Gender stereotyping in careers

Experiences of people who are in a gender minority career

Evaluation & Research Team

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Skills Development Scotland

Contents

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Summary

Why explore gender minority careers?

Many careers in the UK are highly gendered. For example, only 3% of early years childcare workers are men[1] and only 16% of engineers are women[2]. Engineering and early years are experiencing growth[3,4]. One way of filling skills shortages is to encourage all genders to seek careers in these areas.

Aim of this research

The challenges of working in a gender minority area are well known [5],[6]. For example outdated attitudes about gender roles where care is seen as a women's job can be a barrier to men entering caring roles. Whereas women face a parallel experience where STEM subjects can be perceived in a gendered way which limits their entry into roles in science, technology, engineering or maths.

The focus of this research was to explore why young people opted to take a gender minority career, who and what influenced them and what encourages them to stay in that career.

Findings

Young people commonly reported chance happenings that sparked an interest in an area that became their career. This chimes with career theory [7] and points to the importance of meta-skills such as curiosity and resilience that could enable a young person to take a chance on an experience that leads to a career.

Other factors that attracted young people into a gender minority role were work experience, exposure to STEM in the school curriculum, hobbies, the pay and benefits of the career, being able to see a career path and actively wanting to challenge stereotypes.

Parents and carers were a key influencer. They influenced young people by encouraging a work ethic of regular attendance at school and encouraging attainment, facilitating work experience, discussing the pros and cons of choices, sharing information about career choices or simply agreeing with the career choice.

Some parents and carers discouraged certain career options by talking about negative aspects of the career choice (for example occupational stress), encouraging a narrow set of options or by the

[1] Men In The Early Years (MITEY) - PACEY
[2] INWED - Women's Engineering Society
[3] Engineering Skills Gap Analysis for Scotland - Scottish Engineering
[4] Early years workforce including childminders - Early education and care - gov.scot

[5] How to address the challenges men face in Early Years Education - Paragon Skills
[6] Women and girls in science: exploring the challenges facing female scientists today | UNESCO
[7] Krumboltz, J.D., 2009. The happenstance learning theory. *Journal of career assessment*, *17*(2), pp.135-154.

young person wanting to be different to the role model their parents exhibited.

Other influences in career choice included role models such as the Apprentice of the Year, friends, wider family, teachers and careers advisers.

All participants talked about the love for their job. The reasons they loved their job varied, and included a chance to:

- Do meaningful work
- See a job through from conception to completion
- Use a range of skills
- Consciously break stereotypes
- Work in a supportive team

Supporting young people in gender minority careers

Our findings provide suggestions of how young people can be supported.

For example, parents are a key influencer of young people's decisions, but we know from our research with parents and carers[8] that some don't always recognise their place as influencers. Parents and carers can positively support their young people by focusing on the skills required in roles, exploring progression routes, the pros and cons of roles, arranging work experience and encouraging an open mindset.

The research reminds us that careers are often not planned in advance, but that chance events can open up career opportunities that had previously not been considered. Careers advisers have a role in supporting skills and behaviours that enable young people to take advantage of chance events when they come along.

Teachers can encourage exploration of careers by making connections between curriculum areas and careers, facilitating connections between students and employers, challenging and discussing stereotypes. Teachers also have a role in encouraging a growth mindset to enable students to be open to taking advantage of chance opportunities.

The research identified many ways in which employers can support people opting to enter and stay in gender minority careers. A range of formal, less formal and cultural factors were identified that supported young people.

All participants were positive about their roles, demonstrating that it is possible to have a positive experience working in a gender minority field.

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[8] skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk/media/tsplnwzq/parents-carers-voice-research-202324.mp4

Introduction

This research is part of a suite of studies[9] conducted by SDS which explore young people's career influences and choices. Our research points to gendered occupational choice, with more young women choosing to go into medicine, health and caring careers, whereas young men are more likely to choose to enter construction and engineering.

