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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Access to flexibility I-deals: The case of autistic individuals

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Abstract

This study examines access to i-deals for autistic employees at work. We draw on a mixed methods approach consisting of 300 qualitative surveys and 12 semi-structured interviews with autistic individuals in employment. The findings show that autistic individuals desire especially flexibility i-deals but find it challenging to negotiate them. We contribute to the literature on i-deals that has focused mainly on its outcomes by studying access to such personalized arrangements and positioning this negotiation as a social process between autistic workers and their employers. Second, we extend the literature on the dark sides of i-deals by drawing on critical disability studies, ableism, and power dynamics to reveal its potentially inequality-enhancing character for autistic employees. Third, we contribute to multilevel models of workplace inequality by highlighting that access to flexibility i-deals is influenced by interrelated multilevel factors. Although flexibility is important for autistic employees, we show that they seem to have less access to flexibility i-deals, hindering their inclusion in the labour market. We argue that collective flexibility could overcome this and might be useful to make the workplace more inclusive.

KEYWORDS

access to i-deals, ASC, autism, idiosyncratic deals, inclusion, inequality, power

INTRODUCTION

Autism spectrum conditions (ASC) refer to neurodevelopmental conditions characterized by different ways of communication and social interaction, as well as restricted and repetitive patterns in behaviours,

Practitioner points

- Autistic employees struggle to negotiate access to flexibility i-deals.
- Access to individualized arrangements is unequal.
- More research to understand the mechanisms underlying access to i-deals is needed.
- Other neurodivergent employees may also struggle to negotiate access to i-deals.

interests, and activities (APA, 2021). Worldwide, it is estimated that approximately 1 in 100 people is autistic (WHO, 2023). Further, the number of autistic individuals is on the rise. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in the United States (2025), 1 out of 31 children is diagnosed with ASC. As autism is a spectrum condition, it contains a wide range of variations in symptomology and severity.

Autistic individuals form a subgroup that is part of the broader neurodivergent population. Neurodiversity, a collectively developed term (Botha et al., 2024), expresses the idea that people experience and interact with the world around them in a variety of ways and that these differences should not be viewed as deficits. In that sense, neurodivergent individuals are individuals who are non-typical in their cognitive functioning (Doyle & McDowall, 2021). Other neurodivergent conditions typically included under the neurodiversity umbrella are attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), dyslexia, dysgraphia, dyspraxia, dyscalculia and tourette syndrome (Botha et al., 2024).

Despite the neurodiversity movement's celebration of autistic workers' strengths in the workplace (Praslova, 2024), this population continues to face challenges related to obtaining and sustaining employment as well as career development (Anderson et al., 2021; Felix & Hennekam, 2025). Further, autistic workers are often subject to lower wages (Cai et al., 2023). It is important to note that the reasons for these patterns do not lie in the biological characteristics of autism itself but in society's inability to move past the social construction of different minds and bodies as an undesirable human variation (Harlan & Robert, 1998). This aligns with the social relational model of disability as well as the neurodiversity paradigm within which the present study is embedded (Botha et al., 2024; Thomas, 2004). Both sets of ideas recognize and embrace the existence of biological differences in minds and bodies and acknowledge how an individual embodying such differences may experience undesirable effects thereof like pain or fatigue. Still, they mainly stress the role the environment plays in creating additional and unnecessary barriers. HRM practices can be 'ableist' as they can create or alleviate disabilities on top of people's impairments, chronic health or neurodivergent conditions (Sang et al., 2021). Moreover, employers remain largely unsuccessful in redefining workplace norms beyond neurotypicality and ableism, to allow for a broader variety of skills and thought patterns (Jammaers & Zanoni, 2021). As a result, autistic employees may struggle to comply with the 'ideal worker' norm, which idealizes an abled-bodied and abled-minded individual with strong communication skills and high emotional intelligence, who is adaptable and works well in teams (Østerud, 2022).

Since navigating the social and sensory aspects of the workplace can be challenging for autistic workers (Bury et al., 2021; De Vries, 2021), they may benefit from adaptations in both the physical aspects of the workplace and the social organization of work. Yet, asking for 'reasonable adjustments' on a legal basis requires individuals to disclose and show proof of their condition. Given the stigma associated with autism (Follmer et al., 2020) this might be something autistic people feel hesitant towards. Further, recent figures show that only 11% of neurodivergent people are open about their condition at work (McDowall et al., 2023) and that many adults are undiagnosed (Huang et al., 2020). In light of these concerns and prior studies that have alluded to the usefulness of customized accommodations (Brzykcy et al., 2019; Hayward et al., 2019; Ho et al., 2022), idiosyncratic deals (i-deals) may offer a solution.

I-deals refer to 'voluntary, personalized agreements of a nonstandard nature negotiated between individual employees and their employers regarding terms that benefit each party' (p. 998)

(Rousseau et al., 2006.). I-deals are a form of human resources differentiation (Rofcanin et al., 2019) as working conditions or employment terms can be amended to adapt to someone's individual needs. I-deals have been associated with a range of positive outcomes for both the individual employee and the employer, such as enhanced performance, motivation, commitment, satisfaction, organizational citizenship, and work-life balance (Anand et al., 2018; Hornung et al., 2014; Ng & Feldman, 2015) benefiting both parties in the long run (Laulié et al., 2021). However, these individualized deals are often informally negotiated (Anand & Mitra, 2022) and may therefore not be accessible to all. I-deals have been positioned as 'elitist' as they offer 'flexibility through privilege' (Kossek & Kelliher, 2023; Mughal et al., 2022).

Autistic individuals form an interesting population to study access to i-deals because some of their commonly ascribed strengths like honesty and aversion to shoulder-rubbing are a potential mismatch with the way i-deals are formed. Further, calls have been made to draw more attention to the potential dark sides of i-deals (Mughal et al., 2022; Simosi et al., 2021; Van Waeyenberg et al., 2023). Answering these calls, this study aims to investigate the potentially (in)equality-shaping dynamics of i-deals by drawing on the case of autistic workers. We formulate the following research questions: (1) What type of i-deals would autistic employees like to obtain? and (2) What individual, interpersonal, organizational, and/or societal factors influence an autistic employee's access to i-deals? To answer these questions, we draw on two studies. Study 1 consists of a qualitative survey filled out by 300 autistic employees working in organizations. When invited to share anything they felt is important at the end of the survey, they spontaneously brought up their need for individual arrangements and their challenges to obtain this. To gain more insights into their access to i-deals, a second study was conducted consisting of 12 semi-structured interviews with autistic individuals in employment.

