingly. However, participants also highlighted how broader societal attitudes and legal/economic infrastructures influence their daily experiences. Participant perspectives suggested that a cultural shift is necessary for improving the overall well-being of autistic individuals, which would in turn improve their job-related experiences and interactions. The following quote from one of the autistic community collaborators illustrates this idea:

As a high-masking Autistic person, lack of acceptance of Autistic traits leads me to mask in the work environment, which compromises my health and quality of life. If there were greater acceptance of natural Autistic ways of being, there would be less pressure to mask and would lead to increased quality of life.

While cultural shifts (e.g., increased knowledge and acceptance of neurodivergence) is an important overarching goal, recommendations for issues at the societal level may be too abstract for organizations to implement. For this reason, the scope of the recommendations in Table 3 was constrained to those that could be implemented within the work environment. This approach may be more practical and actionable and can serve as a catalyst for change and inclusivity more broadly. However, to truly improve the employment experiences of neurodiverse individuals, the authors advocate for a dual approach including proactive supports (formal and informal) in the workplace and concerted efforts over time toward the broader goal of fostering inclusivity by increasing

all employees' awareness and understanding of neurodivergency, not tolerating stigmatizing behavior, and facilitating the autonomy of autistic individuals.

#### Limitations

Several limitations should be considered. Firstly, while the recruitment methods were designed to be more inclusive than in previous studies (with respect to specific considerations of sex and co-occurring diagnoses), the sample is relatively homogeneous with regard to race. The barriers to obtaining diagnoses, employment, and accommodations are compounded by factors related to race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status (Aylward et al., 2021; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics). Future work should consider how the framework presented here applies to the unique challenges faced by individuals with intersectional identities.

Secondly, factors such as self-awareness may have affected how participants responded to survey questions. Some research suggests that autistic individuals may have differences in self-awareness compared to non-autistic individuals (Huang et al, 2017; Mazefsky et al., 2011). Future research using interviews with autistic employees and their colleagues could yield additional insight.

Thirdly, a subset of autistic adults was excluded from the study (e.g., those who are not legally independent). Future research should investigate the barriers to entry for individuals from this excluded group who wish to become employed.

### Conclusions

The present study afforded the development of a data-driven framework for considering barriers and facilitators to employment for autistic adults, as well as actionable steps that can be taken by all individuals within a workplace to improve

experiences for autistic adults. These recommendations are derived from participant responses and developed in collaboration with autistic community collaborators and neuroinclusion consultants. Future research must systematically and empirically evaluate the impact of implementing these recommendations within the workplace. Finally, while these bottom-up changes are necessary, top-down cultural shifts are essential to ensure the feasibility and impact of these recommendations.

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