Young people indicate that parents and carers are the biggest influence on their careers choice. Conversely, our research with parents and carers shows that many do not see themselves in this way

This qualitative research complements our existing research by focusing on young people who opt to take a course or career where they will be in a gender minority. We explore more about influences and influencers and get an understanding of what keeps young people working or studying in a gender minority area.

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[9] CIAG Research - Skills Development Scotland

Methods

Twenty interviews were undertaken.

Participants were recruited in five ways:

- From respondents to the SDS Young Peoples Career Ambitions project who had agreed to take part in further research

- Personal contacts from the SDS co-ordinated Women and Girls Focal Point Group

- Personal contact from an SDS colleague

- Through the Scottish Apprenticeship Advisory Board Apprentices Group

- Through the National Training Programme list of Modern Apprentices in Training

Inclusion criteria for the study were:

- Must be aged 26 or under

- Must be studying or working in a gender minority area. This was defined as a female in a STEM or corporate law or a male in childcare, teaching or care work

Eighteen were conducted using Microsoft Teams online and two were conducted face-to-face within an SDS office.

Eleven female, eight male and one nonbinary person were interviewed.

Other protected characteristics were not explored but some participants chose to reflect on how disability, ethnicity or sexual orientation affected their everyday career experiences.

As part of the research, we asked participants to share images, gifs or memes that reflected their experience of working in an area in which they would be in a gender minority.

Seven participants chose to share an image. Only one shared images during the research conversation. Six shared images following the research conversation and some of these gave a commentary which illustrated the meaning of the image to them.

Of the images that were shared, only publicly available copyright free images will be used in this briefing paper. The remaining images were included in our analysis but are not shared here to maintain participant confidentiality.

The interviews were transcribed and placed in Nvivo along with the images. The textual information was analysed by coding text and grouping into themes around the research questions. The images were coded by exploring the visual aspects of the image and the meanings behind the visual (Systematic Visuo Textual Analysis).

Why were you attracted to your career?

Chance

Our participants often talked about chance events that influenced their decisions. Where they were open to taking opportunities and these had turned out to be influential in their career paths and getting into areas of work where they were in a gender minority.

"My friend was talking to the lady and I was like oh, just stand and talk just to get the day over with..[laughs] I ended up chatting to her and … I was like, you know what, I've got a free spot on my timetable…it's not gonna do any harm…Why not…" **Man, Early Years Childcare**

"I was really interested in doing …English based subjects. And we got into my final year… I had a last place in my timetable, so I took design and manufacture and realise that I'm really interested in it… it was like "Whoa, this is something that I'm realising I'm a lot better doing," so although I applied to university and I got into university to do Sociology and English…I deferred it for a year and then did a college HNC in product design and then realised that I really like that a lot more." **Woman, Product Design**

This finding chimes with the Theory of Planned Happenstance[10] whereby careers are often not planned but are created in response to chance events that the person was able to take a chance on new area that may be of interest.

Work experience

Work experience was another way that helped participants to cement career choices. Having the ability to try out a new area of work was useful to those participants who were able to secure it. However, we know from our Young People's Career Ambitions research that not having enough work experience is something that many young people perceive as a barrier to their future career.

Work experience benefited participants by letting them meet new people, visualise what their career path might be and gain real insights into everyday experiences of the job. It would seem particularly crucial in gendered jobs that an individual gets to experience a job for themselves and make their own mind up as to whether they are suited to it.

"I managed to get into placement in the nursery…early years is what I'm passionate about...it sold it to me I thought I like this, this is great." **Man, Early Years Childcare**

Curriculum

Some participants were attracted to a subject that they were exposed to in the curriculum.

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[10] Miller, M. J. (1983). The role of happenstance in career choice. *The Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, **32**, 16–20.

"We had computer science in high school …there was coding which I really loved." **Woman, Computer Science**

Challenging stereotypes

For others, the chance to challenge stereotypes was attractive.

"There's nothing to stop you going to do a job that your uncle or brother does…you shouldn't think that's a guy's job…Everybody's just trying to break that barrier." **Woman, Construction**

"If I can prevent the toxic behaviours that my parents had towards me and from passing that down onto the kids I work with, then the I feel like I'm doing something right" **Nonbinary, Early Years Childcare**

Career path

Being able to see a career and the security that this brings was important for some participants. Knowing what a career path will be was highlighted as a key element in their career decision making. The power of being able to visualise themselves in a career came out strongly.