We make three contributions. First, we contribute to the literature on i-deals that has focused mainly on its outcomes (Anand et al., 2018; Hornung et al., 2014; Laulié et al., 2021; Ng & Feldman, 2015) by studying the social processes that gives access to such personalized arrangements. We frame access to i-deals not as a variable but as a dynamic and interactional event or trajectory, potentially requiring relational maintenance work (Cloutier & Langley, 2020).

We make a second contribution to the i-deals literature by focusing on the dark sides of i-deals in the workplace (Bal, 2022; Mughal et al., 2022; Simosi et al., 2021; Van Waeyenberg et al., 2023). Specifically, we reveal its potentially inequality-enhancing character for autistic employees. In alignment with critical disability studies and ideas of ableism that explicitly frame workplaces as embedded in ableist structures (Harlan & Robert, 1998; Jammaers & Zanoni, 2021), we highlight that the unequal access to i-deals reflects how authority, discretion, and resource allocation operate in organizations and is the result of systemic power relations.

Third, we contribute to multilevel models of workplace inequality by highlighting that access to flexibility i-deals is influenced by a range of interrelated multilevel factors and drawing on tension-centred theory (Putnam et al., 2014; Quinane et al., 2021) to problematize the paradoxes between and within these factors. More specifically, we point to the prevailing social norms and power structures on a societal level, identify the absence of collective flexibility on an organizational level, reveal the social and relational nature of i-deal negotiation on an interpersonal level (dependent on the quality of the relationship with one's manager and the perceived entitlement to preferential treatment) and stress the anticipated stigma and disclosure decision on an individual level. These multilevel factors jointly explain why autistic individuals in particular—and stigmatized individuals in –general – may struggle to negotiate i-deals for themselves to fulfil their unique needs and ultimately have less access to them.

LITERATURE REVIEW

We draw on the literature on i-deals, reasonable accommodations, and collective flexibility. Next, we focus on the strengths that autistic people bring to work, as well as the challenges they face in workplaces that are designed with neurotypicality in mind.

I-deals and reasonable accommodations

I-deals are one form of individual support to attend to the needs, desires, and aspirations of diverse groups of workers. I-deals can involve various aspects of the employment relationship. Developmental i-deals relate to training and education opportunities (Liao et al., 2016), financial i-deals consist of compensation arrangements (Rosen et al., 2013), task i-deals focus on changes in the content of work (Hornung et al., 2014); and flexibility i-deals relate to changes in working hours, location and workload (Wang et al., 2019). The latter are most common in organizations (Hornung et al., 2018), have become more widespread since the pandemic (Kossek & Kelliher, 2023) and are also the most appreciated and requested form of support among neurodivergent workers (McDowall et al., 2023).

Previous research on i-deals has focused on the positive outcomes of these individualized arrangements, such as enhanced work-life balance, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, motivation, retention and extra-role behaviour (Liao et al., 2016). However, individuals are not equal in their chances to obtain i-deals (Liao et al., 2016; Marescaux et al., 2013). Indeed, the request for an i-deal tends to be initiated by individual employees, which implies that they are aware of their needs and feel they are in a position to engage in this negotiation process (Anand & Mitra, 2022). Typically, employees who have 'something valued by employers in the marketplace' have greater access to i-deals (Kossek & Kelliher, 2023, p. 321) as do high-performing employees (Lee et al., 2015). Further, research shows that individuals with a good relationship with their superiors (Rosen et al., 2013) and those interested in dominance and power within organizations (Ng & Lucianetti, 2016) are more likely to access i-deals.

Individuals may not have equal access to i-deals, yet there is evidence that some marginalized groups of workers would benefit greatly from such arrangements. Specifically, Brzykcy et al. (2019) found that employees with cognitive disabilities benefited most from i-deals compared with people without disabilities and people with physical disabilities. For these individuals, i-deals 'directly contribute to an increased work ability and indirectly to lowered turnover intents' (p. 192). The researchers argued that people with cognitive disabilities spend considerable effort coping and hiding their symptoms and that i-deals would be a helpful tool for them. They also highlight that 'persons with physical disabilities do not strongly differ from their non-disabled counterparts in terms of i-deals negotiation, perceived work ability, or turnover intentions' but this is 'not the case for employees with psychological disabilities who appear as somewhat more vulnerable in terms of their perceived work ability'. (p. 195).

Although i-deals are not legally mandated, employers may be obliged to provide reasonable accommodations for people with officially diagnosed and recognized disabilities, chronic illnesses, or neurodivergence. Examples of reasonable accommodations are 'job restructuring, modified work schedules and granting unpaid leave' (Harlan & Robert, 1998). For these individuals, accommodations can make the difference between being able to work or not. Indeed, scholars have pointed to the usefulness of inclusive HRM practices for neurodivergent workers as well as specific organizational support (Crook & Rutherford, 2025; Volpone & Hennekam, 2025). A downside to reasonable accommodations is their dependence on employee disclosure. Yet, individuals with concealable stigmatized identities might be reluctant to disclose, given its potential negative repercussions (Follmer et al., 2020). Indeed, disclosure can lead to greater workplace support (Lindsay et al., 2021), but can also make individuals more vulnerable to harassment, discrimination and other forms of negative treatment (Sreckovic et al., 2024).

Autistic strengths and challenges

The neurodiversity movement recognizes and celebrates autistic people for their strengths. A study by Scott et al. (2017, p. 11) found that according to their supervisors, autistic employees 'performed at an above standard level in regard to attention to detail, work ethic and quality of work'. They go on to highlight 'qualities that are attractive to employers and common' among autistic people like 'reliability, integrity and consistent accuracy in performance'. In a study that asked autistic people themselves to identify their own skills, memory and focus were often mentioned (Cope & Remington, 2022). Finally, it

has been argued that autistic people's different ways of functioning may allow them to provide different perspectives and solutions to problems, sparking innovation (Pisano & Austin, 2016).

One set of strengths that is relevant to i-deals relates to autistic individuals' unease with lying (Blackhurst et al., 2025), higher reliance on outcomes than intentions when making moral judgements (Dempsey et al., 2020), honesty and integrity (Hartman & Hartman, 2024) and disinterest in office politics (Baldwin et al., 2014). Yet, these characteristics might not fit the ableist and neurotypical norms that govern organizational life in which social skills, relationships, power and politics play an important role (Clarke, 2024). Specifically, they may express less interest in social status or find social power dynamics in organizations difficult to understand (Caldwell-Harris & Schwartz, 2023). In a similar vein, their different ways of communicating and socializing (Hennekam & Follmer, in press), may make it more difficult to build meaningful relationships at work, which is problematic as one's relationship with the grantor of an i-deal plays a pivotal role in organizational life (Liao et al., 2016; Martin et al., 2023). This mismatch between the way autistic individuals function and the prevailing neurotypical norms in organizations may imply that this population is less likely to have access to i-deals. This is problematic as such individualized arrangements can provide support, accommodate needs (McDowall et al., 2023), facilitate sustainable employment (Ezerins et al., 2024) and prevent stigmatization given i-deal's independence from condition disclosure.