"I could see the job at the end of Law, but I couldn't see the job…what job I would… at the end of chemistry." **Woman, Corporate Law**

Pay and conditions

Having good pay and conditions also came out as an important factor. Participants highlighted the feelings of safety and security

that can often go along with good pay and conditions. We know from the labour market in general that young people are more likely to experience insecure work and conditions, so this was a strong influencing factor for our participants. Our Young People's Career Ambitions research identified that pay was one of the top things young people looked for in a job.

"They always pay if you get sick. So it was just kind of "hey this is a safe place to go" I'm into the health sector, but [shrugs] Money. Good money." **Woman, Computer Science Worker**

Hobbies

Many participants talked about how their hobbies outside of school had led them to develop skills that had meant they were suited to particular careers.

"I just wanted to work with cars, like there's nothing deep to it. I just want to learn how to work on cars. And it was just an easy thing to get into because I'd already had previous knowledge due to the fact I'm into cars." **Woman, Automotive**

Others talked about developing skills and confidence or leadership skills through hobbies, that they then found useful when working or studying in an area where they were in the gender minority.

"I've had to take…people managing courses with my Scout stuff...So I've got all these[skills] in the bag" **Woman, Product Design**

This echoes our research into Young People's Career Ambitions & our S4-S6 Pupil Voice where we find that hobbies are one of the main influencers. This shows the importance of ensuring that

young people have the opportunity to develop a wide range of interests and hobbies outside of school. It is also important that these are not gendered from an early age or restricted due to where a young person lives.

Influences and influencers

Parents and carers

Parents and carers were the biggest influence on career decision-making. This is a consistent theme shown across all 20 interviews. This confirms findings from our Pupils' Voice research where parents were also seen as being key influencers. This research tells us how parents and carers are influencing young people.

Many parents and carers provided active support by arranging work experience opportunities or facilitating participants' exposure to the job and different sectors.

"When I was at school, I wasn't allowed to take Technical, which was really infuriating. ….so I was like, well, it's fine …. I will just be with my dad anyway…. so my dad was, like, my biggest inspiration for the [trade]." **Woman, Construction**

Some parents and carers instilled a work ethic in their young person by encouraging attendance and attainment at school.

"I was brought up that I had to go to school. I couldn't miss school if I had a cold or anything. They encouraged me to get my exams." **Woman, Biotechnology**

Some parents and carers offered passive support by simply agreeing with their young person's choices.

"My parents just kind of always trusted me to make my own decisions…. They were just like, you know, just do whatever you enjoy and that's it" **Woman, Automotive**

This corresponds with findings from our Parents and Carers Voice research, where respondents considered what their child wanted to do and what their child enjoyed doing the most when discussing career options.

Some parents and carers of participants went further and offered more active guidance, such as sharing information about the participants' preferred career choice to help guide them in their decisions.

"My mum is an electrical engineer, but she does a lot of computer science at the side. So she really opened the world for me… she's very a workaholic. She reads a lot of articles about new technologies. So I will join her doing this. So that's really how my interest started" **Woman, Computer Science**

Parents and carers also helped participants weigh up the pros and cons of their choices.

"I sat with my mum and we just kinda like worked through all the subjects at school going; what do you like? What do you enjoy doing? We spent like 15 minutes just going through and just going. No. Yes. No, no, no, no. Yes. Done. That was it." **Man, Early Years Childcare**

"I did get offered another apprenticeship…. but that was plastering, so obviously like my family sat me down and we were kind of weighed out the pros and cons….Kind of where that would take me….[we] thought that this would maybe take me down the engineering route…. it could open more doors, so….that's how I chose this path" **Woman, Engineer**

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Some parents and carers did have initial reservations about their child going into a gender minority career.

"I think I was seventeen…so obviously I was working with a lot older men... I don't know if the fear came from like obviously working with older men…you know, the kind of thing that parents think... and obviously, about the heavy lifting, manual handling, like they were kind of scared in case I hurt my back or that… and I wouldn't be able to do it because it was too heavy. But no, they knew that I obviously enjoyed it and supported me through it." **Woman, Engineer**

Many participants talked about their parents and carers as role models. This took several forms, for some they saw the life experience of their parents as a good example. Some men experienced support and care from parents that inspired them to go into care work, whereas others saw how their parent's career had progressed and wanted to follow in their footsteps.

"Me and my dad are pure like that [participant crosses her fingers to indicate close]. So he was just always, he's always just been like my biggest like support. And he's like, he's always just trying to push me to go for things. So it was just always my dad" **Woman, Construction**

Other family members

Some participants talked about the influence of other family members. They influenced through shared interests, role modelling careers, or role modelling a career in caring through caring for family members.

Role models

Some participants mentioned role models outside of the family. For example some mentioned Apprentice of the Year or public figures, as well as managers and senior leaders at work who encouraged ideas and participation.

"That's reminded me and it made me think about like the interactions with [a role model] and all of her stories… was like visualised…so yeah, her stories were really inspirational." **Woman, Corporate Law**

Friends

Some participants mentioned friends who were encouraging about their career choices, who helped them with advice and reassured them that they were on the right path. Others said that their friends challenged them or didn't take what they did as a career seriously.

Teachers

Teachers were mentioned as influencers. Some had negative experiences with teachers, such as the teacher suggesting that childcare work would be "beneath them", that their career was "not academically challenging" or simply did not allow them to take a particular subject as it was "for boys".

"During school, the staff and guidance teachers weren't actually very positive about my choice …Teachers thought that I was

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wanting to do something below me and trying to push university onto myself. This was due to being a "high achieving student" **Man, Early Years Childcare**

Careers Advisers

Where participants had engaged with their careers adviser, they valued their support, particularly when their first-choice career path had fallen through, or when they were unsure about post-school routes or wanted to discuss other options.

"I only spoke to him like once or twice and he was very lovely…. And it kind of shifted my perspective, especially when I decided I didn't want to do English and writing so much anymore" **Woman, Product Design**

What encourages you in your job?

Many participants talked about features of a job they valued. Some of these can be mapped onto the job characteristics model[11] which highlights five domains in a job that influence employee satisfaction, motivation and performance. We found evidence of skills variety, task identity and task significance. In addition, we also found evidence of pride in the job, breaking stereotypes and supportive teams as elements that encouraged participants in their job.
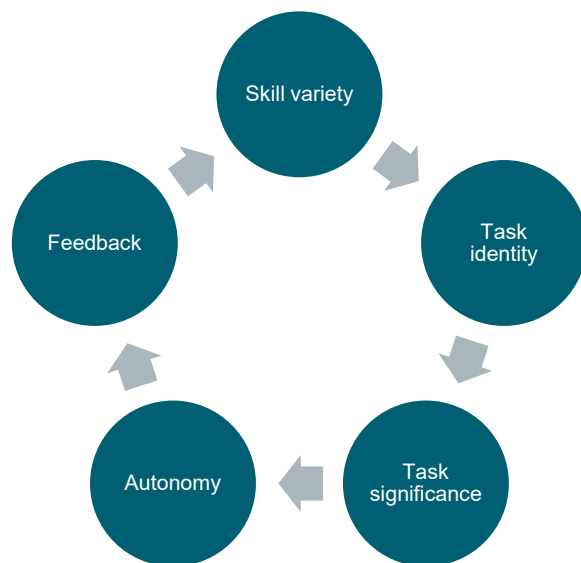
Skill variety

Participants talked about how the skills they used in their job matched their interests. The task variety kept the jobs interesting. They also talked about constantly learning new skills such as practical skills when out on site or soft skills when caring. Many of the skills participants mentioned could be mapped onto the SDS meta-skills framework.