METHODOLOGY

To find out what types of i-deals autistic individuals are interested in, and what factors prevent them from accessing i-deals, we conducted two studies. Study 1 consisted of 300 qualitative surveys filled out by autistic individuals working in organizations. Study 2 consisted of 12 semi-structured in-depth interviews with autistic individuals in employment.

Both studies were conducted after ethics approval was obtained from the first author's institution and the research participants had signed an informed consent form. Below we explain the sample and the procedures of the two studies in a sequential manner and then outline the analysis of the two datasets collectively.

Sample and procedures Study 1

Autistic individuals were recruited through the platform Prolific and were paid for their participation. The two selection criteria were to be diagnosed with an ASC and to be in employment. Of the sample, 45% were male. The average age in the sample was 46, ranging from 20 to 67 years. The respondents lived in various regions: 46% were European, 28% were North American, 10% was Oceanian, 8% was African and 8% was Asian. The respondents worked in a range of sectors, such as education, IT, and healthcare, and held various positions such as accountant, administrative worker, and technician.

Study 1 consisted of 300 qualitative surveys. We adopted a qualitative survey method as this has been argued to reduce potential discomfort with social interactions, which might make it more suitable to autistic individuals (Braun et al., 2021). It was explained that the respondents could also share their experiences in other formats, such as an interview or phone call if they preferred. However, no one indicated this preference. Additionally, it was stressed that participation was anonymous, voluntary and that respondents did not have to answer all the questions. Further, psychological help was offered by providing a helpline that could be contacted in case participation had threatened their psychological well-being. To avoid bot responses, every survey was manually checked and approved. It was estimated that the survey would take individuals around 15–20 min. Therefore, responses that took only 2–3 min were rejected. Similarly, responses were removed when respondents failed the attention check, such as when qualitative responses made no sense or when the same answers were cut-and-paste in multiple answer boxes. 11 responses failed the attention check and

TABLE 1 Demographic information of the sample of Study 2.

Participant	Age	Gender	Condition(s)	Function	Collective flexibility	Interview length (min)
1	47	Female	ASC	Real estate agent	None	40
2	29	Male	ASC	Public administrator	None	37
3	39	Male	ASC, dyslexia and ADHD	Railroad conductor	None	34
4	57	Female	ASC	Nurse	None	30
5	55	Female	ASC	Rehabilitation counsellor	Flexible working hours, possibility to work from home	29
6	44	Male	ASC	Scanner operator	None	30
7	37	Male	ASC and ADHD	Aerospace engineer	None	46
8	28	Male	ASC and dyslexia	Statistician	Allowing people to do tasks they are good at	45
9	32	Female	ASC	Neurologist	None	37
10	48	Male	ASC	Agricultural inspector	Working from home 1 day a week	32
11	23	Male	ASC	File clerk	None	32
12	45	Male	ASC and dyspraxia	Funeral director	None	28

were removed and excluded from the analysis. To enhance engagement with the study, we provided above-average payment for their participation (Lovett et al., 2018). The survey was in English and aimed to get more insights into the work experiences of autistic employees. No questions were asked about individualized work arrangements. However, respondents were given the opportunity to share additional information about how they navigated the workplace at the end of the survey. In this article, we report on this last question as the respondents spontaneously brought up their need for individualized arrangements that often went unfulfilled.

Sample and procedures Study 2

The interviewees for Study 2 were recruited by drawing on the first author's personal and professional network. From here, snowball sampling was used to identify additional interviewees who met the selection criteria of being diagnosed with autism and being in employment. Individuals who were self-employed were excluded. The interview sample consisted of 12 interviewees, 4 were female and 8 were male. The interviewees worked in a range of occupations. Although all interviewees had autism, four were also diagnosed with other conditions, such as ADHD, dyslexia, and dysgraphia. Their average age was 40 years, ranging from 23 to 57 years old. All interviewees were based in France. The demographic information of the sample of study 2 is presented in Table 1.

The first author conducted all twelve semi-structured interviews with the aim of better understanding access to i-deals for autistic individuals. Theoretical saturation was reached after the twelfth interview and it was decided to stop the data collection. Interviewees were given the choice to conduct the interview face-to-face or online, resulting in one face-to-face and 11 online interviews. During the latter, it was made explicit that interviewees could turn off their cameras if they preferred, and sensory stimuli were reduced by using plain backgrounds and clothing and by avoiding background noise. Interviewees were told they could ask for a break at any time, that their participation was voluntary, that they did not have to answer all the questions and that they could request the researcher to reformulate a question if anything was unclear. Finally, to build trust, the researcher presented herself and informed the interviewees that although she is neurotypical herself, her husband and one of her daughters are autistic. An interview guide was created based on the initial insights from study 1 and the identified gaps in the literature on i-deals. Questions included: 'Would a personalized arrangement with your organization in terms of where, when, with whom or how you work would be something you'd be interested in?' and 'Have you ever been offered/requested such an arrangement? If not, what prevented you from asking?'. The interview guide was used to cover the main themes related to individualized arrangements, neurotypical norms and the social nature of organizational life. However, throughout the interviews, the researcher was open to picking up on topics that were brought up spontaneously during the interviews. The interviews were conducted in French, averaged 35 min (ranging from 28 to 46 min) and were recorded and transcribed verbatim. A total of 170 pages of transcripts were analysed.

Analysis of Studies 1 and 2

The first and third authors coded the qualitative survey data using inductive, open coding in which initial themes, such as neurotypical norms and the importance of social skills and informal gatherings, were written down. This led to an initial codebook which was then used and further refined when coding the interview data. In this first phase of the data analysis, we used a thematic analysis as this has been argued to be especially relevant when exploring understudied phenomena (Clarke & Braun, 2017). We classified our codes into first-, second- and sometimes third-order themes as outlined in Table 2. For example, the first-order codes 'getting along on a personal basis', 'being a team player', 'being able to joke' and 'reacting in a socially appropriate way' were all shared under the second-order code 'social skills needed to build a good relationship with one's manager'. This second-order code, together

TABLE 2 Data analysis structure based on Study 1 and Study 2 data.

First-order codes	Second-order codes	Third-order codes
Geek-related stereotypes about autism	Limited understanding about autism as a spectrum	Anticipated stigma
No understanding of what autism is		
Being socially awkward	Negative beliefs about autism related to social capital	
Low/no social skills		
Awareness of stigma leads autistic individuals to hide their condition	Stigma prevents individuals from asking for support	
Masking and camouflaging to fit in		
Disclosure can lead to negative treatment	Disclosure at work is perceived to be risky	Disclosure decision
Disclosure can reinforce negative beliefs about autism		
Enhanced awareness of policies and rights	Disclosure at work perceived to lead to more support	
Obtention of more workplace support		
Lack of formal policies	Perception of i-deals as unfair practice	Perceived entitlement to preferential treatment
Informal negotiation process		
Perception of "everyone for themselves"		
Showing one's accomplishment to superiors	The importance of power dynamics	
Playing office politics		
Being visible		
Way of functioning does not fit the way organizations function	Mismatch between social and relational nature of the workplace and autism	
Obtention of i-deals perceived to be a black box		
Different way of socializing	Mismatch between way of socializing and building relationship hinders bonding	Quality of relationship with manager
Awkward situations		
Lack of informal social interaction prevents good relationship		
Perception that favours are obtained in an informal manner	Importance of a good relationship with one's manager to obtain favours	
Perception that a good relationship helps to obtain favours		
Getting along on a personal basis	Social skills needed to a build good relationship with one's manager	
Being a team player		
Being able to joke		
Reacting in a socially appropriate way		

TABLE 2 (Continued)

First-order codes	Second-order codes	Third-order codes
Perception that flexibility i-deals would help attend to autism-related needs	Strong interest in flexibility i-deals	Availability of collective flexibility
Perception that other i-deals (e.g., job design) also have use		
Perception that i-deals exist because existing policies are insufficient	Availability of collective flexibility makes i-deals unnecessary	
Perception that collective flexibility would make i-deal irrelevant		
Perception that collective flexibility is useful for all	Stronger interest in collective flexibility	
Perception that collective flexibility removes the burden related to disclosure and stigma		
Implicit communication	Neurotypical norms are confusing and not natural	Prevailing neurotypical norms and power structures
Small talk		
Making eye contact		
Being able to express one's ideas clearly		
Trying to abide by neurotypical rules is exhausting	Pretending to be neurotypical is unsustainable over time	
Imitating others hinders feelings of authenticity		
Perceived need to comply with neurotypical norms to obtain favours	Being neurodivergent perceived to be a disadvantage	
Not being neurotypical leads to exclusion		

with the 'importance of a good relationship with one's manager to obtain favours' and the 'mismatch between way of socializing and building relationship hinders bonding' were then merged into the third-order code 'quality of relationship with manager'. The coding process was iterative in nature and the researchers went back and forth between the codebook and the data as their interpretation of the dataset evolved in the light of new codes or themes.

In a second phase of data analysis, the analysis became a reflexive thematic analysis, as an important participatory component was introduced in which the interviewees validated a first draft of the findings and model. Participant validation of analysis is defined as the process by which 'participants are asked to input on whether an analysis faithfully or fairly represents their experience'. (Braun & Clarke, 2023, p. 4). This was especially important because autistic individuals are often misrepresented or misinterpreted as scholars incorrectly presume shared understanding and draw on ableist assumptions throughout the research process (Milton & Bracher, 2013), which has led to dominant narratives around autism that do not necessarily reflect their individual experiences (O'Dell et al., 2016). To avoid this, the first author signalled the intention to offer interviewees the possibility of validating a first version of the findings through a follow-up call. Four months after the interviews were collected, all 12 respondents accepted the opportunity to give feedback, with these follow-up interviews lasting about 15 min on average. Although most feedback was in the form of "add-ons" rather than significant disagreement, this member validation allowed for fully foregrounding the respondents' interpretation of their workplace experiences (Harrington et al., 2014) instead of academics acting as the "experts". This corresponds to calls for more participative and impactful research *with* rather than *on* autistic individuals (Praslova, 2021). Thus, the first researcher,

who collected the data, collaborated with the interviewees to share and discuss her understanding and interpretation of the data as she started to focus on identifying connections between the various core categories and started to build a conceptual model.

In the last phase of the data analysis, the initial model was shared with the second and third authors, who possessed expertise on the theoretical concepts and lenses. These discussions resulted in several small changes and a refined model on autistic individuals' access to flexibility i-deals. At this stage, the authors also reflected on how their own positionality had played a role in the analysis of the data. This is a key step within reflexive thematic analysis, as researchers are seen as "always shaping their research" which is therefore "infused with their subjectivity" and "never a neutral conduit, simply conveying a directly accessed truth of participants' experience". (Braun & Clarke, 2023, p. 4). The first author self-identifies as a White woman and neurotypical scholar with a disability. The second author self-identifies as a White woman and neurodivergent scholar. Finally, the third author self-identifies as a mixed-race, non-binary researcher. The motivation for all authors to raise awareness of neurodiversity and increase the inclusion of neurodivergent individuals in society is related to having autistic family members and being professionally interested in diversity issues. These specific positionalities will have undoubtedly influenced the research process, hence the importance of making them known to readers.

FINDINGS

We first outline the desire for various types of i-deals autistic individuals are interested in. Then, we discuss factors influencing access to i-deal at four different levels, namely, on individual, interpersonal, organizational and societal levels. We report on study 1 and study 2 simultaneously. The participants in study 1 are called "survey respondents" and the participants in study 2 are called "interviewees" to avoid confusion.

The desire for i-deals by autistic employees

Participants highlighted their interest in i-deals to make their working life easier to navigate. Two types of i-deals, flexibility i-deals and i-deals related to job design emerged from their accounts. Job design i-deals consisted of being able to determine on which tasks one works, adaptations to the work environment and access to certain tools like noise cancelling headphones. Survey respondent 120 noted: "*My employer knows I'm autistic and said that I can wear my headphones to reduce sound, but not everyone is allowed to have headphones to listen to music for example*". Similarly, another participant wrote that he is "*allowed to isolate myself when I need it, so I can ground. They told me where there's a quiet area I can go to and they gave me the keys in case I want to use it. I thought that was really cool*" (survey respondent 89). Interviewee 8, on the other hand, explained that "*my manager wants to capitalize on my strengths, so she lets me do the tasks I'm good at and gives those tasks I find more challenging to someone else. It works well for both of us as I don't have to do the things I find tricky like calling clients but can help with things I do well*".