"In the job … I'm outside and it's kind of problem solving … and quite like that in my personal life… … So I know definitely fits." **Woman, Engineering**

Task identity

Some participants talked about being able to identify tasks in a job see a job through from start to finish and finding this a motivating aspect of their work. For example, one participant shared a video showing them planning the job on the bridge and then completing the job in the video.

"Actually getting to go on site and see like the new house getting installed … I was there the day the steel frame went in." **Woman, Engineer**

Skill variety

Feedback

Task identity

Autonomy

Task significance

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[11] Hackman, J.R. & Oldham, G.R. (1974). The job diagnostic survey: An instrument for the diagnosis of jobs and the evaluation of job redesign projects. Department of Administrative Sciences: Yale University.

Task significance

Finding meaning in their work was a key element of why participants loved their job. For example, men in care work felt that caring for others (young and old) had value and meaning attached to it that brought a sense of job satisfaction. Women in engineering and construction talked about finding meaning in developing and building things. Participants felt a clear sense of purpose in their work along with opportunities for growth which added to a sense of meaning. This image was shared by a man in Early Years childcare:

message: showing how children grow from learning, and how we as educators play a vital role.

Pride in the job

Many participants felt pride when talking about their work and felt that this was an important element of loving their job. Pride was often linked with the second element of breaking gender stereotypes where participants talked about being proud that they were doing something different and important. For example, a woman engineer out on site helping to fix environmental problems and feeling proud to be in an area traditionally associated with men.

"[I'm] not scared to get my hands dirty…. This makes me feel good as this type of work is associated with men." **Woman, Engineer**

Breaking stereotypes

Our women participants spoke of enjoying the fact they were breaking stereotypes and doing work not traditionally associated with their gender. The men and non-binary participant talked about breaking free from traditional or toxic masculinity ideals by working in the care sector and being proud of being alternative role models for the young boys in particular.

"It's a lovely environment. It's a rewarding job, it really is. I think stereotypes does have a big impact on it, like man carers. It's not really seen as a 'man's job'. But it is, there are male service users that do want a man." **Man, Healthcare Assistant**

"Now I like being perceived as a man by children and seeing ohh…these men don't have to be these disgustingly toxic figures that don't provide nurture and care… that they can be just as good an example, as the women are in my life." **Non-Binary, Early Years Childcare**

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Supportive teams

Participants talked about having great teams. Often small cultural things were highlighted as making a big difference and having a supportive team strongly contributed to participants love of the job. Participants talked about a variety of elements that made them feel like they were in a supportive team and contributed to them loving the work, such as:

Feeling accepted and included,

Having a voice,

Learning from others in the team and getting advice,

Having a supportive manager.

"You can ask them…they took the time with me and they were like, right, what questions have you got… if you don't understand come get me…they were really supportive." **Woman, Biotechnology**

Challenges

This research did not focus on the challenges of working in a gender minority area, as they have been covered fully in the research literature (e.g.[12,13]) However, our participants did talk about some of the challenges they face…

Gendered symbols in the workplace

Women talked about basic needs not being met, such as lack of female toilets on construction sites. All genders talked about the uniforms, PPE and social events being more appropriate for the gender majority.

"I have PPE that does not fit me and it's the fact I've had to have an argument with a worldwide company going, "Can you get female PPE that actually fits please" and they've said, "Yes, we supply it" …. I've asked for it several times and have never been given it" **Woman, Engineer**

"The uniform is tailored more for women as is the dress code. Any team building activities are also more based around women's interests, as well as staff treats also being quite feminine for example, massages, spa vouchers, Christmas sleepovers in the nursery." **Man, Early Years Childcare**

There were frequently gendered roles within the workplace, such as women in STEM being asked to do design work rather than take on technical roles or men in early years being asked to lift heavy items.

Banter

All genders talked about the problematic nature of banter in work and in social situations.

"Half expect from contractors because they can be a bit cheeky, but it's just I like, "Aye right on you go". It's… that kind of humour…which obviously we shouldn't have to expect, but it is the sad reality of it." **Woman, Engineer**

Most talked about "not letting it bother them."