However, the overwhelming majority of both survey respondents and interviewees reported being interested in flexibility i-deals. This could take the form of flexibility in terms of who one works with, where, how and when one works. One participant wrote: "*If I could just have a bit more flexibility in terms of when I get my work done and how I do it, it would make a huge difference*" (survey respondent 112) and another echoed: "*Small adaptations such as being allowed to work alone sometimes or being able to take days off without having to tell them months in advance would be great*" (survey respondent 77). Working from home was also mentioned as "*I'm very sensitive to all kinds of stimuli. When it all becomes too much, I need to isolate, I need to rest and sit in a dark place to ground myself*" (survey respondent 31). Flexibility i-deals could also take the form of a reduced or adapted workload or fewer working hours as one participant revealed: "*I asked for a condensed work week so I could take the Friday off and have a three-day weekend to recharge completely. I told my manager that it was either this or a part-time job or else I wouldn't be able to continue*

working over time" (survey respondent 245). Despite strong consensus that flexibility i-deals would be helpful to them, they simultaneously highlighted that they found it difficult to obtain them, as the following participants explained:

> I realize that people often get access to perks in informal ways. They are never discussed or made public, and you realize only afterwards that someone is granted more flexibility. However, the underlying processes or reasons are unknown to me and therefore I don't know how I could obtain something similar.
>
> (interviewee 2)

> I'd love to be a bit more flexible so that when my energy is low or when I just need a small break, I can take that. But I don't know how to bring that up with my manager.
>
> (survey respondent 25)

In sum, it seems that flexibility i-deals are arrangements that would be of interest to many autistic workers. Yet, they tend to find it challenging to access them. When exploring in more detail why autistic employees find it difficult to obtain access to flexibility i-deals, a range of factors at the individual, interpersonal, organizational and societal levels emerged.

Factors influencing access to i-deals for autistic employees

At the individual level, we identified two factors that contribute to autistic employees' access to flexibility i-deals, namely, anticipated stigma associated with autism and the decision whether to disclose or conceal one's condition.

Individual level

Anticipated stigma

The participants in both studies stressed the pervasiveness of the stigmatizing nature of autism. One person explained: "*It's a stigmatizing condition, more so than other conditions. Everyone has heard about it but few people really understand what autism is. You need to think if you really want to bring it up at work as people may judge you*" (interviewee 2). Another participant wrote: "*Autism isn't neutral, it's a stigma and we all know it. If you don't want to carry that stigma, you hide and pretend*" (survey respondent 181). Thus, the anticipated stigma associated with autism incited individuals to hide their way of functioning in society and especially at work. However, the participants also spoke or wrote about how stigma prevented them from bringing up their challenges at work, hindering additional support to make it easier for them to navigate work.

> If I mention autism, people have their judgements ready and this is why I don't dare to ask for some extra support or adaptations to make my professional life a bit easier.
>
> (survey respondent 203)

> If I knew they'd be ok with autism, that I could be open about it, I could have maybe found a different way to obtain some small adaptations that would suit my needs. However, as long as the negative stereotypes are there, I won't tell them and as long as I keep silent, they will continue negotiating these arrangements in this way, so nothing will change.
>
> (interviewee 12)

Disclosure decision

The decision whether to reveal one's autism was closely linked to the level of anticipated stigma in the sense that higher levels of self-perceived stigma were associated with concealment. Disclosure was often discussed as being two-sided: it could lead to more understanding and access to i-deals but could simultaneously lead to the reinforcement of negative beliefs and even negative treatment in the form of discrimination. Consequently, participants had contrasting feelings about this. For some, revealing one's condition led to understanding and support: "*It's only when I explained I'm autistic that I could get the help I needed*" (survey participant 168) while another shared:

> Once I told my manager what I'm struggling with and why, she became very different and even told me she thought I was a bit cold and distant before knowing I'm autistic. She's been amazing and it's even her who suggested I should be able to take time off whenever I needed etc. It really changed my working life and things have become much easier to deal with.
>
> (interviewee 7)

Yet, most participants concealed their condition. One participant explained: "*You never know how disclosure works out, so I find it safer not to reveal it*" (survey respondent 8). This implied that supervisors were unaware of their colleagues' condition which made asking for flexibility based on an officially attested disability difficult. In an environment where i-deals are uncommon, differentiating between workers on a basis other than a legal right could be seen as 'wrong' by supervisors, decreasing the likelihood that one would negotiate an i-deal for themselves:

> I can't play the game with my superior to get more flexibility. Part of that is my own fault as he does not know I'm autistic so he's treating me like anyone else and doesn't make any allowances.
>
> (interviewee 3)

In sum, on an individual level, the persistence of the anticipation of stigma related to autism negatively impacted the likelihood that autistic individuals would disclose their condition at work which in turn functioned as a barrier to getting i-deals. We now turn to the quality of the relationship with one's manager and the perceived entitlement to preferential treatment which together interact to shape the social and relational nature of i-deal negotiations on an interpersonal level.

Interpersonal level

Quality of relationship with one's manager

The participants mentioned the importance to "*behave in a certain way to fit in, to be liked by others and build personal and professional relationships*" (survey respondent 65) at work. Specifically, they stressed that a positive relationship with one's manager was key in obtaining benefits, including flexibility i-deals:

> It took me some time to realize, but having an amicable but formal relationship with my supervisor means that I have access to all the formal policies the organization provides, but that he wouldn't go the extra mile for me, like he would for a colleague who he considers a friend.
>
> (interviewee 1)

Further, it was noted that an individual's relationship with their manager is linked to their social skills, as strong social skills enhance relationship-building within organizations. The participants mentioned the importance of getting along with others, being a team player, being able to make jokes, knowing how to provide support to comfort an upset co-worker or reacting in a socially appropriate way in various situations.

Failing to react, communicate or behave in socially acceptable ways was perceived to hinder a warm relationship with one's superior.

> An organization is like a mini society. There are many rules, but most of them are unwritten and need to be 'felt'. However, when you don't feel these implicit rules, then you're an outsider and will be excluded from the inner circle of your colleagues, even those with decision-making power and that can lead to fewer favours.
>
> (interviewee 8)

Some also attributed the difficulty to bond and communicate effectively with their managers to a 'clash' between neurocognitive styles, in case their supervisor was neurotypical:

> We know that being from the same neurotype helps effective communication, because you use the same rules. So autistic individuals communicate better with other autistic individuals and neurotypicals communicate more easily with neurotypicals. (This) makes it harder to connect.
>
> (interviewee 10)

Perceived entitlement to preferential treatment

Although participants expressed a need for i-deals, they also made it clear that the social, political, and networked nature of the organization was at odds with their autistic identity. Specifically, while participants seemed aware of the importance of political skills, they concomitantly felt that "*the way things are done here do not fit my way of functioning*" (survey respondent 18). This seemed to negatively influence their capacity to negotiate an i-deal for themselves: "*People feel entitled to receive all kinds of favours, but although I'd love to have them too, I don't think I should ask for it*" (interviewee 4). Another interviewee shared: "*I-deals are unfair, it's differential treatment which goes against the idea of equal treatment*" (interviewee 6). The participants further explained that whether one would obtain a personalized arrangement was perceived to be a black box to them: "*I don't know how some people always get what they want, it's through social processes that completely go beyond me*" (survey respondent 144). They pointed to the informal way in which arrangements were negotiated outside the official rules and reported on how confusing they felt this was:

> The informal and relationship-based aspects of all the processes in organizations, the 'under the table' arrangements, non-verbal gestures or exchanges, the need for people to compare themselves with others, it feels like everyone for themselves and get whatever you can get, rather than trying to facilitate the lives of those who need it.
>
> (survey respondent 135)

> It is a negotiation actually. If you're good at arguing for your own interest, you can get amazing deals. However, this is obviously unfair as not everyone is good at playing politics and at bragging about one's value to the organization. I feel that especially autistic people are at a disadvantage here as we're not good at exaggerating our performance and manipulating others. It's once again a reflection of the neurotypical norms that are at play.
>
> (interviewee 9)

In sum, on an interpersonal level, the participants stressed how the social relational nature of i-deal negotiations meant that the quality of relationship with one's managers mattered, as did the extent to which one felt entitled to differential treatment. However, the secretive, political and networked nature of the negotiation process caused friction with the autistic identity, for two reasons. First, they found it challenging to build up enough social capital to initiate a deal, to renegotiate it with the arrival of a new manager, or to maintain

it over a longer period, what we label here as relational maintenance work. Second, the participants often perceived these individualized arrangements as unfair, preventing them from engaging in the process. Next, we turn to the availability of collective flexibility as an organizational-level factor that influences access to flexibility i-deals for autistic individuals.

Organizational level

Availability of collective flexibility

Flexibility i-deals were something that the participants desired. However, for some, flexibility in terms of working hours and location was inherent to their profession or function and therefore provided to all employees: "*I'm a translator and therefore I work from home. I have full control over where I work and also when I want to work. I sometimes go swimming during the day and no one cares as long as I get the job done. I also chose myself for whom I want to work. Having this freedom and flexibility is amazing*" (survey respondent 13). On the contrary, interviewee 4 who is working as a nurse in a public hospital reported on the total lack of flexibility that is characteristic of the profession: "*I knew this when I chose to become a nurse. You don't decide on your hours, you can be on call, you do not even decide in which city or in which hospital you'll be working*". However, both the survey respondents and the interviewees reported that when flexibility was provided to everyone, flexibility i-deals lost their interest. Interviewee 5 who works as a rehabilitation counsellor explained that the flexibility she has at work is available to all, which implies she does not need to ask for a flexibility i-deal: "*Everyone here can come in when they want and leave when they want. Of course, they need to attend meetings, etc., but apart from some fixed moments where you need to be present, people can do as they like*". However, when this collective flexibility was absent, participants expressed the desire to have more flexibility. As interviewee 1 highlighted: "*As a real estate agent I obviously cannot work from home. However, if I don't have a visit or a meeting at 8 am I don't see why I could not arrive at 9 or 10 am on some days as I often work in the evenings too*". Survey respondent 248 mentioned that flexibility is something that he believes everyone would benefit from and should therefore be available to all: "*Some autonomy over how you do things, being able to work sometimes on the weekends and then take a day off when you want is something that should just be provided to everyone. Why wouldn't a company give that flexibility like a standard practice?*" Interviewee 9 summarized:

> These arrangements would be brilliant for the autistic community. However, given that organizations do not advertize that they have these things available, I guess autistic people won't notice or do not imagine you can ask for it or negotiate it. If it was offered, without having to ask, it would work, now it doesn't.

Thus, for some participants, flexibility was inherent to their profession or function and was therefore available to all. In those cases, flexibility i-deals were neither useful nor needed. For others, however, the nature of their work did not allow for any form of flexibility. Yet, all participants agreed that collective flexibility would be helpful and should be implemented. We now turn to the broader context in which the individual-, interpersonal and organizational-level factors are embedded.

Societal level

Prevailing neurotypical norms and power structures in society

The participants in both studies highlighted the prevalence, rigidity and strength of neurotypical norms in society: "*Social norms are everywhere, it influences all aspects of life. Neurotypical people are not aware of it, but for us it makes a very difficult environment*" (survey respondent 221). Further, they stressed unquestioned power differentials between neurodivergent and neurotypical individuals: "*There is a hierarchy and neurotypicals are at the top. You have to be and act a certain way and if you cannot do this, you're seen as 'less than'*" (interviewee 7). They further explained that these norms and power structures on a societal level affected other levels:

> The norm of neurotypicality is reflected in organizational life. Take for example the social expectation of making eye contact when talking, being able to engage in small talk, but also things like people wanting to show off their accomplishments in front of others as that makes one more visible for one's manager and may lead to a promotion. These things may not be obvious to autistic people, but that is never being discussed. It is taken-for-granted that this is how things are and should be. But in reality, this reflects neurotypical social norms that are simply not questioned.
>
> (interviewee 4)

This interviewee makes it clear how negotiations take place in a society which morally accepts rubbing shoulders and showing off and even turns those who cannot abide by such behavioural rules into 'the problem'. The hegemony of neurotypicality in society was not only seen to influence many aspects of life but was also felt to lead to a clear disadvantage for autistic individuals and thus reflected broader power structures in which being neurotypical is seen as superior to being neurodivergent. Indeed, participants highlighted that neurotypical norms did not come natural to them or were confusing and that this is seen as a hindrance or limitation. Although some participants aimed to abide by neurotypical norms to reap the benefits of appearing to be neurotypical, this was often considered unsustainable in the long run as it required a lot of energy. These issues were discussed at length during the interviews of study 2. Neurotypical norms and power dynamics were strongly interrelated, as one interviewee explained:

> The dominance of neurotypicality implies that neurodivergent people are at a disadvantage, maybe especially in organizations where everything is designed for neurotypical people. During recruitment you have to sell yourself instead of honestly explaining who you are. I agree to work in teams, as this is what everyone does and expects you to do while I'd rather work alone. And then the sound of the computers around me, the open space and the flickering neon light above my desk that bother no one else but drive me crazy. When I get home, I'm exhausted.
>
> (interviewee 11)

Thus, the prevailing neurotypical norms and power structures in society influenced the perception of stigma and the disclosure decision on an individual level. It also has an impact on the social relational nature of i-deal negotiations, consisting of the quality of the relationship with one's manager and the perceived entitlement to preferential treatment on an interpersonal level. These multilevel factors ultimately affect the access to flexibility i-deals for autistic workers.