"Doesn't bother me at all if they [knew] how hard the job is they wouldn't do that for a second. So, I just let them be. A lot of the times it's just ignorance. No in a bad way, they don't [know] what it's like," **Man, Care Worker**

Societal expectations and norms

Some participants talked about gendered assumptions from customers or clients about who "should" work in a role. This was particularly the case for the men working in childcare. A common

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[12] Makarem, Y. and Wang, J., 2020. Career experiences of women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields: A systematic literature review. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *31*(1), pp.91-111.

[13] Cameron, C., 2001. Promise or problem? A review of the literature on men working in early childhood services. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *8*(4), pp.430-453.

experience was mistrust by some parents and fear of being accused of inappropriate behaviour.

"That is the worry of the job, and that's the worry that I had; it's what are people gonna think of you? What are people gonna start calling you? Who's gonna accuse you of what?...Even though you've not done anything wrong" **Man, Early Years Childcare**

"I think the gendered disadvantages come from the staff than the kids...they presume... I will wanna do certain things and activities…I'll be better at certain things, or worse at certain things." **Non Binary, Early Years Childcare**

Gender not skills

Many participants expressed frustration at being asked about their gender more than their skills as this image on the right shared from one of the participants illustrates.

Voice

Some women talked about assumptions by customers that the men were in the most senior roles.

"I've been on site a couple times where I have been the senior and they've asked the junior the question rather than me." **Woman, Engineer**

Despite the challenges all participants were positive about their career choices.

"Despite the negatives……I would take this over literally any other job in the world." **Man, Early Years Childcare**
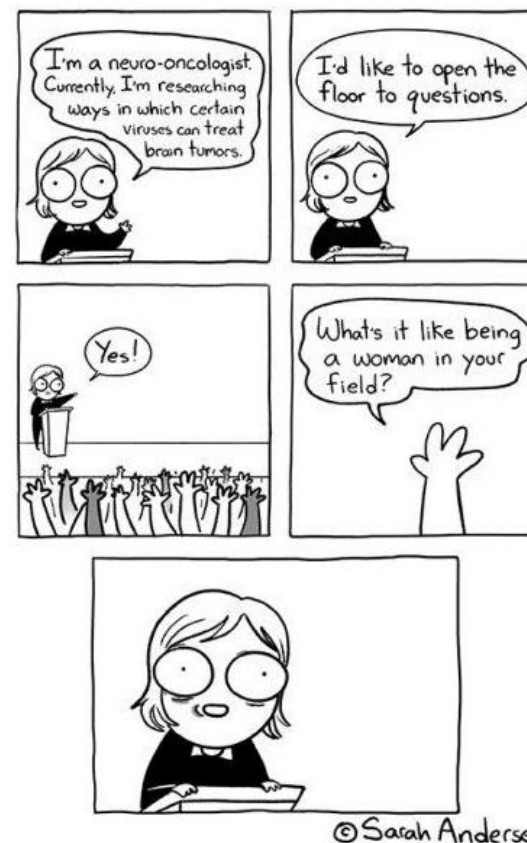
Shared by Woman, Software Engineer

How are young people supported?

o Organising work experience

In this concluding section, we have synthesised the findings to identify what support looks like for parents/carers, careers advisers, teachers and employers

Parents & carers

We know parents and carers are the biggest influence on young people's career decisions. In this research we identified different types of conversations that parents & carers are having with young people.

- **Passive conversations** are where parents & carers gave little advice or discussion but were content with any decisions their child made

- **Dismissive conversations** are where parents & carers made dismissive comments about choices

- **Proxy conversations** are where parents & carers insisted their young person took an option that had not been open to them

- **Active conversations** are where parents & carers were more involved in their child's career choice by:
  - o Focusing on the skills required to get into roles
  - o Discussing the skills that will be developed in roles
  - o Exploring progression routes in careers
  - o Helping their young people think through the pros and cons of post school choices
  - o Encouraging a mindset that allows young people to be open to change

All the conversation styles are influential. It is interesting that sometimes "off the cuff" comments can have a profound effect on a young person's career choice by closing off options or encouraging options.