DISCUSSION

This study explored the access to i-deals for autistic employees. We conducted two studies and used a reflexive thematic analytical approach to gain more insights into what type of i-deals autistic employees would like to obtain as well as what individual, interpersonal, organizational, and/or societal factors influence an autistic employee's access to i-deals.

We answer our two research questions by revealing that autistic individuals are especially interested in flexibility i-deals and see them as potentially useful support mechanisms that would make it easier for them to fulfil their needs and stay in the workplace. Simultaneously, however, our data reveal a range of barriers on societal, organizational, interpersonal, and individual levels that prevent autistic individuals from negotiating and accessing flexibility i-deals. Based on these insights, and through the case of autistic employees, we are able to conceptualize i-deal negotiations as a highly power-laden social process that is more accessible to historically privileged groups. Transferring our findings beyond our initial respondent group, we propose the following model (see Figure 1), to be further tested and fine-grained in future research for a wide variety of stigmatized workers. Despite claims that individualized

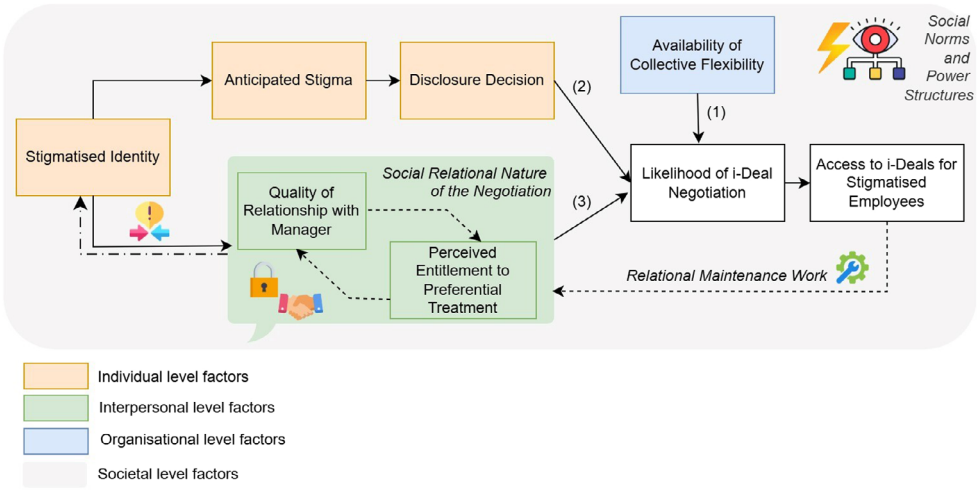

FIGURE 1 Conceptual model on access to (flexibility) i-deals for stigmatized employees.

arrangements may 'particularly benefit employees from diverse demographic groups' (Perera & Li, 2022, p. 211) as well as calls for research on i-deals for understudied and/or stigmatized populations (Anand & Mitra, 2022; Simosi et al., 2023), only a small body of research on i-deals had attended to issues related to diversity, equality and inclusion. While older workers (Bal et al., 2012), women (Perera & Li, 2022), individuals with disabilities (Brzykcy et al., 2019; Ho et al., 2022) and individuals with stigmatized family identities (Anand & Mitra, 2022) have been studied, a comprehensive framework that explains limited access to flexible i-deals for all these groups who share a historically marginalized status in society, remained missing.

As visually shown in Figure 1, access to i-deals for stigmatized employees remains directly influenced by the likelihood of negotiating such a deal. This likelihood in turn depends on three factors. First, at the organizational level, the availability of collective flexibility makes i-deals redundant. Second, at the individual level, the risks associated with the disclosure decision make i-deals a safer option compared with, for instance, reasonable accommodations based on the legal attestation of a need. Indeed, for stigmatized employees, the decision to disclose a certain need or not (e.g., a need to flexibly provide care to family members or receive professional care during working hours), is contingent upon the anticipated stigma and judgement versus understanding and compassion from others at work. Third, the likelihood of negotiating an i-deal is dependent upon interpersonal factors that relate to the social relational nature of the negotiation process, which is at tension with a stigmatized identity (as indicated in the Figure by the opposite arrows). Further, difficulties in maintaining tight relationships with one's manager interact with a generally lower perceived entitlement to preferential treatment among historically marginalized groups who hold little power. Research has shown that marginalized or stigmatized groups often accept underemployment (Disney et al., 2021; DuBois et al., 2024), as well as underpay (Morchio & Moser, 2024). Thus, the social relational nature of i-deal negotiation makes this process trickier for individuals with stigmatized identities, such as autistic individuals, and reinforces inequality. It is worth underlining that the social relational nature of the negotiation process means that accessing i-deals requires an ongoing effort to maintain good relations and believe in one's entitlement to preferential treatment. Ordinary work events such as the arrival of a new manager or getting a less favourable performance appraisal can easily initiate new cycles of negotiation, requiring constant maintenance work (as indicated in the Figure by the recursive arrow). Finally, the process of accessing flexibility i-deals inside any singular organization remains embedded in broader societal norms and power structures that privilege those in power – typically White male able-bodied and neurotypical persons without care needs – whose preferred ways of walking, talking, being, and organizing get reaffirmed as the standard-typical way (Acker, 2006; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Campbell, 2009). Below we outline our

theoretical contributions, provide a range of practical recommendations, and present several suggestions for future research as we acknowledge the shortcomings of the present study.

Theoretical implications

We make two contributions to the literature on i-deals and one theoretical contribution to multilevel models of workplace inequality.

First, the literature on i-deals has focused mainly on the outcomes of obtaining i-deals for individual employees, co-workers or teams and organizations (Anand et al., 2018; Hornung et al., 2014; Laulié et al., 2021; Ng & Feldman, 2015), while little is known about access to i-deals as a dynamic social process (Anand & Mitra, 2022; Simosi et al., 2023). We highlight the dynamic and relational nature of the i-deal negotiation process and how it plays out between employees and employers.