Careers advisers

When participants talked about the way they got into their careers it chimed with career theory that will be familiar to careers advisers.

For example, many participants talked about 'chance' events that had led them into a career where they were in a gender minority and a career they loved and felt well suited to. Participants had acted off the back of these chance events and used them as an opportunity to explore future careers and be open to different career paths.

Participants talked of taking a risk by entering the career and having a flexible and optimistic mindset as well as showing persistence in the face of challenges which had led them to a rewarding career.

Our participants' experiences remind us that it's not always necessary to have a traditional planned approach to careers but instead it's important to help young people develop skills and be open to act upon chance events or happenstance when they occur.

Careers advisers have a role in encouraging the development of skills (such as curiosity, persistence, flexibility, optimism and risk

taking) that enable young people to take the plunge when chance events present themselves.

This work reinforces our understanding of what makes good careers guidance, including the concept of 'unconditional positive regard' for the customer regardless of gender stereotypes or exam results.

Teachers & lecturers

We found examples of where teachers are making a difference by taking actions such as:

- Making connections between the curriculum, the skills that are being learnt and how these could be developed in careers.
- Making connections between employers and students for work experience.
- Challenging stereotyping amongst colleagues and students
- Valuing students post school decisions and helping them think through the pros and cons.

We found examples of where teachers encouraged students such as

- Encouraging a growth mindset that enabled the students to take advantage of all opportunities open to them.
- Encouraging students to notice stereotyping and to challenge when they see it in themselves and others.

Employers

Participants talked about a range of ways in which employers helped them including formal, informal and cultural ways.

Formal ways

Formal ways included:

- Equality and diversity training in the workplace. This made participants and colleagues think about gender stereotyping in the workplace. It also enabled conversations to take place about stereotyping in the workplace.
- Mentors in the workplace. For some (but not all) it was important that these were matched to their gender. Mentors supported participants by discussing training and assessment requirements, providing a place to sound off on bad days, and a place to make suggestions.
- Support groups such as the LGBT groups or BME groups. Participants felt these provided valuable opportunities for voice.
- Projects. Some talked about projects which "walked through the workplace with a gendered lens." One engineer talked about work on safe travel routes to work. It identified gender differences in the perception of safety. Others mentioned that looking at the uniform or PPE from a gendered perspective could enable more appropriate PPE or uniform.

Informal measures

Some informal actions made a big difference, including:

- Inclusive teams where gender minority participants were included in social spaces and social activities.

- Encouraging teams, where participants felt they could ask team members questions without judgement.

- Providing a platform for employee voice either by managers having an open-door policy or team meetings providing a platform to discuss challenges and opportunities.

Cultural

Other measures were related to workplace culture.

- Some talked about the importance of having all genders visible in interviews and in workplaces. For example, one woman mentioned that she had prepared to talk about an aspect of gender in law during an interview but was met with an all-male interview panel. She then felt uncomfortable about sharing the work she had prepared.

- Some men in childcare talked about the importance of children having the opportunity to be cared for by all genders.

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And finally, we leave you with 'found poetry' created using the words of one of our participants discussing the pressure he felt to enter a traditionally male-dominated field and his discovery by chance of his current much-loved career in Early Years

You need to go to oil and gas because that's where the money is

Nothing worse than sitting and listening to

In five years you could earn this much.

The training provider… she basically said to me,

what have you got to lose?

And I was like, you're right

Nothing.

My parents…It took them a bit of a minute

to get their head round

I fell into it, random, stumbled on it

Didnae think it was going to be my place

Now I'm so passionate about it.

I worked in a setting that had forty staff

and I was one

'Lift this because you're the guy'

Still to this day

I get the side look.

The people that I needed

Believed in me

Realised that I had something that I didn't realise I had.

It's like they've struck gold

Like a magnet

Every time I go in

Teaching the next generation

Doing something like really funky and cool

Like a science experiment or something like really cool

Because it is

Life everyday

This is what Early Years people do everyday.

Early Years is where I want to be for life. Interesting, ever-changing, never gonna die.

Thanks to the participants who generously shared their stories with SDS