Our second contribution relates to the dark sides of i-deals in the workplace. We build on earlier research (Mughal et al., 2022; Simosi et al., 2021; Van Waeyenberg et al., 2023) by revealing the potentially inequality-enhancing character of i-deals for autistic employees. Informed by critical disability studies and ideas of ableism, which see "ableness" as "a socially defined concept that is centrally important in structuring" the contemporary workplace and "the normative standard by which society believes work should be accomplished" (Harlan & Robert, 1998, p. 427), we point to the role of power asymmetries. On the one hand, such asymmetries systematically disadvantage workers who cannot comply with the prevailing social norms and structures that are strongly reflected in the way access to i-deals is initiated and negotiated. On the other hand, stigmatized employees like disabled workers, systematically have less voice opportunities, because of less power and a lower status due to ableist hierarchies in organizations (Starzyk & Bauer, 2025). This makes autistic employees particularly powerless as they find the social rules hard to decipher and may perceive them to be unfair. Simultaneously, they may have experienced structural disadvantages and may have been denied opportunities to voice concerns in the past. We thus point to the role of implicit or explicit power dynamics as underlying principles influencing access to i-deals.

Third, we contribute to multilevel models of workplace inequality by highlighting that access to flexibility i-deals is influenced by a range of interrelated multilevel factors that are embedded in rigid neurotypical norms and power structures that guide organizational life. Yet, tensions between and within these factors can be observed, adding complexity to the model. We draw on tension-centred theory as it offers a framework for revealing and responding to tensions or paradoxes in the way employees navigate the workplace that can render organizational initiatives less effective (Putnam et al., 2014; Quinane et al., 2021). Such an approach allows us to "…divulge inconsistencies in our logic or assumptions" (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989, p. 564) and simultaneously facilitates reducing those tensions by pointing to these paradoxes, ultimately rendering organizational structures and practices more effective and inclusive (Tracy, 2004). For example, while we identify the importance of having the social and political skills to build a strong relationship with one's manager who could potentially grant an i-deal (Liao et al., 2016; Rosen et al., 2013), we simultaneously point to the disinterest among autistic individuals in organizational politics (Caldwell-Harris & Schwartz, 2023). In a similar vein, we point to how one's autistic characteristics, such as honesty and integrity (Baldwin et al., 2014; Blackhurst et al., 2025) influence how autistic individuals perceive i-deals. Specifically, their focus on outcomes as compared with intentions (Dempsey et al., 2020) might imply that they perceive getting access to flexibility as an unfair outcome, hindering them from negotiating this for themselves. Finally, we show that making access to i-deal contingent upon disclosure disadvantages individuals who possess a stigmatized identity. Indeed, disclosure presents an inherent tension in that it can lead to more organizational support but can also result in negative treatment (Santuzzi et al., 2014).

Practical implications

First, although individualized support has been argued to be helpful for autistic individuals at work (Hayward et al., 2019), i-deals lay outside the scope of collectively provided organizational practices. Consequently, access to i-deals may be unequal and increase rather than decrease inequalities between various groups in the workplace. Although we recognize that i-deals can lead to positive outcomes for both employers and employees, based on our findings, we argue that it is better to change an organization's policies and practices to fulfil the needs of all employees as it removes the individually negotiated access to workplace arrangements. Kossek and Kelliher (2023) refer to this as collective flexibility, which they define as "the collective right of workers to customize their work schedule, place, workload, boundaries, connectivity, and employment mode with their employer, in consideration of relevant stakeholders" (p. 320). In such a universally designed social organization of work, exceptions and special treatments would become unnecessary as everyone can benefit from the offered flexibility (Klinksiek et al., 2023). This would also prevent issues around jealousy, secrecy and unfairness between all workers (Marescaux et al., 2019). We can even argue that collective flexibility would benefit autistic people even more, as it would forego the need for negotiations that are social in nature as well as special treatment that can be perceived to be unfair. Second, stigma worked as a barrier to asking for support. To remove this barrier, organizations may want to provide diversity awareness training in which neurocognitive differences are positioned for what they are: differences, rather than deficits. Training should aim to change the way neurodivergence is perceived, not only by co-workers, but also by neurodivergent individuals themselves (Wen et al., 2024). Another barrier that may prevent autistic employees from requesting i-deals relates to the internalization of the prevailing neurotypical norms (Hennekam et al., 2025). By internalizing these norms, autistic employees may not even be aware of or consider asking for accommodations, no matter how legitimate or helpful such forms of support may be.

Third, organizations may want to reflect on the extent to which the culture of the organization is inclusive and is perceived to be psychologically safe. Indeed, inclusive climates or cultures in which employees feel safe to discuss their needs and challenges have been associated with greater autism disclosure, less stigma (Romualdez et al., 2021) as well as a range of positive outcomes for the organization (Byrd, 2024). This can be accomplished by conducting diversity audits (Byrd, 2024), by asking for input from external stakeholders to review existing policies, practices and processes to see how they can be made more neuro-inclusive (Tomas et al., 2023) or by appointing allies who may also challenge unfair treatment (Dahunsi et al., 2024).

Limitations and suggestions for future research

First, while our qualitative, reflexive thematic analysis allowed us to showcase the lived experiences of autistic individuals, one can argue that a researcher can never fully understand the inner worlds of another person. This "double hermeneutic" in which research participants make sense of their experiences which then is interpreted by the researcher is an inherent limitation that is difficult to overcome but needs to be acknowledged, even though participant validations took place.

Second, while we focused on autistic individuals, future research may want to include a wider range of personal attributes such as gender, ethnicity, physical appearance, age or whether one has children (Simosi et al., 2021) as other intersecting identities, marginalized or not, could influence one's access to i-deals. In addition, scholars may want to examine whether having multiple neurodivergent conditions plays a role or whether the similarity between the person who requests and the person who is in a position to grant an i-deal is of any importance.

Finally, while we were interested in the process of i-deal negotiations, "which implies temporality and change over time" (Cloutier & Langley, 2020, p. 3), our method did not allow us to study processes "as they unfold" in real time. More suitable methods could be for instance ethnographies or diary methods.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Sophie Hennekam: Conceptualization; investigation; writing – original draft; methodology; validation; writing – review and editing; formal analysis; project administration; supervision. **Eline Jammaers:** Methodology; validation; visualization; writing – review and editing; supervision; resources. **Bruno Felix:** Methodology; validation; visualization; writing – review and editing; formal analysis; resources.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

There is no conflict of interest to report.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Given the sensitive nature of the information shared and the request of participants not to divulge their full stories, only summarized and anonymized parts of the data will be shared upon reasonable request.

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